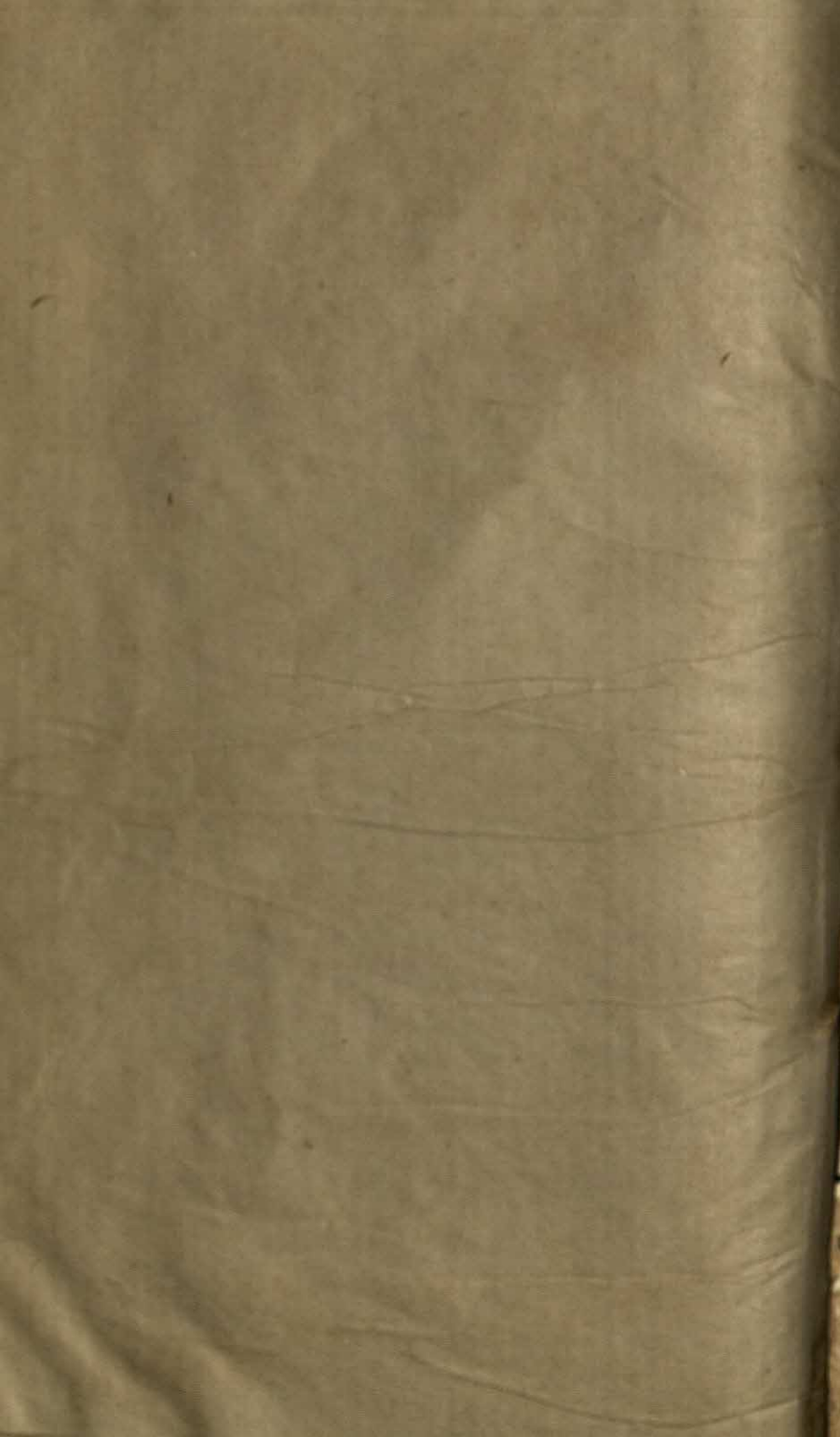




ANNUAL REPORT
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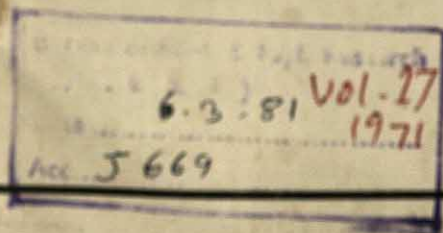
INTERNATIONAL REVIEW
OF EDUCATION

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INTERNATIONALE ZEITSCHRIFT
FÜR ERZIEHUNGSWISSENSCHAFT

* * *

REVUE INTERNATIONALE
DE PEDAGOGIE



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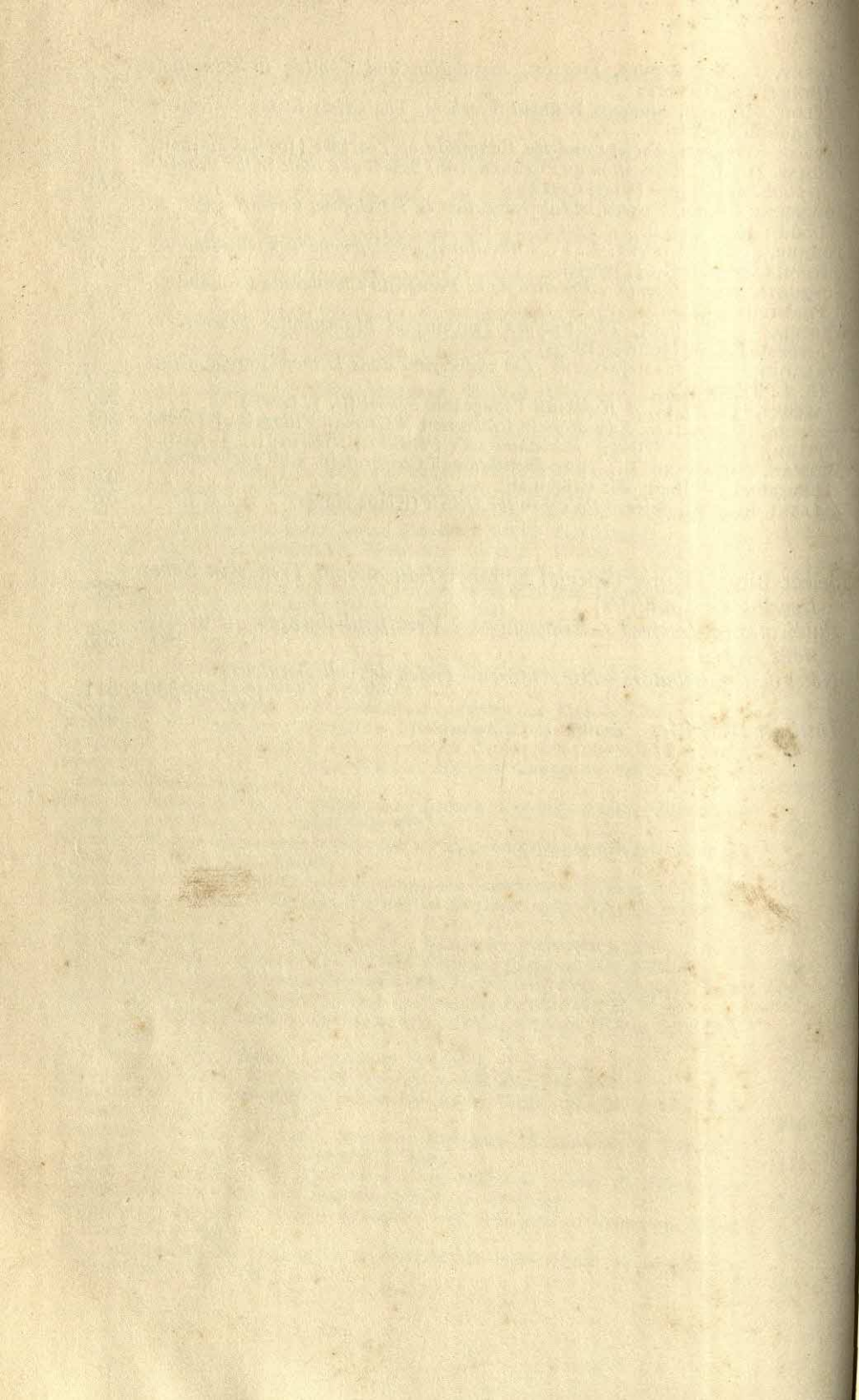
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FORTHCOMING ISSUE

The next issue will be a Special Number edited by C. E. Beeby, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, and L. J. Lewis, University of London, devoted to the theme:

EDUCATIONAL TRENDS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Among the contributions will be:

Prem KIRPAL, India	Modernization of Education in South Asia: The Search for Quality
Paul CHANG, Malaysia	Educational Trends in South-East Asia
Howard HAYDEN, New Zealand	On the Quality of Education in the South Pacific
Matta AKRAWI, and A. A. EL-KOUSSY, Lebanon	Recent Trends in Arab Education
W. Senteza KAJUBI, Uganda	New Directions in Teacher Education in East Africa

THE COMPREHENSIVE VERSUS SELECTIVE SCHOOL ISSUE: INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

by TORSTEN HUSÉN, Stockholm*)

There is, unfortunately, no operationally defined international terminology in education, at least not one that lends itself to the description of educational structures. To an Englishman "comprehensive school" means a school offering under one roof all kinds of secondary school programs and catering to all children drawn from a certain district. To an American it denotes a secondary high school serving all children. To a Swede it signifies the basic, organizationally undifferentiated nine-year school. It thus refers both to the elementary and secondary stage and is conceived by and large in the same way as was the *école unique* or *Einheitsschule* in France and the Federal Republic of Germany in the debate after 1918. Several of the contributions in this *Schwerpunktnummer*, which was originally planned as a Special Number, deal with different aspects of the comprehensive versus selective school problem. In this context most contributors conceive of "comprehensive" as in England or the United States, as a concept which chiefly applies to the secondary stage. In order to be truly comprehensive a school's enrollment has to reflect in a representative way the composition of the community outside the school, and its offerings should vary enough to meet a broad range of needs.

All educational systems are indeed more or less selective in terms of both admission requirements, and screening procedures during the various stages, such as non-promotion, grade-repeating and drop-out. But they vary tremendously in the severity with which they employ these selective practices. In some countries there are almost no enrollment restrictions during the period of compulsory schooling. When it comes to the choice of optional programs, this is up to the pupil and his parents. The basic school in Sweden (for instance) is by law prohibited from selecting pupils for the various lower secondary school programs or options in grades 7 through 9, whereas at the age of 16, when transfer occurs to the upper secondary school, competitive selection to the various lines of study occurs on the basis of grades obtained in the terminal class of the basic school. In most Western European countries, where until now transfer from the elementary to secondary school has taken place at the age of 10 to 12, selectivity in terms of both ability and social background (which

*) The articles in this number, as well as certain of the book reviews, were originally solicited by Professor Husén on the theme "Selective and Comprehensive Education."

are by definition correlated) has been rather severe. But there is a marked tendency to establish greater flexibility and to postpone definitive selection by introducing an orientation period (*cycle d'orientation*). In this respect the newly published *Strukturplan* of the *Deutscher Bildungsrat* is of great interest; it explicitly speaks of an "orientation phase".¹⁾

Other types of selectivity also vary greatly. Grade-repeating during compulsory schooling, and particularly in the elementary school, is almost non-existent in some countries. Promotion from one grade to another takes place on the basis of chronological age. In other systems considerable grade-repeating already takes place after the first year in the elementary school.²⁾

The purpose of this introductory note is not to "solve" the problem of comprehensive-versus-selective schooling, nor even to present a many-sided descriptive picture. The main purpose is to make a contribution to clarifying the issue, and above all to stress that we are here dealing with what is not primarily a pedagogic problem, but a sociopolitico-economic one.

What are, then, the main forces behind the change from a selective to a more comprehensive school structure in most Western European countries? They can, it seems to me, be categorized under the following three main headings:

1) An *increased standard of living* and improved public welfare for the individual is conducive to an increased individual demand for education. This increase in consumption is sometimes referred to as "social demand" for education.³⁾ Sweden is a case in point. Paulston shows in his study of the Swedish School Reform that after reforms which aimed at establishing social welfare and full employment had been introduced and implemented, the reform of the structure of the educational system came to the forefront.⁴⁾

2) *Democratization*, particularly of secondary and higher education, with the aim of broadening opportunities and opening up educational careers, especially for talented students from lower-class homes. "Equality of opportunity" has become one of the catch phrases behind the attempts to reshape the structure of the educational system by removing geographic, economic and psychological barriers which keep children from "under-privileged" homes from access to education at a high level. The demand for equality does, however, not imply identity in treatment or levelling out. The *Deutscher Bildungsrat* in its recommendations indicates: "The task is rather to equalize the opportunity early and to differentiate the offerings of the educational system later in order to promote the abilities and interests of the young people and to see to it that further education gives the corresponding offering."⁵⁾

The traditional conception of "equality of opportunity" has been that geographic and economic barriers should be removed or reduced in order to give all children, irrespective of social background, the same chance to compete in climbing the educational (and social) ladder. As I have pointed out in another connection,⁶⁾ those framing the school policy of the Swedish labor party during the 1920's and 1930's were even ready to accept tacitly an élitist or highly selective educational system, provided support in such forms as stipends or removal of tuition fees should be given to lower class students. Under the impact of research findings by both educational sociologists and developmental psychologists, the concept of "equality of opportunity" has recently had to be thoroughly revised. Previously, equality was felt to have its starting point with the inherited, once and for all given, ability to absorb school learning. Varying "natural capacities" had from birth been bestowed upon different individuals, and thus the policy was to give every citizen an education that brought him to the limit of his capacities. Society had only to see to it that material circumstances did not prevent the individual from "applying" his God-given, unchangeable talent. Once he had been admitted to a course the blame for failing it lay primarily with him and not with the system. During the last decade we have become aware of the tremendous but subtle influence exerted by the home environment in providing the child with learning tools, increasing his vocabulary, interacting with him in order to train him to carry out tasks by himself, and influencing his ambition and motivation. "Ability to learn" is to a large extent acquired at home during pre-school age. The reason why lower class children fail at school to such a great extent in comparison with middle or upper class children is chiefly their relative lack of certain skills which are basic prerequisites for success in school learning. In France, for instance, grade-repeating at the beginning of elementary school is much more frequent during the early stage of the *primaire* among children with working class background than among the rest.⁷⁾

Thus, the task of the school and of society at large could not be confined to providing a merely formal equality in material terms, by giving everybody (for instance) free access to the same primary education provided in school with uniform standards. In addition, it is up to these agents to provide every child with the ability he requires in order to profit in an optimal way from the education offered by the system. This means that the school should have to provide compensatory education for those with environmental handicaps. This applies particularly to the pre-school age. Intellectual differentiation as measured by traditional so-called

intelligence tests (and expressed by IQ's) chiefly takes place before children enter elementary school.⁸⁾

Educational sociologists have made us aware of the fact that selective measures of all kinds, grade-repeating and drop-out are correlated with social background. According to the traditional philosophy of "equality of opportunity" everyone should have the same chance to compete on the basis of his native ability. One's socio-economic handicaps have to be compensated for by material support in terms of free places or stipends. But what is meant by "ability"? The criteria used could be placed in one of three categories: test scores (on intelligence and/or achievement tests), school marks, and examinations (whether final or entrance examinations). All these criteria are to a varying degree correlated with social background variables, such as parental education and socio-economic status. Thus, selection *as such* means that there is a tendency, sometimes weak but sometimes quite strong, to give precedence to pupils with more favorable home background. Floud and Halsey,⁹⁾ when studying the effect of "democratization" of grammar school selection in England, as supposedly achieved by the 1944 Education Act, found that when all grammar school places were thrown open to those who did well on the eleven-plus examination the proportion of working class children decreased, whereas the proportion of middle class children increased. Previously, when fees had to be paid, a certain number of free places were kept open for children from lower class homes.

The earlier the selection takes place, the more strongly the social factors operate. The child of 10 to 12 could not reasonably be expected to be involved in his future educational and occupational career to the same extent as a young person of 15 or 16. Therefore, as was shown in the mathematics survey by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), in systems where selection for academic secondary education takes place at an early age the social class structure of the enrollment differs much more markedly from the social composition of the general population than in countries where transfer takes place late or where the system throughout the entire mandatory school age is comprehensive, that is, provides all children in a certain area all kinds of education under the same roof.¹⁰⁾

3) The so-called *educational explosion* has to be regarded as an indication both of the rapidly growing need for trained manpower and of an increasing "educational consumption." These forces, however, conflict with a school organization and curriculum designed for an economy which is static and a society with a rather rigid social structure. The problem could briefly be described as follows.

Until recently both the occupational status structure and the social system in many European countries could be symbolized with a pyramid.¹¹⁾ At the bottom of the pyramid there was a mass of unskilled or semi-skilled manual workers. Most of them had a very modest formal education given by the compulsory elementary school, which until recently has varied from six to eight or nine years. The next level mainly consisted of white collar workers, such as clerical and sales workers, supervisors in industry, and nurses. The formal education required in most cases exceeded elementary school by a few years and was usually some kind of middle school with graduation at 15 or 16, which did not qualify for university entrance. The middle schools were either separate establishments or consisted of the lower section of the pre-university, academic school. At the top of the pyramid we find a small percentage of the age group which has graduated from the pre-university school and the university. Persons with these qualifications make up the professional group.

In contrast, status structure of the occupational universe in economically highly developed countries increasingly takes the shape of an egg. At the bottom of the status hierarchy there is a diminishing number of occupations that require a modest formal schooling and vocational training over a considerable time. In the middle there is an increasing number of occupations requiring formal education extended to the age of 16-18 and a specialized vocational training. At the top the number of persons with higher education and professional occupations rapidly increases.

It has repeatedly been emphasized that a reorganization of school structure ought to be based on adequate information. Adherents of the bipartite system and those who favor an unselective school all endorse the statement that before policy-makers decide to "go comprehensive" or not they should have evidence showing that this means an improvement or impairment. A problem which is seldom explicitly raised is that different opinions exist regarding the criteria to be chosen as indicators of adequacy or efficiency of the systems. Those who are in favor of a parallel, bipartite system tend to measure the quality of the end-products of the system, whereas those in favor of a unified, comprehensive system tend to consider the quality of education given to all those who enter the system. But if agreement on only *one* of these two main criteria could be reached, there would still be difficulties in reaching a consensus about the specific criteria to be employed in assessing the attainments of the individual pupils. What emphasis should be put on learning hard facts as compared to skills? How should accumulated knowledge be weighed in comparison with the ability to learn new things? How important should be "non-cognitive" objectives, such as independence, ability to cooperate or to take

responsibility? Those who prefer a bipartite system tend to value skills and affective objectives less highly than do those who favor a comprehensive system.

Thus, the comprehensive-versus-selective school issue gives us another illustration of a problem pointed out by Gunnar Myrdal in the 1930's and recently taken up by him again: the place of implicit values in the social sciences.¹²⁾ It would take us too far to spell out the problem further at this point. Suffice it to say that the social researcher is guided by his own value preferences not only in choosing the problems he sets out to investigate, but also in selecting the variables which seem to him to be relevant and – last not least – in interpreting his findings. This, however, does not mean that researchers could become dependent upon their different value premises to the extent that they would operate in perfect solipsistic isolation from each other. Such a view would in this particular case imply that the researcher with a selective bias would consistently end up with facts favoring an élitist system, whereas the comprehensively biased researcher would only produce evidence supporting a comprehensive system. Consensus can be reached by defining carefully certain circumscribed problems which lend themselves to investigations which can be interpreted uniformly and independently of the value premises. For instance: in terms of scores on standardized achievement tests, in which of the two systems do the pupils on the average score higher? Is it possible in a comprehensive system to bring the top five per cent students within an age cohort to the same level of performance as in a selective system?

When the Swedish School Commission submitted its main report to the Government in 1948 and suggested a nine-year comprehensive school to replace all other school types covering the period of compulsory schooling, its recommendations were to some extent based upon commissioned studies on the development of ability structures in school children.¹³⁾ Everybody who took part in the debate, pro or con, was convinced that scholastic aptitude was mainly inherited and that the ability to profit from academic programs could be assessed at the age of 11 or 12. But the Commission rejected selection for the academic, grammar school type of program at that early age chiefly because this would deprive the other programs of their "proper share" of talent. Furthermore, the aptitudes for many of the more "practical" occupations seemed to "mature" later than those for theoretical pursuits. Unfortunately, both those who were in favor of late differentiation and those against it confused diagnosis with prognosis.¹⁴⁾ It is one thing to measure the *actual* ability (for instance the verbal proficiency) of the child, which certainly can be done rather ac-

curately; it is quite another to use the score as a predictive index. Good measures of home environment predict success in the secondary academic school better than IQ and similar indices do. But so far nobody has suggested (or dared to suggest) that social background should be used when selecting children for grammar school!

The main pedagogical issue, as can for instance be seen from the two "Black Papers"¹⁵) prepared by a group of anti-comprehensive persons in England, is to what extent the comprehensive system is "lowering standards". To come to grips with this problem one of course has to define what is meant by "standard". There is much to be said for defining it by the formula "how many are brought how far?" A comparative evaluation of comprehensive and selective systems would be incomplete if limited to the end-products of both systems, mainly because the price paid for the quality of the end-products is not taken into consideration. There is, for instance, no point in comparing the average performance of high school graduates in the United States or Japan with those who sit for the *baccalauréat* in France, because the former consist of the majority of an age cohort, whereas the latter are a clear minority. A much more interesting comparison is the one between the entire top five or ten per cent of the total age cohort in the two systems.¹⁶)

Another important pedagogical problem is whether it is possible to teach children of varying ability within the same classroom. Here it should be taken into account that scholastic ability is by no means a homogeneous entity and that homogeneity cannot be achieved in all subject areas in the same instructional group.¹⁷)

The issue whether a school system (local or national) should "go comprehensive" or not, cannot, as I have tried to show in the presentation above, be settled on the basis of purely pedagogical considerations only. Nor can it be settled by drawing mainly upon psychological evidence. Educators are wrong to feel that, because the issue is basically an educational one, it should be decided upon by educators themselves and that bodies such as national parliaments and governments are meddling when they decide the structure of a school system. Education does not operate in a socio-economic vacuum; it is today more than ever a vital part of the socio-economic fabric. Education is too important to society to be shaped chiefly on the basis of pedagogical considerations.

NOTES

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COMPREHENSIVE VERSUS SELECTIVE EDUCATION: THE NEW EQUALITY

by A. HARRY PASSOW, New York

In his foreword to Conant's first report, *The American High School Today* John Gardner described the comprehensive high school as "a peculiarly American phenomenon" responsible for "providing good and appropriate education, both academic and vocational, for all young people within a democratic environment which the American people believe serves the principles they cherish."¹)

Contrasting what he called "the European idea of separate selective academic high schools" with the American elective system, Conant observed that the ends toward which the comprehensive high school strived were to provide "a general education for all future citizens on the basis of a common [democratic understanding; and it seeks to provide in its elective offerings excellent instruction in academic fields and rewarding first-class instruction." These ends, Conant reminded his readers, were not easily achieved but, despite the difficulties and criticism, "the comprehensive high school remains characteristic today of American public secondary education."²)

In the sense that "it offers, under one administration and under one roof (or series of roofs), secondary education for almost all of the high school age children of one town or neighborhood,"³) Conant's generalization is true. However, there are exceptions to the notion of "comprehensiveness", both *de jure* and *de facto*. A few large cities – notably New York City with schools such as the Bronx High School of Science, Stuyvesant High School, and Brooklyn Technical High School – operate selective, specialized secondary high schools. Most large cities have separate vocational-technical schools and, where smaller school districts are unable to support adequate programs, regional and area vocational-technical high schools have been developed which select their student populations. In some school systems, highly specialized, special purpose programs have been centered in one comprehensive school with students selected from the entire city for such programs. Of course, the independent and parochial schools all have various admission restrictions and apply selection procedures. Although declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1954, schools which are segregated on the basis of race are still attended by large numbers of Negro pupils – sometimes because affirmative action to desegregate has not been taken and sometimes due to *de facto* segregation stemming from residential patterns. In addition, large numbers of American

Indians and Eskimoes are enrolled in government-supported boarding schools which are restricted as to who may attend.

While Conant and many others set forth the issue of comprehensive vs. selective education in terms of the typical American high school compared with a selective European secondary school (e.g., the British grammar school, the French *lycée*, or the German *Gymnasium*), selection is found in many forms in the so-called comprehensive American school. Over the years, although the comprehensive high school has become the typical secondary institution and, in the view of some, "the institution best qualified to meet the challenging demands of our modern society and the educational needs of a rapidly increasing youth population,"⁴) clearly so many – practices have become so widespread that selectivity sometimes subtle and covert, but more often open and manifest – is a common phenomenon within the comprehensive school.

Talent and Manpower in the 1950's

Manpower shortages and criticisms of educational programs poured forth in the 1950's in what became yet another "great reappraisal of American education," reaching a crescendo with the launching of the Russian Sputnik in October 1957. Secondary schools were pictured as wastelands for young talent, provisions for the academically gifted were depicted as inadequate, and the presumed lack of selectivity was condemned. Education for all, it was proclaimed, was education for none!

During this period the chief focus of much debate was the academically gifted student; his educational development was linked to the question of national survival and occupied the attention of governments and lay groups as well as school officials. The criticisms of the secondary schools were summarized as follows:

... by draining educational programs of depth and challenge, by equating education with training, by emphasizing quantity rather than quality, by teaching to what has been characterized as "the colorless mean," the comprehensive high school has neglected the gifted student. It has failed to meet its special obligation to this segment of American youth.⁵)

A spate of instructional and administrative provisions were initiated by secondary schools to upgrade the quality of education. Various programs were undertaken to provide differentiated education for the gifted, including grouping on the basis of ability, aptitude, interest, or motivation in order to facilitate acceleration and/or enrichment of instruction. Curriculum revision was undertaken in all academic subject areas, much of it aimed at the more academically talented students, emphasizing concepts, understandings and skills. Despite increased attention to instructional

differentiation and the needs of the gifted, there were calls for either abandoning the idea of the comprehensive high school or modifying it quite drastically. Critics such as Admiral Hyman Rickover argued:

If the school cannot develop its pupil's intellectual powers to their highest potential because studies cannot be done when children differing widely in mental age are kept together, it follows that the only *possible* solution is to abandon comprehensive schooling at the point when these differences become unmanageable – about age 11–12. Otherwise, *no* pupil gets an intellectually challenging education.⁶⁾

Rickover urged educators to recognize the absolute necessity of ability grouping and proposed the establishment of a number of separate, highly selective secondary schools across the nation, modelled after the Bronx High School of Science, and providing for boarding where needed. Although the number of selective schools did not increase, adaptations and provisions for the gifted did multiply and educators attempted to differentiate instruction through special classes and programs within the framework of the comprehensive secondary school. Some programs became institutionalized – the Advanced Placement Program, for example. Educational experiences were provided at an earlier stage than usual or in less time – i.e., accelerated. New courses such as computer technology, electronics, anthropology, and marine biology were introduced, and opportunities were provided for study in greater depth and breadth – i.e., enrichment. Seminars and colloquia were developed and opportunities for independent study and research increased. Institutions of higher education, museums, and industries developed programs jointly with secondary schools. Ability grouping became widespread again both at the elementary and secondary levels. In summary, the comprehensive high school survived and, in some instances, even thrived on the pressures placed on it in the post-Sputnik period.

Civil Rights, the Disadvantaged and Selectivity

In the 1960's, the drive for extension of civil rights and the so-called "war on poverty" opened anew issues regarding the nature and extent of selection in American education and, once again, raised the question as to whether the high schools were up to "the weighty task of giving life to the great ideal of educational opportunity for the varied children of a heterogeneous people."⁷⁾ A President's Panel on Education Research and Development concluded: "By all known criteria, the majority of urban and rural slum schools are failures." The panel made its judgment on the basis of severe scholastic retardation which progressively worsens as the children grow older, a dropout rate which is greater than 50 percent,

lower than 5 percent subsequent enrollment in some form of higher education, deteriorating IQ scores, and a distressing picture of adolescents leaving schools "ill prepared to lead a satisfying, useful life or to participate successfully in the community."⁸) Clearly, for large numbers of children, schools were not providing equal and appropriate educational opportunities.

The concerns with school segregation, the disadvantaged, and the deteriorating patterns of scholastic achievement of minority group and lower class children have drawn attention to selection procedures and the consequences of such actions which, while more subtle and even sub-conscious in some instances, have results not unlike England's selection at age eleven plus. Segregation, whether *de jure* or *de facto*, produces racial and socio-economic isolation. Teacher and guidance counselor expectations may well contribute to lowered achievement and aspirations. Ineffective and inappropriate vocational education programs may contribute to dead end jobs and under-employment. In short, critics of the comprehensive high school today are arguing that simply opening the doors to the building to all youth in the area or the neighborhood does not and will not insure equality of educational opportunity. As John Fischer observed: "assuring the Negro his proper place in American society involves more than opening a few doors, giving everybody his choice, and waiting for what is certain to come naturally."⁹)

In its 1954 decision declaring that governmentally enforced school segregation was unconstitutional ("Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal"), the US Supreme Court observed of education:

Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education.¹⁰)

A dozen years later, the U.S. Office of Education's large-scale nationwide study titled *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (perhaps better known as the "Coleman Report" after the name of the senior researcher) found that "the great majority of American children attend schools that are largely segregated - that is, where almost all of their fellow students are of the same racial background as they are."¹¹) As might be expected, racial concentration and, therefore, racial isolation is most severe in the central cities, where more than three-fourths of all Negro students are in schools which are nearly all-Negro and four-fifths of all white students are in schools which are nearly all-white. The Coleman survey found that the serious discrepancies in scholastic achievement between Negro and white

students had persisted and even widened. And, despite improvement in absolute terms, "the persistence of disparities in educational attainment has been accompanied by continuing even widening social and economic disparities between Negro and white Americans."¹²) Even within the Negro population, as within the white population, the gap separating the poor from the relatively affluent grew ever wider. As the Commission on Civil Rights observed: "The closer the promise of equality seems to come, the further it slips away."

The Coleman survey found that the relative academic achievement of Negro and white students changed between entrance to school and leaving. By the time the twelfth grade is reached, for those who are still in school (proportionately more Negroes than whites will have dropped out), the average white student achieves at or slightly below the twelfth grade level while the average Negro student performs below the ninth grade level. Thus, as the Commission on Civil Rights points out: "years of school completed has an entirely different meaning for Negroes and whites."¹²) A student who stays in high school will not necessarily be provided with education appropriate to his needs. Some observers differentiate between the "psychological dropout" who continues to attend school, usually irregularly, and the "physical dropout" who actually leaves school.

The Office of Education survey found that there were some differences in educational facilities attended predominantly by Negroes, compared with those attended mainly by white students, although the inequalities were fewer than expected. The discrepancies which did exist were essentially qualitative rather than quantitative - e.g., predominantly white schools tended to have better equipped science laboratories and better stocked libraries as well as generally newer facilities.

More significant differences were found in the educational offerings - both qualitatively and quantitatively. White schools tended to offer richer programs with more advanced courses in science and foreign languages. While there were no major differences in the number of years of preparation of Negro and white teachers, the nature of the teacher education programs differed, with more teachers of white students "majoring" in academic subjects such as science and mathematics, languages and literature. Teachers' attitudes differed considerably with teachers in inner-city, racially isolated schools preferring not to remain there.

The Coleman findings add to data already available on the impact of social class composition on student performance and aspiration, on the educational outcomes of schools. Wilson maintains that the "utilization of educational opportunities follows, to a large degree, the lines of the stratification system of the society."¹⁴) Even when parental education and

occupation are held constant, the academic performance and educational aspirations of secondary school students are affected by the general socioeconomic level of the student body. Wilson's study of the homogenizing effect of segregation and of social stratification on academic achievement and college-going aspirations of students in 13 high schools, led him to conclude that the consequences are as detrimental as racial segregation. He concludes:

The *de facto* segregation brought about by concentrations of social classes in cities results in schools with unequal moral climates which likewise affect the motivation of the child, not necessarily by inculcating a sense of inferiority, but rather by providing a different method in which to perceive values.¹⁵⁾

The significance of the environment created by the social class composition of the student body has been described by Charles Pinderhughes as follows:

... What the pupils are learning from one another is probably just as important as what they are learning from the teachers. This is what I refer to as the hidden curriculum. It involves such things as how to think about themselves, how to think about other people, and how to get along with them. It involves such things as values, codes, and styles of behavior...¹⁶⁾

Coleman found that the student's sense of "fate control" – the conviction that he can control the direction of his own life – was one of the most sensitive indicators of academic achievement, especially for Negro youth. Subsequent analyses of Coleman's data suggest that the feelings of lack of fate control or of powerlessness may be related to the social class composition of the student body. The interaction of students in a largely lower socio-economic class student body may well multiply and intensify the feelings of powerlessness over one's own destiny which is related to individual academic performance. Wilson found differential influences between white and Negro students, however: "The family has much more influence on the achievement of white students than Negro students; the latter are more sensitive to variation in school milieu."¹⁷⁾

The relationship between an individual's performance and aspirations and the standards set by the student's peers is a complicated one. By its determination of attendance zones and its location of schools, the board of education and/or school administration affects the social class and racial composition of student bodies. The social class composition of the school (as well as the racial make up, which is usually related) is, according to the Coleman Report, probably the single most important factor affecting the academic performance and student attitudes. The report observes that "the inequalities imposed on children by their home, neighborhood and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they

confront adult life at the end of the school."¹⁸) Thus, while a secondary school may be comprehensive in the sense that it serves all the youth in an area or neighborhood, the homogenizing effects may well contribute to inequalities in educational opportunities.

Ability Grouping and Tracking: A New Focus

Grouping of students for instructional purposes is widespread, a standard part of most school programs. As elsewhere, there are many variations ranging from special schools to special classes or sections. The basis for grouping and the criteria for selection vary considerably and may include intelligence, achievement, interest, special aptitude, motivation, or vocational plans. The most common forms are referred to as *homogeneous groups* or *tracks*. Despite more than 50 years of research and experience, ability grouping continues to be controversial both in the United States and Western Europe. The arguments *pro* and *con* have generally been based on philosophical, psychological, and educational grounds – whether the practice was democratic, what the intra- and interpersonal stresses on students were, whether achievement was enhanced, how class manageability was affected, etc. For a variety of reasons, the considerable research which has been reported provides very divergent findings. In fact, “as the number of grouping studies grows, the inconclusiveness of the research findings becomes more apparent, with each reviewer couching his summary in tentative or equivocal fashion.”¹⁹) Until recently, few studies have considered race or socio-economic status as selection criteria or design variables even though the grounds on which grouping policies in Europe and the United States are most commonly based, Alfred Yates found, were: “geographical location; age; sex; religious denomination; race; language; socio-economic status; special needs or handicaps; ability and attainments.”²⁰) In recent years, ability grouping and tracking practices have come increasingly under fire, in the courts of law as well as educational and political arenas.

The pros and cons have been voiced frequently. Supporters of grouping practices maintain that when the purposes are clearly understood and the selection criteria are applied in terms of these purposes, teachers can plan activities for a narrower range of differences and individual needs of students can be met more effectively. Proponents argue that students can work at a level and a rate commensurate with their ability and motivation and, as a consequence, develop more realistic concepts of their own strengths and weaknesses by “competing” with peers of like potential. Finally, it is argued that teachers can be especially trained to work with

special groups and more appropriate resources and learning activities can be arranged. Surveys indicate that a good many teachers and administrators support these views and that they have become part of education's conventional wisdom.

Those who oppose ability grouping argue that special provisions are inherently undemocratic in that they do not provide equal opportunity, tending to produce excessive and unfair competition, undue pressures and heavy demands on some students, while lowering motivation and aspiration for others. Critics argue further that the interaction of students with diverse characteristics is curtailed and detrimental effects on effort, aspirations, and quality of learning for all students result. Kenneth Clark has observed: "Probably the chief argument against homogeneous groupings is the fact that children so segregated lose their individuality in the education situation... Homogeneous groupings tend to require that children be seen in terms of group characteristics rather than in terms of their own individual characteristics."²¹

These arguments for and against ability grouping are the traditional ones, frequently found embellished in the professional literature and in popular journals. The new focus on ability grouping and tracking, however, is on the implications of racial balance and socio-economic mix for school organization, both inter-school and intra-school.

In the 1954 US Supreme Court decision (*Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*), testimony from psychologists, among others, contributed to the declaration that *de jure* segregated dual school systems sanctioned by law were unconstitutional. In its majority opinion, the Court declared: "To separate them [Negro children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generated a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."²² Thus, although Southern school systems have moved with something less than "deliberate speed" to desegregate, state law can no longer sanction assignment of children to schools on the basis of race alone.

The consequences of *de facto* segregation – i.e., segregation not officially sanctioned by law but usually due to residential or school boundary patterns – are now being examined and tested in the courts. Evidence suggests that the impact on achievement and aspirations is no different whether the desegregation is *de facto* or *de jure*. Lower courts have considered the evidence in several cases now and found both for and against the plaintiffs. The issue tends not to be whether such segregation has adverse affects on pupils (most courts seem to accept that it does) but rather whether or not the state and/or the local school systems have an

obligation to take "affirmative action" to eliminate such selection and assignment practices.

The argument is now being made that ability grouping and more particularly tracking programs are simply a means of making respectable the procedures whereby pupils from racial or ethnic minority groups and from lower socio-economic groups are relegated to the "slower" or "non-academic" programs and provided with an education basically inferior in quality. Observers of racially and socio-economically mixed schools frequently find that ability grouping and tracking are the means by which pupils are, in effect, re-segregated within the school after some kind of desegregation between schools has taken place.

A major challenge to the track system, as practiced in the Washington, D.C. schools (four tracks, selection criteria uniform for the District as a whole, a major portion of the curriculum delineated, and course requirements uniformly set) was made in the case of *Hobson vs. Hansen and the Board of Education of the District of Columbia*. The court concluded that the track system deprived the poor and mostly Negro children of their constitutional right to equal educational opportunities, resulting in inferior education for many students, compared with that provided in the higher tracks. The judge ruled that "with respect to the track system [it] simply must be abolished." Even in concept, he found the track system "undemocratic and discriminatory... designed to prepare some children for white-collar and other children for blue-collar jobs." Concerned with the selection procedures used in allocating pupils to various tracks, he observed: "Considering the tests used to determine which children should receive the blue-collar special, and which the white, the danger of children completing their education wearing the wrong collar is far too great for this democracy to tolerate." The court also found that the neighborhood school policy, whatever its social values might be under some circumstances, contributed to *de facto* segregation in cities like Washington and resulted in injury to poor and Negro children.²³⁾

Judge Wright's decision was upheld in the US Court of Appeals, although modified and restrained to some extent. For instance, the Appeals Court upheld the order to abolish the track system (which the Board of Education had already done in the intervening period) but noted that the lower court ruling recognized "the realistic and understandable concerns of the parents that there be adequate scope for ability groupings in the administration of the school system" and the "decree enjoining the 'track system' does not interpose any realistic barrier to flexible school administration by a school board genuinely committed to attainment of more quality and equality of educational opportunity."²⁴⁾ The Wright decision,

having been sustained on appeal, raises serious legal questions about the use of grouping procedures which, by intent or otherwise, discriminate and provide inferior quality education to some pupils.

Another aspect of the sorting-out process found in comprehensive schools is the existence of different curricula or programs – a tracking which may or may not be flexible. For example, like many other school systems, New York City makes available several kinds of program sequences leading to different kinds of diplomas upon graduation – e.g., general, academic, commercial, and vocational. It is the “academic diploma” which is awarded at the completion of a college preparatory program. In 1966, in the ten New York high schools with the largest concentrations of Negro and Puerto Rican students, of those who completed high school (more than half had dropped out prior to graduation), only 16 percent earned academic diplomas. The majority of the others were in the so-called “general curriculum” which provided neither college preparation nor vocational education. Students were counselled into such programs (or guided away from college preparatory and vocational programs) because they were academically retarded or perceived as “high risk” on entry or, as has been charged by various groups, simply because they were of the wrong color and social class. Since the high school has traditionally served as the gate to higher education, the fact that so relatively few disadvantaged youth go on to post-secondary programs has led to planning of special programs involving more such students in college preparation and to demands for “open enrollment” in publicly supported colleges and universities.

Whatever label is used to describe tracks or programs or curricula in secondary schools, racial and ethnic minority group students and those from lower socio-economic classes are found in disproportionate numbers in the non-academic, non-collegiate, terminal courses. Kenneth Clark points out that we have assumed “that children from working class cultures... need not only a different approach in the educational process but a different type of education from that provided for children from middle-class families.” One of the consequences of this assumption when implemented, he argues, is that it “makes public schools and public education not instruments in facilitating social mobility, but very effective instruments in widening socio-economic and racial cleavages in our society and in imposing class and caste rigidities.”²⁵)

The view of self-fulfilling prophesising by teachers, administrators, and counselors involved in selection, assignment and teaching of pupils is supported by some data. For instance, Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson found that teacher expectancies had definite consequences for

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students' performances, although the processes operating were not altogether clear. Their study examined the question of whether children of whom greater intellectual growth is expected will show greater growth than a matched group of pupils for whom not as much is expected.²⁶⁾ J. W. B. Douglas' study of the effects of streaming in English primary schools found that the process reinforced social selection:

Children who come from well-kept homes and who are themselves clean, well clothed and shod, stand a greater chance of being put in upper streams than their measured ability would seem to justify. Once there they are likely to stay and to improve performance in succeeding years. This is in striking contrast to the deterioration noticed in those children of similar initial measured ability who were placed in lower streams. In this way the validity of the initial selection appears to be confirmed by the subsequent performance of the child, and an element of rigidity is introduced early into the primary school system.²⁷

Even traditional vocational programs found either in separate schools or in separate programs within the comprehensive school serve relatively few students and, in many instances, serve them only questionably. Disadvantaged youth are often barred from vocational programs, whatever their quality, by academic prerequisites which many are unable to meet. Some critics of vocational education – whether in vocational or comprehensive schools – have urged that schools undertake manpower training and career preparation programs for all their students. Marvin Feldman, for example, proposes that “a truly comprehensive school would be one that orchestrates the best learning processes of an academic high school and a vocational high school for the entire student body based on individual programming.”²⁸⁾

The failure of comprehensive schools to provide for large numbers of disadvantaged students has resulted in the development of “alternatives”, some of which are publicly supported while others are privately financed. Under legislation such as the Economic Opportunity Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, and Titles I and III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, a number of parallel programs have been initiated, aimed at dropouts or at the prevention of dropouts. The Job Corps, for instance, provided both basic and vocational education to some 36,448 youth in 121 residential training centers during the school year 1965–66. (Edward Meade has asked: “If the Job Corps can succeed with youngsters who have been turned out by the schools, what does this say for the traditional school program and its relevance to this kind of youngster?”)²⁹⁾ The MDTA provides a national job skill training program together with basic education for about a quarter of a million out-of-school youth and adults annually. Another kind of parallel program

is found in the so-called "Street Academies" operating in ghetto storefronts. Limited to dropouts and school failures and designed to provide face-to-face instruction and ego-building, the academies provide a different form of schooling from that found in public secondary schools. In New York City, the "graduates" of the Street Academies constitute one of the pools from which a small number are selected for Harlem Prep – an unorthodox college preparatory school for school dropouts and failures. Finally, independent schools are being started as part of the "separatist" movements by some minority groups which have either despaired of comprehensive schools serving their youth, or have given up on integration taking place, or have become convinced that such schools are needed to achieve the particular goals they have set.

In Conclusion

Americans have long prided themselves on the comprehensiveness of their schools and their efforts to provide equality of educational opportunity for all. They have pointed to the inclusiveness of secondary and higher education in contrast to what many perceive as "elitist European selective systems." From time to time, however, they are forced to raise questions as to how effective such schools have been in providing adequate and appropriate education for all who enter.

The concern for the disadvantaged groups has laid bare a school system which continues to serve a massive sorting-out function whereby some youths are enabled to join society's mainstream while others continue in poverty and isolation. Arguments continue over strategies for attaining "quality education for all" and probing questions are raised as to whether America really intends to provide for all. There are those who maintain that what is needed is a complete reevaluation and restructuring of the school – the relevance of its curriculum, its functioning as a socializing institution, the services it provides, and the validity of its roles and relationships to other agencies. Certainly events of the past decade have increased our understanding of the relationships between education and a variety of social, psychological, and political factors in the classroom, the schools, the family, the community, and society at large. The idea of equality of educational opportunity meaning simply an "open door to a school and a seat for every student" has proved unacceptable and has had to be discarded. The civil rights movement and the war on poverty have brought out for critical examination the functioning of a comprehensive school system which consciously or sub-consciously, intentionally or otherwise, has sorted out its students for various levels of society by the kinds of programs and experiences provided. It has forced a reexamination

of the values and goals of public education to determine how these processes and strategies affect opportunities for nurturing individual potential.

The simplistic issue of "homogeneous vs. heterogeneous grouping" has become obsolete and irrelevant. Instead, the questions which now need asking deal with the clarification of goals, diagnosis of individual differences, flexible organization, optimum conditions for learning, use of resources and personnel – all of which will open doors of learning and increase opportunities for student involvement and commitment. The "new" equality of educational opportunity is not simply equality of programs, services and resources. It brings educators back full circle to the quest for individualization and differentiation. It aims at making it possible for students to take advantage of educational opportunities even if it means providing unequal compensatory programs in order to enable them to participate fully.

As other countries move toward more comprehensive structures and toward fuller participation in secondary education, the problems which have been described in American comprehensive schools appear there as well. For instance, England has become increasingly concerned with the educational provisions for its working class youth, its immigrant children and its nonwhites. Israel, almost from its inception as a state, has been concerned with the special problems of integration and talent development of its immigrant and so-called "Oriental" populations.

Schools always serve a selective function but the basis on which this sorting takes place can vary: they can serve to select and sort, placing barriers in growth and mobility for some while encouraging and aiding others or they can provide the means for opening doors to opportunities for all. Clearly, it is the second function which comprehensive schools must serve. Programs must be assessed on the basis of how well these ends are achieved for all students from all backgrounds. This is the challenge and the promise of the comprehensive high school – one which is yet to be achieved.

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GESAMTSCHULE ODER SELEKTIV-SCHULE: DIE NEUE GLEICHBERECHTIGUNG

von A. HARRY PASSOW, New York

Viele Wissenschaftler fahren damit fort, die alle Schüler umfassende Gesamtschule (*comprehensive school*) in der Weise mit der Selektiv-Schule zu vergleichen, daß sie die typische amerikanische *high school* der selektiven europäischen Oberschule gegenüberstellen. Es bestehen jedoch auch in der sogenannten amerikanischen

Gesamtschule (*comprehensive school*) viele Formen der Selektion. Im Laufe der Jahre sind die verschiedensten Verfahren praktiziert worden, sodaß Selektivität – manchmal subtil und verborgen, häufiger jedoch offen zutage tretend – als ganz allgemeines Phänomen innerhalb der Gesamtschule zu finden ist.

Auf dem Höhepunkt einer in den fünfziger Jahren stattgefundenen Neubewertung des amerikanischen Erziehungswesens wurden die Pädagogen von den Kritikern nachdrücklich aufgefordert, die Notwendigkeit einer Gruppierung nach den Fähigkeiten der Schüler anzuerkennen. Es wurde vorgeschlagen, gesonderte selektive Oberschulen für die begabteren Schüler einzurichten. Die Zahl der Selektiv-Schulen wuchs zwar nicht wesentlich, aber für die Begabten wurde ein vielfaches Bildungsangebot geschaffen, wobei die Erziehungsexperten versuchten, im Rahmen der Gesamtschule durch Spezial-Kurse und -Programme eine Differenzierung des Unterrichts zu erreichen. Durch die in den sechziger Jahren stattgefundenen politischen Bemühungen um eine Ausweitung der Bürgerrechte und den sogenannten "Krieg gegen die Armut" wurden im amerikanischen Erziehungswesen erneut die Fragen nach Art und Umfang der Selektion aufgeworfen. Durch das Problem der Rassentrennung in der Schule und der sozial Benachteiligten sowie infolge niedriger Schulleistungen bei Kindern aus den Unterschichten und Minoritätsgruppen ist die Aufmerksamkeit sowohl auf die verschiedensten, kaum wahrnehmbaren und unbewußt stattfindenden Selektionsmethoden als auch auf die offen zutage tretenden gelenkt worden. Eine umfangreiche Untersuchung über "*Equality of Educational Opportunity*" (Gleichheit der Bildungschancen) kam zu dem Ergebnis, daß die durch Elternhaus und Milieu verursachten Unterschiede nicht beseitigt werden können und zu Benachteiligungen führen müssen, denen die Kinder auch nach Beendigung ihrer Schulzeit ausgeliefert sind. Daraufhin wurde das auf Leistung und anderen Selektionsmethoden basierende System selbst, das schon immer kontrovers war, angegriffen als ein Mittel, das dazu dient, Schüler aus rassischen oder ethnischen Minoritätsgruppen und sozial schwachen Familien auf einen Bildungsweg "zweiter Kategorie" zu verbannen. Welcher Ansicht man auch sein mag: Kindern aus sozial schwachem Elternhaus und aus Minoritätsgruppen bleiben immer in einem disproportionalen Verhältnis solche Bildungseinrichtungen vorbehalten, die weder zu einem akademischen noch sonst weiterführenden Abschluß führen.

Aus diesem Bemühen um die benachteiligten Gruppen hat sich ein Schulsystem entwickelt, das in massiver Weise mit der Auslese fortfährt. Hierdurch wird einigen Schülern die Eingliederung in die allgemeine Gesellschaft ermöglicht, während die anderen ihr Leben in Armut und Isolierung fortsetzen. Schulen dienen immer der Selektion: entweder sie wählen aus und gruppieren, indem sie Hindernisse für die Entwicklung und Mobilität der einen schaffen und die anderen fördern und unterstützen, oder sie sorgen dafür, daß die Bildungsmöglichkeiten für alle offen und erreichbar sind. Ohne Zweifel ist die letztere Funktion diejenige, die eine Gesamtschule erfüllen sollte. Das ist das Anliegen und die Herausforderung einer Gesamtschule – ein Ziel, zu dessen Erreichung noch viel zu tun bleibt.

EDUCATION POLYVALENTE OU EDUCATION SELECTIVE: UNE NOUVELLE EGALITE

par A. HARRY PASSOW, New York

Quoique de nombreux auteurs fassent part des problèmes de l'éducation polyvalente en opposant ceux de l'éducation sélective, et comparent l'école secondaire typique américaine à l'école sélective européenne, on s'aperçoit qu'il existe de nombreuses formes de sélection dans ce qu'on appelle l'école américaine polyvalente. Au cours des années, de nombreuses pratiques se sont tellement répandues que la sélectivité – parfois subtile et cachée, mais plus souvent ouverte et manifeste – est devenue un phénomène habituel au sein de l'école polyvalente.

A l'apogée d'une autre grande réévaluation de l'éducation américaine dans les années cinquante, les critiques ont recommandé instamment aux pédagogues de reconnaître la nécessité de grouper les élèves d'après leurs capacités, et ont proposé de créer des écoles secondaires séparées, fortement sélectives, pour les élèves plus capables. Le nombre d'écoles sélectives n'a pas augmenté considérablement, mais les adaptations et les dispositions pour les élèves doués se sont accrues, là où les éducateurs se sont efforcés, dans le cadre des écoles secondaires polyvalentes, de parvenir à une différenciation de l'éducation au moyen de classes et de programmes spéciaux. Les efforts politiques, qui ont été tentés dans les années soixante, en vue d'une extension des droits civils et la soi-disant "guerre contre la pauvreté" ont fait à nouveau surgir l'intérêt porté à la nature et à l'étendue de la sélection dans le système d'enseignement américain. Le problème de la ségrégation raciale dans les écoles, des désavantagés et des résultats scolaires insuffisants d'enfants de groupes minoritaires ou de classes inférieures, a porté l'attention sur les conséquences de divers processus de sélection subtils, subconscients, et même évidents. Une étude importante sur l'égalité des chances d'enseignement permet de conclure que les "inégalités imposées aux enfants du fait de leur famille et de leur milieu ne peuvent pas être supprimées, et qu'elles doivent mener à des désavantages que les enfants auront encore à endurer après leur période scolaire." On s'attaque maintenant à ce système, toujours controversé, de groupement d'élèves par rendement et capacités, comme étant un moyen de rendre les procédés respectables, au moyen desquels on relègue les élèves de groupes minoritaires raciaux ou ethniques ou de familles de niveau social inférieur à des programmes de "seconde catégorie". Quelle que soit la façon de le nommer: les enfants de milieu social pauvre et ceux de groupes minoritaires se trouvent toujours en nombre disproportionné dans des cours de fin d'études, qui ne sont ni académiques, ni universitaires.

De ces préoccupations relatives aux groupes défavorisés est ressorti un système scolaire qui poursuit l'adoption d'une différenciation massive, où certains jeunes peuvent être intégrés à la société, alors que d'autres continuent à vivre dans la pauvreté et l'isolement. Les écoles remplissent toujours une fonction sélective: ou bien, elles choisissent et groupent, en créant des obstacles au développement et à la mobilité des uns, en aidant ou encourageant les autres, ou bien, elles veillent à fournir à tous des chances égales d'enseignement. C'est sans aucun doute cette dernière fonction que les écoles polyvalentes doivent remplir. Voilà leur promesse et c'est aussi ce qu'on attend d'elles – but qui est encore loin d'être réalisé.

THE PROBLEM OF THE COMPREHENSIVE SECONDARY SCHOOL IN JAPAN

by SHIGEO MASUI, Tokyo

Development of the Pre-war Secondary School System

The problem of the comprehensive secondary school is a difficult and complicated issue in contemporary Japan. In order to understand the roots of the problem, we present a brief review of the development of secondary education in relation to elementary and higher education up to the Second World War.

The modern Japanese school system¹⁾ was established in 1872 after the revolutionary changes in government and society which are usually called the "Meiji Restoration", after the Emperor Meiji, who reigned from 1868 till 1912. The elementary school, beginning with six years of age, consisted of a four year lower and a four year upper elementary school. Although compulsory education was not yet in force, people were expected to send their children to school for at least four years. The secondary school lasted six years and was also divided into a lower and an upper school, each of three years. These schools were supposed to provide both general education and vocational education of all kinds. The universities and colleges followed the upper secondary schools. It should be stressed that in theory these schools at various levels were open to anybody capable of attending, irrespective of social class or status, because equality of status for all citizens was one of the most fundamental principles underlying the establishment of the "modern nation" in contrast to the previous feudal period. In reality, of course, many capable youngsters were unable to enjoy the privilege of attending school to the extent which they desired, chiefly due to financial reasons.

In 1886 the famous Minister of Education Arinori Mori enforced a complete reorganization of the school system to meet the urgent need to keep up with the advanced countries of the West. The elementary school was still divided into junior and senior stages, of four years each. The secondary school, at which attendance was made compulsory, was called the "middle school", and was also divided into the junior and senior middle schools of five and two years respectively. The former admitted the pupils who had finished the second year class of the senior elementary school, that is, six years' elementary education altogether. Later, the junior middle school was changed into the "middle school" of five years in 1899 and the senior middle school into the "higher school" of three years in 1918. Each of these two levels was intended to serve the double purpose of

training the citizens who would engage in middle class occupations, and also the candidates who wished to enter higher levels of the education system. However, the second purpose in fact became the main function of the schools, due to the delay in developing vocational education. This became the basic pattern for the Japanese school system until the end of the last World War, with minor modifications in the course of time.

Although the secondary schools were open to everybody, in fact only a small number of youngsters could afford to attend them, for they were not only relatively few in number but they were also built to train the future leaders of the nation. Thus in contrast to the elementary school which continued to be a common school for everybody, secondary education evolved into a dual track system. On the one hand, the schools which we have described above remained the main secondary stream, leading to university, while on the other hand the vocational schools which developed from 1893 on did not provide access to further study.

The first of these were continuation schools of various kinds for workers who had undergone only four years' junior elementary school education. In 1899, the vocational middle schools, such as agricultural, commercial and technical schools, were set up at a level corresponding to that of the middle school, which was essentially the school for general education. These vocational schools admitted the children who had finished the whole elementary school course of eight years and extended their schooling for three years. These schools were regarded as somewhat inferior in comparison with the middle schools, in spite of the fact that the age level was the same and that these schools were built for the urgent needs of training technicians in the period of rapid industrialization. Very few graduates of these schools were admitted to higher levels of the education system, which clearly revealed the basic nature of the dual system.

In 1885, three year higher vocational schools in such areas as technology, agriculture and commerce were established. They admitted graduates of the five year middle schools, and were of very high quality, corresponding nearly to the universities and colleges set up after the Second World War.

Co-education existed only at the elementary level, and secondary education for girls was initially established by private bodies. After 1899, girls' high schools of four or five years, admitting pupils with six years' elementary education, were started at an standard equal to the boys' middle school. For the graduates, there were girls' schools at a higher level both for general and vocational education. However, there were no universities specially for girls, and very few of the regular universities opened their doors to girls.

In sum, secondary education in Japan after 1899 could be classified

into three main streams or tracks: the boys' middle school; the girls' high school – both for general education; and finally vocational schools for boys or girls. By 1904, over 90% of both boys and girls were attending elementary school.

After the First World War, schools at all levels expanded tremendously. By 1920, the six year junior elementary school (which had been made compulsory in 1907) reached an attendance rate of 99% of the age group. The proportion enrolled in secondary schools increased from 19.9% in 1915 to 39.7% in 1935, and in the case of higher education from 1.0% to 3.0%.²⁾ The main reasons for this phenomenon were: first, the unprecedented growth of the Japanese economy due to an increasing degree of industrialization stimulated by the war; secondly, the strong desire of the people at large to receive as much education as possible in order to live better and reach a higher social status, reinforced by the world-wide trend toward "democratization" and the realization of human rights; thirdly, the improvement of the economic standard of living for a large number of people.

However, beyond the elementary level of the school system, a discriminatory system persisted. It is true, of course, that equality of educational opportunity was accepted as a principle in 1872, when our first modern school system was established, and the common school was in fact realized from the very beginning at the elementary school level. On the other hand, beyond that level there evolved a multi-track system. Certainly the social class distinctions of the feudal regime were abolished, but the newly developed ruling classes tended to give priority to the training of the élite in order to meet the urgent need of keeping up with the advanced Western nations. The country could not yet afford to provide a sufficient number of schools at the secondary and higher levels. Selection was inevitable, in the sense that it was required both for higher levels of schooling and also for the different school types within the same level. The Japanese case was different from that of some Western countries, in that the religious factor had very little to do with selection, traditional social class factors had relatively less significance, and intellectual ability was almost the sole important factor. However, scholastic achievement was naturally affected a great deal by a student's family background. The government's rigid and formalistic approach prohibited the planning of a flexible and open school system which would have enabled students to transfer among different courses according to their individual achievements. Retrospectively, too many able youngsters were left undeveloped and too many less able ones were completely neglected. This is ironic, in view of the eagerness of the government to utilize the talents of the people for the crucial needs of the age.

In spite of the seemingly spectacular progress of school education in the period prior to the Second World War, such as full attendance through the compulsory age, the rapid expansion at other levels, and so on, it cannot be denied that many deep scars in the realm of education originated then and have survived to the present day. These might be listed as follows:

- Encouragement of too much individual competition;
- more attention to individual prosperity and happiness than to the sense of responsibility to society in general;
- increasingly greater dependence on formal education at school, as compared with education within the family and other social institutions, including shops, factories and other working places;
- a shift of values towards individualism, materialism, and even egoism;
- a gradual disappearance of the feeling of mutual love and cooperation;
- an increasing loss of the gentle, sensitive, and loving attachment to human beings as well as to nature itself;
- diminishing hope of developing an individual into a well-balanced, integrated personality within society.

It goes without saying that the school system itself was not the sole cause of these unfortunate developments, and also that the enthusiasm for education had many positive aspects. But the above points are relevant for any analysis of the contemporary situation.

Development of the Comprehensive Secondary School

After her surrender in the last World War, Japan underwent another revolutionary change of regime, social structure and basic values. The Constitution of 1947 expresses the aspiration of the whole nation for a democratic, peace-loving and culturally rich country devoted to cooperation in the cause of international peace and human happiness. The new era led to the adoption of what is called the 6-3-3-4 school system. Compulsory education was extended from six to nine years, enabling all children to proceed to the lower secondary school of three years without any selection procedure. This introduction of secondary education for all reflects most vividly the serious national effort to reconstruct the country according to the new constitution.

Incidentally, it is to be added that neither the extension of compulsory education nor the idea of universal secondary education were due simply to the "advice" of the United States occupation forces. As early as 1924 an extension of compulsory attendance by two years was proposed by the Minister of Education; in 1941 it was finally adopted, only to be left unrealized because of the war.

Similarly, since 1929 the reorganization of the school system into a 6-3-3 pattern had been proposed several times, and after the war the group of Japanese educators working with the first American Education Commission had their own ideas in agreement with the new plan.³⁾

The new lower secondary school of three years was a common school mainly aiming to provide a basic general education for the citizens of a democratic society, and also training for a future vocational career in the case of pupils not continuing on to the upper secondary school. Pupils of all abilities were required to learn under the same roof by the common curriculum with only a small number of elective subjects. In this sense, it was a genuine comprehensive school. Remarkably enough, it was established all over the country as the sole school type for its age group, with its own principals and separate from the elementary as well as the upper secondary schools.

Efforts towards comprehensive education were extended to the upper secondary school, which was also intended to be comprehensive. However, in reality it was practically impossible to build new schools for this level in addition to the new lower secondary schools, under postwar financial conditions. The result was, firstly, the amalgamation of the former middle school for boys and the girls' high school into one co-educational upper secondary school of general education, even if the school sites were quite distant from each other. This could, of course, not be called a comprehensive school in the full sense of the word, although usually it included at least two different courses: the "general course" which had more or less an academic character, and the "home economics course", which was mainly for girls who did not take the general course. However, many localities attempted to go beyond this, by combining the formerly separate vocational schools. In such a case, the school was comprehensive to a greater degree, though it rarely included a complete range of vocational or specialized courses.

It is indisputable, however, that in most cases such a school was only nominally comprehensive, in spite of the fact that it had only one principal and its activities were carried out as if it were a unified school. Obviously, this kind of amalgamation of originally separate and independent schools was a great hindrance to deriving the potential educational benefits of the comprehensive form of organization. Consequently, during the recovery from the conditions of the immediate post-war period, the different courses provided at the separate school sites were brought together in the same place by building new school houses.

Nevertheless, it is still questionable whether a school arranged in this way can rightly be called a comprehensive school, so long as each of these

courses (general, home economics, agricultural, technical, commercial, etc). is essentially independent from the others. Pupils apply for one of these courses when they send in their application to the school, adding their second or third choice if they wish. When a pupil is admitted, he or she is automatically registered in a certain specific course. Theoretically and legally, transfer from one course to another is possible, and this was certainly one of the main reasons for promoting the comprehensive school pattern in Japan, as in many other countries. But in practice transfer is extremely difficult, because of the fairly rigid system of curriculum requirements for each of the courses. Since several more or less independent courses run parallel to one another within the same school, it would be truer to reality to call them "bilateral" or "multilateral" schools, similar to those in the British system.

In this respect it would be useful to compare the so-called "comprehensive upper secondary school" in Japan with the comprehensive high school in the United States. As the writer understands it, the courses in American high schools are groups of school subjects combined for certain specific aims, representing different curriculum types within the same school. The pupils belonging to the same "home room" take different courses in different classrooms, according to their own needs, abilities and aptitudes. Pupils are allowed to shift from one course to another if it is necessary. On the other hand, in the Japanese upper secondary schools, the courses represent in reality the units or groups of pupils themselves, classified by the kind of subjects which they take. The courses are nearly independent from each other, and "home rooms" are for the pupils belonging to the same courses instead of being centers for pupils in different courses.

In summary, we may conclude that the lower secondary school in Japan is a comprehensive school in the true sense of the term, while the upper secondary school is only pseudo-comprehensive, for the reasons stated. It could be argued that even this latter type of school is a step in the direction of better secondary education, but it is more difficult to determine whether this type of school is really superior to schools which are separately built for each of the differentiated or specialized courses. Besides the question of the organization of classes and the curriculum, the problem is related with a number of external factors, such as the attitudes of pupils, parents, teachers, and employers, on the one hand, and the broader social, political, economic and cultural factors underlying the rapidly changing society of today on the other hand.

Obstacles and Controversies

In the preceding sections several problems related to the development of comprehensive secondary schools were raised. In this section an attempt will be made to clarify more specifically the factors which are hampering implementation of the comprehensive school principle, and to observe present trends.

Even the lower secondary school, which appears generally to be developing favourably, has not escaped criticism: In the first place, the organization of the schools is said to be too uniform; all schools have adopted heterogeneous grouping of classes, refusing any form of homogeneous grouping simply as undemocratic, due to the danger of discrimination among pupils and of stimulating feelings of superiority or inferiority. The issue here is not so much the continuing question of the relative merits of these two types of grouping themselves, as the rigid approach to them of most educational administrators and teachers. Basically, it is perhaps reasonable to make the system of heterogeneous grouping the general principle for the classification of classes. However, when teachers oppose certain kinds of homogeneous grouping, for example in subjects such as mathematics or foreign languages, they risk being unable to meet individual needs and differences, in contradiction of their own asserted desire to develop the capacity of individuals to the fullest extent.

In the second place, the curriculum issued by the Ministry of Education is itself too rigid, though the Ministry does urge teachers to use it flexibly and creatively so as to adapt to the local situation. Teachers far too frequently conform narrowly to the curriculum provided by the Ministry, for several reasons. First, many teachers are still accustomed to follow directions from above as in pre-war days, and have not yet completely succeeded in changing this attitude, despite their frequent claim to the right to develop their own curriculum. Secondly, teachers cannot resist the pressures resulting from the scholastic achievement tests given by each prefectural board of education for admission to the upper secondary schools. The situation is made worse because the testing is conducted in a definite set of school subjects instead of individual subjects to be chosen by pupils, as, for instance, in England.

These and other factors have prevented the lower secondary schools from achieving their aim – envisaged at the outset – of developing pupils in accordance with their individual needs in a more flexible situation. In addition to these internal defects, a number of interrelated external factors have been working against the original aims of the comprehensive

school. The most important is the desire of an ever increasing proportion of children as well as of parents for further secondary education. The percentage of the age group entering the upper secondary schools rose from 45.5% in 1950 to 79.4% in 1969. Such a trend is basically a continuation of the pre-war enthusiasm for school education. But it has been greatly strengthened, partly by wide acceptance of concepts of human right and dignity, of the freedom to pursue individual happiness and of equality of opportunity, partly by economic growth, and partly by the prospect of a better future career. The trend towards further schooling is in principle not at blame, but features of the upper secondary schools themselves – especially their stress on the academic course best suited to entering universities and colleges – exert a negative influence on the lower secondary schools. Competition among individual pupils as well as individual schools for the entrance into higher educational institutions begins even at the lower secondary level.

The actual situation in the upper secondary school is even more disastrous; here are two of the most fundamental faults. First, as we saw earlier, the comprehensive element at this level tends to be merely nominal due to the sharply separated courses of study within the school. Secondly, the “general course” remains overwhelmingly predominant in prestige over the other courses. This not merely hinders the school in meeting urgent social and economic needs, but, more significantly, it becomes a basic cause of certain detrimental phenomena, such as inferiority or superiority complexes, excessive competitive spirit, and so on.

These weak points, combined with other factors involving facilities and staff, have accelerated a tendency during the past decade or more to re-establish separate upper secondary schools. Co-education is preserved in the upper secondary school for the general (academic) course (sometimes including the home economic course). In 1968, approximately one third of the upper secondary schools gave both the general course and certain vocational courses (agriculture, commerce, etc.) while more than one third gave only the general course and the rest were vocational schools.⁵⁾ The controversy over comprehensive versus separate upper secondary schools is raging once more. However, developments seem to be running against the comprehensive type at present. The main reasons are, first, the strong preference of parents as well as pupils for the general academic course; secondly, demands from industry for technicians and workers of a higher technical and intellectual level; and thirdly, efficiency in provision of facilities and staff. The trend is sharply attacked by persons who assert the human right to dignity and equal opportunity. The Japan Teachers Union is especially enthusiastic in this attack, based on its persistent

advocacy of a policy of "upper secondary education for all." Many professionals also support the comprehensive school, for more or less theoretical reasons. Unfortunately, however, realistic, feasible plans and programmes for comprehensive education have not yet been implemented in a manner convincing enough to the opposition groups.

In view of the constant debate on general educational policy, the Central Council for Education has been preparing its report on "Fundamental Policies and Measures for the Overall Expansion and Improvement of School Education in the Future". A sub-committee of the Council has published an interim report, entitled "Draft Basic Conception of the Reform of Elementary and Secondary Education", in May, 1970.⁶⁾ Some of the recommendations are quoted here in view of their significance for issues discussed in this article.

The central goals of the reform of elementary and secondary education could be summarized as follows:

1. In elementary and secondary education, which should form a basis of human growth and development all through life, importance should be attached to the goal that pupils acquire generally what is essential in the education of the people and at the same time develop their own rich individuality. In order to attain this goal, the organization of the school system should be improved in accordance with each stage of human development, educational contents should be carefully selected, and instruction and guidance be given so as to adapt to the developmental stages as well as to special features of each individual...
2. It is the mission of the Government to endeavour to maintain and enhance the standard of the contents and level of public education, to guarantee an equal opportunity of education, and to strive for diffusion and repletion of school education in compliance with the national demand; and for the purpose of achieving this goal, necessary measures should be taken systematically and powerfully under a long-range outlook with the understanding and support of the people in general.

Furthermore, the following specific recommendation is also made:

In order to solve the problem accompanying the current formula of dividing secondary education into the lower and upper secondary schools, it should be investigated whether it is possible to merge these stages into one continuous school and to conduct a flexible education diversified by different kinds of courses and other arrangements for different kinds and levels of abilities, and adapted for pupils of a wide range of capacities and interests, smoothly and effectively through appropriate instruction and guidance.

However, this proposed diversification of courses has aroused severe criticism among some scholars, teachers, and parents, on the ground that it will lead immediately to the discrimination of pupils in terms of their ability and eventually to selection by their family background, which has so much influence on their ability. This line of argument naturally favours

the comprehensive type of school. But at the same time it seems to imply the uniformity of courses of study against which so many people have fought for years.

The real problem at the present moment is not so much the question of comprehensive versus non-comprehensive education as the question of finding practicable measures to do justice to individual differences while striving for the general aim of the full development of individuals who are able to contribute to the welfare and happiness of the society, both national and international. Of course, the improvement of secondary education in Japan requires measures in interrelated areas, such as curriculum, method of instruction, organization of the school, educational administration and finance, training and re-training of teachers, and numerous other social and economic problems. However, the problem of school organization in terms of comprehensive versus non-comprehensive forms will never lose its significance, especially at the secondary level. There is still no clear prospect for a solution to this problem. However, as a conclusion of this article, conjectures regarding future developments are given below, in the hope that they will not fall too far wide of the mark.

- Neither type will monopolize school organization, and yet the comprehensive type will gradually play a major role again as a basic pattern in secondary education, especially at its lower stage.
- Schools will be diversified to a greater degree, especially at the higher stage of secondary education. Pupils will select their courses of study more carefully through improved evaluation and guidance procedures. Transfer among the different courses or schools will thus become more and more feasible.
- Diversification will be implemented through careful planning, to avoid limiting access to higher education.
- The internal organization of each type of school will become more diversified and yet flexible. Not only homogeneous grouping, which has been so unpopular, but also non-graded classes, team-teaching and other systems will be utilized more freely. But these measures will be integrated into a total planning and organization of the school for the single purpose of developing individuals as members of the society, and not be introduced simply for the sake of innovation as such.
- The secondary school curriculum, which should guarantee the best possible balance of general and specialized education for the sake of individual pupils, will be radically altered towards a greater flexibility, supported by the continuous revision of theory as well as the findings of experimental research.

NOTES

1) Ministry of Education, *Gakusei Hachijunenshi* (Eight Years History of the School System). Tokyo: Ministry of Finance Printing Office, 1954; Ministry of Education, *Gakusei Kyujunenshi* (Ninety Years History of the School System). Tokyo: Ministry of Finance Printing Office, 1964; Ministry of Education, *Japan's Growth and Education*. Tokyo: The Ministry, 1963; Ministry of Education, *Educational Standards in Japan*. Tokyo: The Ministry, 1964; Tokiomi KAIGO, *Japanese Education, Its Past and Present*. Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, (The Society for International Cultural Relations), 1965; Shido SUMERAGI, *Nippon Kyoiku Seido no Seikaku* (The Characteristics of the Japanese Educational System). Tokyo: Tamagawa University Press, 1970.

2) Ministry of Education, *Japan's Growth and Education*, op. cit., pp. 39 and 48.

3) Arata NAKA, *Nippon Gendai Kyoiku Shi* (The Modern Educational History of Japan). Tokyo: Dai-ichi Hoki Publ. Co., 1969, p. 264.

4) Ministry of Education (ed.), *Wagakuni no Kyoiku no Ayumi to Kongo no Kadai - Chuo Kyoiku Shingikai Chukan Hokoku* (The Development of the Education in Japan and its Problems for the Future - The Interim Report of the Central Council for Education). Tokyo: Ministry of Finance Printing Office, 1969.

5) Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan, *Outline of Education in Japan*. Tokyo: Agency for Cultural Affairs, 1970, p. 3.

6) The 25th Special Committee of the Central Council for Education, *Shoto Chuto Kyoiku no Kaikaku ni kansuru Kihon Koso Shian - Chukan Hokoku* (Draft Basic Conception of the Reform of Elementary and Secondary Education - *The Interim Report*). Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1970, pp. 3 and 5.

DAS PROBLEM DER GESAMTSCHULE IN JAPAN

von SHIGEO MASUI, Tokyo

Das moderne japanische Schulsystem wurde 1872 nach der revolutionären Umstrukturierung des Regierungs- und Gesellschaftssystems (Meiji-Restauration) gegründet mit dem Ziel, gleiche Bildungschancen auf allen Schulstufen zu realisieren. In der Grundschule, die als allgemeine Pflichtschule gegründet wurde, ist dieses Ziel sehr früh erreicht worden, wie aus dem rapiden Anstieg der Matrikeln zu ersehen ist. Über die allgemeine Schulpflicht hinaus bestand jedoch bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges das Säulensystem, obwohl die Zahl der Schulen bei ständig zunehmender Industrialisierung laufend anstieg. Die allgemeine Nachfrage nach Bildung ist nicht nur positiv zu bewerten, sie beeinflusst das Nachkriegsschulsystem auch in negativer Weise. Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg wurde im Zusammenhang mit der Umbildung des gesamten Gesellschaftssystems in ein demokratisches eine weitere revolutionäre Änderung in Richtung eines mehr einheitlichen Schulsystems vorgenommen. Die untere Sekundarschule, als Pflichtschule, wurde von Anfang an als eine echte Gesamtschule durchgeführt. Diese neue, Erfolg versprechende Schule hatte jedoch unter dem Druck der oberen Sekundarschulen (upper secondary schools) zu leiden, die einen großen Zulauf bekamen, und in denen das Schwergewicht auf den allgemeinbildenden Zweig als Vorbereitung auf die Universität gelegt wurde. Diese Schulen, ursprünglich als echte Gesamtschulen geplant, haben sich immer mehr zu gesonderten allgemeinbildenden bzw. Fachschulen entwickelt. Hierbei spielten sowohl das Prestige und die Anziehungskraft des allgemeinbildenden Unterrichts, als auch mangelnde Bereitschaft zu einer flexiblen innerschulischen Organisation, die Forderungen der Industrie nach Fachkräften, und andere soziale und organisatorische Gründe eine nicht unwesentliche Rolle. Mitten in der Diskussion zu diesen

Erziehungsproblemen sowie zur Frage der selektiven gegenüber der Gesamtschule entwickelt der Zentrale Bildungsrat eine Grundkonzeption sowohl für die Reform der Primar- und Sekundarschule als auch für das gesamte Erziehungssystem. Der allgemeine Trend geht wohl doch in Richtung einer Gesamtschule als Grundtyp, wobei beide Richtungen berücksichtigt werden sollen, d.h. eine mehr umfassende Struktur auf der unteren und eine differenziertere auf der oberen Stufe. Reformbestrebungen innerhalb anderer, mit der Erziehung verwandter Disziplinen sollten möglichst mit den Reformen des Sekundarschulwesens koordiniert werden.

LES PROBLEMES DE L'ECOLE SECONDAIRE POLYVALENTE AU JAPON

par SHIGEO MASUI, Tokyo

Le système scolaire moderne japonais a été créé en 1872 après les changements révolutionnaires du régime et de la société de la Restauration de Meiji, ayant pour principe directeur des chances égales d'éducation pour tous les niveaux d'études. L'école primaire, restée école communale depuis sa création, a appliqué tôt ce principe, comme on peut s'en rendre compte par le développement rapide du taux de participation. Cependant, au-delà du niveau scolaire élémentaire, le système de sélection s'est maintenu jusqu'à la capitulation de la seconde guerre mondiale, malgré le grand développement des écoles de tous les niveaux, qui se produisit parallèlement à la rapide industrialisation. L'enthousiasme de la population pour l'enseignement comporte des avantages et des inconvénients; ces derniers devaient entraver la réforme révolutionnaire d'après-guerre du système scolaire en un système à voie unique. Ce système avait pour but de reformer toute la nation en une société démocratique. Tout d'abord, l'école secondaire inférieure, comprise dans l'enseignement obligatoire, a fonctionné comme une école générale d'un type polyvalent depuis le début. Cependant, cette nouvelle école qui promettait beaucoup, a souffert de la pression exercée par l'école secondaire supérieure. En effet, son taux de participation de plus en plus élevé favorise la prédominance du "Cours général" qui devient un cours préparatoire aux universités. Les écoles secondaires supérieures créées, à l'origine, pour être autant que possible polyvalentes, se sont de plus en plus séparées en écoles de cours généraux, commerciaux, techniques ou d'agriculture. Les causes en étaient les programmes d'étude rigides, la difficulté de transferts, le prestige et l'attrait du cours général, le manque d'enthousiasme envers la souplesse de l'organisation interne des écoles, les revendications de la part de la société industrielle pour les cours professionnels, et autres causes sociales et économiques. Au milieu de la controverse sur les problèmes pédagogiques, comprenant la question de l'école secondaire supérieure polyvalente contre la non-polyvalente, le Conseil central pour l'Education met au point une conception de base de la réforme de l'enseignement primaire et secondaire, de même que de toute la structure pédagogique, qui de nouveau anime considérablement le débat. Cependant, on tendra de façon générale vers le type polyvalent comme système de base mais avec une utilisation souple des deux formes, plus polyvalent au niveau inférieur et moins polyvalent au niveau supérieur. D'autres réformes pédagogiques devraient naturellement être coordonnées avec celles de l'enseignement secondaire.

COMPARATIVE SCHOOL RESEARCH AND THE SWEDISH SCHOOL REFORM

by SIXTEN MARKLUND, Stockholm

In order to show how far comparative educational research has helped to elucidate or solve problems arising in conjunction with reforms of the Swedish system of education, it is necessary in the first place to explain what is meant by comparative education and what the reform of education in Sweden implies.

During the post-war years, the Swedish school has followed, on the whole, general lines of European-American educational development. Four characteristic features emerge: (1) Compulsory school attendance has been prolonged by two or three years, and now often includes the whole of lower secondary instruction. (2) The division of students into different lines of study (theoretical or practical; academic or non-academic) tends to be postponed until a later age, which means that the period of basic education common to all is prolonged. (3) Associated with this is the tendency to make education less specialised and more general (reduction in the number of preparatory vocational lines, and more "general education"). (4) Different lines of study are arranged in the same administrative unit; parallel school systems are replaced by comprehensive systems with more flexibility for students in choosing lines of study.

The speed and forms of this development vary, and not all countries follow the same pattern. In Sweden, the earlier system, with elementary school and a number of lower secondary schools partly parallel to each other, has been fully replaced by a nine-year compulsory comprehensive school. Organisational differentiation, which was begun previously after the fourth year at school, was first postponed until the ninth year; then in 1969 it was completely abandoned in the nine-year school in favour of internal educational differentiation. The establishment of the nine-year comprehensive school has had far reaching consequences for the design of schools at the higher secondary school level. The previously independent higher secondary schools of technology and commerce have been integrated in the general higher secondary school, which in its turn is moving in the direction of closer association with vocational and other secondary schools. More and more pupils are remaining at school voluntarily after the expiration of their compulsory school attendance. According to a parliamentary decision of 1964, it is calculated that about 85 per cent of each year group will attend school until the age of eighteen years.

And so to the second point – the sphere of comparative education. No one will claim that the design of the reform was based on the results of educational research. Social, political and economic questions were, as always, most decisive. It would be a mistake, however, to regard educational research as irrelevant to the reform, for there was always discussion between researchers, administrators and those responsible for school policy.

In this debate there was one problem that aroused much attention, that of differentiation: At what age should students be selected for different lines of study? Who was to determine the situation of the individual student, and what alternatives were to be offered? It amounted to the age-old controversy: Do children who are alike really go best together – is instruction to be given in homogeneous or heterogeneous groups? Will the results be poorer if more people are educated?

These questions will be illuminated briefly here, through a summary of some comparative studies from the period 1950–1965. Two kinds of comparison were of special importance: the lower secondary school (*realskola*) versus the comprehensive school, and later the streamed versus the unstreamed school. But first certain early Swedish studies on general student differentiation must be mentioned.

Student Aptitude

The 1946 School Commission, which was responsible for the basic design of the reform, rejected, in its proposals of 1948, the then prevailing division of studies into “theoretical” and “practical” types, on the evidence provided by, among others, investigations by John Elmgren.¹) He tested a representative sample of students aged eleven to fifteen years for their theoretical and practical aptitude, to determine whether one aspect tended to predominate. This was not the case. 56 per cent of the students were *equally* gifted theoretically and practically, while 22 per cent were mainly theoretically gifted, and the other 22 per cent were mainly practically gifted. Elmgren concluded that what is called practical aptitude is of a much more complicated structure than theoretical aptitude (in the sense of general intelligence).

In 1960 Kjell Härnqvist,²) using a slightly different approach, made a similar study for the 1957 School Committee. For the same age range, Härnqvist studied the correlation between intra-individual differences and inter-individual differences, in both aptitude factors and interest. He found that there were differences *within* an individual as well as *between* individuals and in his calculations he expressed statistically the correlation between these two kinds of difference. The intra-individual variance

in aptitude and interests on the whole covered 60 percent of the inter-individual variance.

The conclusion drawn by the School Committee from these results was that the aptitude and interest profiles of the individuals were not so homogeneous as to justify a general organizational differentiation of pupils into different classes according to aptitude or interests. On the contrary, there was strong evidence that a pupil should rather take courses of varying degrees of difficulty in different subjects.

Härnqvist's results opposed a system of streaming. The farther the division of skills is carried, the more difficult it is to see any correlation between them. To achieve homogeneous grouping of pupils would, according to this, require a re-grouping for every subject. The individual would then belong to different groups for different subjects or even for different tasks and parts of subjects. Such a total stratification of pupils would, if performed consistently, mean breaking up the traditional class. In its proposals the School Committee took a step in this direction through alternative courses in English and mathematics, but otherwise kept the class as the most desirable form of grouping.

Härnqvist's results were of the same fundamental importance for the 1957 Committee as Elmgren's had been for the 1946 Commission. Another Swedish research worker, Ragnar Hörnfeldt,³⁾ came to the same conclusions as Härnqvist in a 1950 report on an investigation of the level and structure of intelligence. Hörnfeldt found a marked divergence between intra- and inter-individual variations in mental ability.

These three researchers' conclusions favour, on the whole, late differentiation. It should be borne in mind, however, that the studies do not show *how* this late differentiation should be organised and how the need for individualisation before differentiation can be satisfied in practice.

Junior Secondary and Comprehensive Schools Compared

The experimental school was assessed according to how well it could stand comparison with the old kind of school. Those working in the experimental schools found this comparison a serious obstacle to a free and unprejudiced judgement. Of course the danger was not in the comparison as such, but in the fact that the valuations were made exclusively from the standards of the junior secondary school.

In the mid-1950's this urge to compare was often referred to, not without justification, as the "comparison mania". One contributory factor was the comparison made by the National Board of Education between achievement in the experimental school and the five-year junior secondary school. ⁴⁾

The question of the equivalence of these two school forms became a practical one when the first pupils in the experimental schools finished the eighth class and had to compete with those in the second-highest form of the junior secondary school for entrance into the *gymnasium*. In order to determine the comparability of the marks awarded in the two schools, tests were made to measure the knowledge of Swedish, English, German and mathematics in class 8 of the experimental school and form 4 of the five-year junior secondary school. Only experimental school pupils who had chosen two foreign languages were tested. Pupils at the junior secondary schools had consistently better results than experimental-school pupils – often the margin was so wide that the difference was statistically significant. The tests were repeated the following year, when the results in the ninth class were compared with those in the corresponding form of the junior secondary school. There were still differences in the same direction, but somewhat smaller.

The studies covered the whole of the year group concerned. The ages and sexes of the students were kept constant, socio-economic status was checked to a certain extent, and in some tests also the students' intelligence.

The results of these tests led to a lively debate on the merits of the experimental school *versus* the junior secondary school. On the one hand it was claimed that the tests had proved the superiority of the traditional junior secondary school model. The opposite party denied this and maintained that the supply of teachers, the pupils and other factors were not comparable. The great drift of theoretically inclined pupils from the experimental schools to the junior secondary school was stressed. But the most important point in the debate was how the new school was to be judged. Thus the discussion became, in reality, a debate on the aims of the new school.

Jonas Orring,⁵⁾ on behalf of the 1957 School Committee, studied the progress of pupils through the junior secondary school. Although the study did not touch directly upon the upper department of the comprehensive school, it did throw some light on certain problems connected with organisational differentiation and longer compulsory attendance at school. Orring found that only about half of the pupils took the junior secondary school certificate in the normal time allotted by the curricula. About one quarter remained in one class for two years and took the final examination after a year's delay or more, while the other quarter left school and never took the examination at all. The greatest number of drop-outs, 45 per cent, was in the practical junior secondary school.

Comparison Between Streamed and Unstreamed Upper Departments of the Comprehensive School

The early years 1951–1955 were characterised mainly by comparisons between the junior secondary school and the experimental nine-year comprehensive school. It was mainly the so-called theoretically gifted students in the two types of school that were to be compared. For various reasons, chiefly statements by parliament, later comparisons involved the streamed and unstreamed upper department (class 7–9) of the comprehensive school, and included not only the so-called theoretically inclined students but also the practically gifted. In the streamed system the latter were usually found in the so-called “negatively differentiated” classes.

Among the comparative research studies of this period may be mentioned Nils-Eric Svensson's⁶) longitudinal study of student achievement in various differentiation environments from class 4 to 9. In 1955 the results of standardized scholastic and intelligence tests were published, comprising all pupils in class 4 of the Stockholm elementary schools (about 11,000 pupils in 348 classes). After class 4, this population was divided according to marks and residential area into three main groups. The first comprised the comprehensive school classes which, in principle, were integrated up to the last year. The second group consisted of the pupils who, after the fourth or sixth class, had moved to junior secondary or girls' secondary schools – a positively differentiated (selected) group. The third group was made up of the elementary school pupils remaining after the others had moved to other schools: this was therefore a negatively differentiated group. Intelligence and other secondary effects were checked statistically.

The results were, generally speaking, the same for the classes in the different groups. A slight superiority in the positively differentiated classes during the early phases of the investigation was neutralized towards the end. The results thus were not in favour of an early organizational differentiation.

Svensson's investigations, however, were only secondarily concerned with the question of early or late organisational differentiation, since most of the upper department classes included were organisationally differentiated according to choice of subjects. The comparisons were, as Svensson himself stressed, concerned with the differentiation environment *as a whole*, where the presence in the school of both positively and negatively selected classes was one of the factors. The secondary school environment was thus – for the knowledge and aptitude relevant to the investigations – somewhat superior in the early classes, but this superiority declined with the years, and finally disappeared altogether. Svensson's

data were later reanalyzed by Urban Dahllöf,⁷⁾ using further controls; he argued that this conclusion could not be drawn.

In the upper department of the experimental school, Sven Jansson⁸⁾ made some comparisons between integrated classes and classes with pupils organized according to choice of subjects. The end-of-term marks and certain test results in the integrated classes were slightly inferior to those in the differentiated classes.

The same problem was elucidated in an investigation by Gunnar Marksjö⁹⁾ who compared eight class marks and achievement test results in integrated classes, classes differentiated according to choice of subjects, and parallel school classes, that is experimental school classes. With few exceptions the differences were small, and they could not be related to the type of differentiation.

The question of the homogeneity of classes was often associated with size of class. It was believed that if classes were heterogeneous they should be small, while homogeneous classes could be somewhat larger. In a study by Marklund¹⁰⁾ comprising about 3,600 pupils in a total of 189 sixth classes, students' knowledge and skills in school subjects were studied with objective tests. Comparisons were made between results in large and small classes, with homogeneity held constant. Large and small classes had the same results. In the same way, the results attained in homogeneous and heterogeneous classes, with size of class kept constant, were compared. Here, too, the results were the same in all essentials. The students' intelligence was checked consistently by means of analysis of covariance. The criterion of homogeneity was the standard deviation of intelligence and test results.

This and other studies of the importance of class homogeneity were of interest in the comparisons of streamed and unstreamed classes in the new school. The streamed classes represented the homogeneous, the unstreamed the heterogeneous classes. In a study at the State Experimental School at Linköping by E. Malmqvist,¹¹⁾ the four seventh classes were organized so that two were unstreamed (heterogeneous), one positively homogeneous and one negatively homogeneous. The criteria of homogeneity were the students' intelligence and the results of objective tests of knowledge in class 6. The classes were constructed so that the two heterogeneous classes together were "equivalent" to the two others together. The four classes had the same groups of teachers. In the seventh class the integrated classes had somewhat better results than the classes differentiated according to subjects, and in the eighth class the results were the same.

In a similar experimental study made at Växjö, Bertil Carlsson¹²⁾ arrived at somewhat different results. In the seventh class the theoretical-

ly gifted pupils achieved better results in classes differentiated according to choice of subjects than pupils in integrated classes. For the practically inclined pupils in class 7 and for both practically and theoretically inclined pupils in class 8, no marked differences were observed.

The results of these studies were restricted to pupils' knowledge as expressed in tests, marks and examinations. In other investigations endeavours were made to elucidate other effects on pupils. Ingvar Johannesson¹³⁾ made a study of the pupils' social development in various differentiation environments. He found differences between elementary schools and junior secondary schools regarding pupils' attitudes to their teachers and schoolfellows and to the school situation as a whole. Elementary school pupils were more positive in their attitude to the teachers, junior secondary school pupils more positive in their attitude to schoolfellows and the school situation.

David Magnusson¹⁴⁾ compared pupils' assessments of themselves in different types of school. This assessment was performed in such a way that each pupil had to indicate how he thought he would be ranked by his classmates. The boys' assessments of themselves were, on average, lower in secondary and elementary schools than in the experimental comprehensive schools. The girls' self-assessments were lower in the secondary school than in the other two schools.

Jansson, in the investigation mentioned above, also compared pupils' feeling of well-being at school, their choice of schoolfriends, and their choice of subjects in integrated upper department classes and in classes differentiated according to choice of subjects. Some differences were observed and interpreted in favour of the latter. Jansson also asked the teachers their opinions about differentiation. They all preferred classes differentiated according to choice of subjects to integrated classes.

The discussion, especially among teachers, was very lively during the late 1950's. On the whole, primary teachers supported the comprehensive school experiments, while secondary school teachers mostly opposed them. In a larger study made on behalf of the National Board of Education by Sven-Eric Henricson¹⁵⁾ 413 teachers of different categories were asked to make the same choices as in Jansson's work. These 413 teachers were in fact the only secondary school teachers who at that time had experienced both the old and the new school system. In one respect the result confirmed Jansson's study: the teachers considered that the integrated classes were more of a burden than classes differentiated by choice of subject. Otherwise, the National Board of Education study gave a much subtler picture of teachers' experiences and views on the advantages and disadvantages of the two types of class in different subjects and at varying

levels of intelligence. 133 teachers said that they preferred the integrated upper department, and 107 preferred the organizationally differentiated; 98 considered that they were equal, while 84 did not answer.

An investigation of aspiring teachers' attitudes to their coming job in the new school was also made by Marklund.¹⁶⁾ The secondary school teachers especially were predominately negative to the new school, and preferred the traditional school system. The teachers were also tested on their knowledge of the new school: its goals, organization and methods. The results were positively correlated with attitudes: the more the teachers knew about the new school, the more positive were their attitudes toward it.

In conjunction with the Växjö investigation mentioned above, pupils' attitudes to the school were also compared, by Birgitta Rudberg.¹⁷⁾ The feeling of well-being of the theoretically gifted pupils was at first greater in the integrated classes, but this difference decreased in the eighth class. Among the more practically inclined pupils, whose feeling of well-being at school declined generally in the eighth year, there was no difference between those in integrated and differentiated classes.

Other Comparative Studies

Among other comparative studies within the framework of the programme of reform may be mentioned Urban Dahllöf's¹⁸⁾ studies of the curricula in Swedish and mathematics in the elementary and junior secondary schools. The study included comparisons between the achievements of thirteen-year-old students in both types of school and retention of knowledge by two groups of twenty-three-year olds, one with an elementary school and the other with a junior secondary school education.

Inga Elgqvist¹⁹⁾ has studied the university training of teachers for the upper (secondary) department of the comprehensive school and the senior secondary school. This is the first phase of a study of congruence: a comparison of the contents of university and school courses. The fact that the scope of "subjects" has developed differently in school and university studies has become a serious problem. New school subjects appear, often by combining old ones. At the universities a continuous differentiation of branches of science is going on. Teacher training that can embrace satisfactorily the essential parts of what a trainee will later have to teach is liable to become much longer. Take the school subject biology, for example; it demands in the teacher a knowledge of zoology, physiology, hygiene, genetics, botany and limnology, to mention a few university subjects. Elgqvist's findings have been published in five reports, which give us the first complete picture of the educational and organizational

conditions of subject-theoretical teacher training at the universities. This survey has made it possible for the authorities, through their experts, to measure the congruence between university and school subjects. This extensive and rather complex work has resulted in new curricula for teacher training at the universities, from 1969 on.

Problems of Application

The contribution of comparative studies to the school reform may seem to have been a very small one. The results are often diffuse and depend on certain conditions. Strictly controlled experiments are difficult to arrange; when they are feasible, they give rise to situations and problems of application that may not coincide with reality. The most important aspect of the investigations was probably that they helped to disperse a number of prejudices, and to show that the real problems were those of evaluation rather than of determining facts. In the last analysis, the school reform has been a political question, for it was impossible to demonstrate conclusively that one differentiation model was superior to another. As far as retention of knowledge is concerned, the opinion is becoming more general that the type of differentiation is of subordinate importance, or rather that it is of significance only to the extent that it indicates the scope of various forms of study and instruction, for it is in these that the greatest source of differences probably lies. There is good reason, therefore, to make forms of study and instruction the principal subject of educational research.

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VERGLEICHENDE UNTERSUCHUNGEN IM SCHULBEREICH UND DIE SCHWEDISCHE SCHULREFORM

VON SIXTEN MARKLUND, Stockholm

Der Artikel gibt einen zusammenfassenden Überblick über die nach dem Kriege in Schweden durchgeführten Untersuchungen in Bezug auf Vor- und Nachteile verschiedener Differenzierungsmodelle innerhalb der Schulstruktur. Diese Untersuchungen wurden im Hinblick auf die allgemeine, 1946 durch die Schulkommission erstmals in ihren Grundzügen dargestellte Schulreform (Einführung der neunjährigen Gesamtschule) durchgeführt mit dem Ziel, durch objektive Forschungsergebnisse eine bessere Grundlage für eine Reform zu schaffen. Dabei wurden u.a. Faktoren wie: praktische oder theoretische Orientierung der Schüler, Begabung, Leistung und Zufriedenheit mit der gegebenen Schulsituation gemessen, und mit dem jeweiligen Differenzierungssystem sowie dem Grad der Heterogenität und der Schülerzahl in der Klasse in Beziehung gesetzt, wobei teilweise schichtenspezifische Faktoren konstant gehalten wurden. Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchungen waren jedoch selten eindeutig und widersprachen sich oftmals. Kontrolluntersuchungen waren nur in bestimmten Fällen möglich; zudem mußten sie unter Bedingungen durch-

geführt werden, die ihre allgemeine Anwendungsmöglichkeit stark einschränkten. Abgesehen von einer vagen und allgemeinen Tendenz (insbesondere in der wichtigen ersten Forschungsphase), eher für eine spätere anstelle einer frühen Differenzierung zu sprechen, konnten die verschiedenen Untersuchungen nicht zu einer eindeutig empirisch fundierten Unterstützung der Reformbestrebungen beitragen. Es konnte jedoch eine Reihe von Vorurteilen abgebaut werden, und vor allem zeigte sich, daß die Fragen der Reform nur auf Grund von Wertvorstellungen und nicht nach Tatsachenbefunden entschieden werden konnten. Die Schulreform erwies sich somit als eine politische Entscheidung. Es war nicht möglich, den wissenschaftlichen Beweis zu liefern, daß ein Differenzierungsmodell dem anderen überlegen sei. Überhaupt wird immer deutlicher, daß nicht die Organisation der Schule den größten Einfluß auf die Leistung der Schüler hat, sondern vielmehr die Lern- und Unterrichtsformen; diese Bereiche sollten daher in Zukunft im Mittelpunkt der pädagogischen Forschung stehen.

RECHERCHE COMPARATIVE SUR L'ECOLE ET REFORME SCOLAIRE SUEDOISE

par SIXTEN MARKLUND, Stockholm

Dans cet article, l'auteur analyse la recherche suédoise d'après-guerre sur les avantages comparatifs des différents modèles de différenciation dans la structure scolaire. Cette recherche a été effectuée dans le contexte de la réforme scolaire générale (l'école polyvalente de neuf ans) élaborée initialement par la Commission des Ecoles de 1946, et a essayé de créer une fondation de résultats objectifs de recherche pour la réforme. Les facteurs tels que: orientation pratique des élèves contre orientation théorique, capacités, rendement, et satisfaction de la situation scolaire ont été mesurés d'après le type de différenciation, le degré d'hétérogénéité et la grandeur de la classe, souvent accompagnés de contrôles pour le niveau social. Les résultats furent rarement clairs et souvent contradictoires. Des expérimentations contrôlées furent possibles dans certains cas, mais seulement dans des conditions qui limitaient sévèrement leur applicabilité générale. A part une tendance très générale (surtout dans le travail-clé initial) vers des résultats favorisant une différenciation plutôt tardive que précoce, la recherche n'a probablement pas étayé directement la substance des réformes. Mais elle a contribué à dissiper un certain nombre de préjugés, et surtout elle a montré clairement que le problème de réforme est un problème d'évaluation, plutôt que de détermination des faits. En d'autres mots, la réforme scolaire a été une question politique, car il fut impossible de démontrer, d'une manière concluante, qu'un modèle de différenciation était supérieur à un autre. Il semble, en effet, de plus en plus évident que ce n'est pas l'organisation scolaire qui influence le plus le rendement de l'élève, mais plutôt les formes d'étude et d'instruction; celles-ci doivent devenir le thème principal de la recherche pédagogique.

ENTWICKLUNG UND STAND DER GESAMTSCHULPLANUNG IN DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

von JOACHIM LOHMANN, Kiel

Traditioneller Schulaufbau

Nachdem die Reformbemühungen – vornehmlich der amerikanischen Besatzungsmacht in ihrer Zone – in der unmittelbaren Nachkriegszeit erfolglos verlaufen waren, brachten die fünfziger Jahre eine weitgehende Restauration des Schulaufbaus der zwanziger Jahre. Er war bestimmt durch die Trennung von beruflichen und allgemeinbildenden Schulen bzw. Ausbildungsformen sowie darüber hinaus durch die vertikale Trennung innerhalb des allgemeinbildenden Schulwesens. Auf einer nur 4jährigen Grundschule – abgesehen von der 6jährigen in Berlin und Bremen – bauten die Volksschuloberstufe, die mit der Grundschule institutionell verbunden blieb, die Realschule und mehrere grundständige Gymnasialtypen auf.

Dieser Schulaufbau ist bis heute mit gewissen Modifikationen erhalten geblieben. So ist inzwischen in Anlehnung an die Stadtstaaten Berlin und Hamburg in den meisten Ländern die horizontale Trennung der Volksschule in Grund- und Hauptschule vollzogen worden. Mit dieser Reform sollte die Hauptschule bei kürzerer Schulzeitdauer und bei geringeren Berechtigungen des Hauptschulabschlusses gegenüber Realschul- und Gymnasialabschluß dennoch zu einer gleichberechtigten, weiterführenden Schule ausgebaut werden. Daneben sind zu den Gymnasialtypen in grundständiger Form mehrere in Aufbauform hinzugetreten, was einerseits die vertikale Aufsplitterung verstärkte, andererseits jedoch den frühzeitigen Übergang zu den weiterführenden Schulen nach Abschluß der 4jährigen Grundschule in Frage stellte.

Darüber hinaus entstand die Konzeption des zweiten Bildungsweges, der eine Gleichberechtigung beruflicher Ausbildungswege gegenüber dem allgemeinbildenden Schulwesen erreichen sollte, obwohl der Zugang zur Hochschule über den zweiten Bildungsweg mit einer erheblichen zeitlichen Diskriminierung verbunden blieb.

Kritik am vertikalen Schulaufbau

In den fünfziger Jahren wurden infolge der gesellschaftlichen Restauration, die teilweise zu einer Reduktion der Grundschulzeit führte, in politischen Gremien keine schulpolitischen Alternativen zum vertikalen Schulaufbau diskutiert.

Die Anstöße zur kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem bestehenden

Schulaufbau erfolgte durch die europäische Forschung. Die vor allem von Psychologen und teilweise von Soziologen vorgelegten Untersuchungen zum vertikalen Schulaufbau bezogen sich vornehmlich auf die Auslese beim Übergang von der Grundschule zu den weiterführenden Schulen, ihre regionale und soziale Selektivität, und den geringen prognostischen Wert der Ausleseverfahren, sowie auf die innerschulische Auslese. Darstellungen über die Abiturientenquote im Ländervergleich sowie – in ihrem methodischen Ansatz problematische – Bedarfsanalysen zur Arbeiterschaft führten ebenfalls zu Zweifeln an der Effektivität des bestehenden vertikalen Schulaufbaus.

Beginn und Stand der Gesamtschuldiskussion

Die aus den wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen resultierende Problematisierung des bestehenden Schulaufbaus ermöglichte eine politische Initiative der Sozialdemokratischen Partei (SPD) dahingehend, daß im Jahre 1962 auf dem von ihr veranstalteten "Kongreß deutscher Gemeinschaftsaufgaben" Modelle integrierter Gesamtschulen vorgetragen wurden. 1964 wurde in den vom Parteivorstand der SPD vorgelegten bildungspolitischen Leitsätzen die integrierte Gesamtschule als schulpolitisches Fernziel deklariert. In ihrem "Modell für ein demokratisches Bildungswesen" von 1969 forderte die SPD über die Gesamtschule hinaus noch die Integrierung der Studien- und Berufsstufe für die Schuljahre 11 bis 13.

Im gleichen Jahr legte auch die Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP) ein Gesamtschulprogramm unter dem Namen der "Offenen Schule" vor, bei der Interessen- und Leistungsdifferenzierung jahrgangsübergreifend organisiert werden sollen. Ein Jahr früher bekannte sich die Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW), in der vornehmlich die Volksschullehrerschaft organisiert ist, zur Einführung der integrierten Gesamtschule. Im Jahre 1969 legte die Bildungskommission des von Bund und Ländern eingesetzten Deutschen Bildungsrates die Empfehlung zur Gründung von wenigstens 40 integrierten Gesamtschulversuchen vor.

Bislang ist noch kein theoretisch begründetes Gegenmodell zur Organisation des Schulaufbaus entwickelt worden, das mit der Konzeption der Gesamtschule ernsthaft konkurrieren könnte. Die Gegner der Gesamtschulreform sind vielmehr weitgehend in die Defensive gedrängt. Sie greifen die Intentionen der Gesamtschulreformer auf und schlagen selbst Korrekturen am vertikalen Schulaufbau vor. Auch in der politischen Diskussion übernehmen die Gegner der Gesamtschule weitgehend die Verteidigungsrolle, indem sie – abgesehen von den Leistungsvorbehalten – mit der Dauer und den Kosten, die mit einer Umstellung des Schulwesens auf Gesamtschulen verbunden sind, argumentieren.

Organisation der integrierten Gesamtschule

Bei der Organisation von integrierten Gesamtschulen bestehen erhebliche Unterschiede. Als Vorformen gelten die Schulzentren, in denen zumindest alle drei weiterführenden Schulen – die Hauptschule, die Realschule und das Gymnasium – auf einem Schulgelände zusammengefaßt sind. Sie werden additive Gesamtschulen genannt, sofern sie über eine gemeinsame Schulleitung und -verwaltung verfügen.

Aufbau und Organisation der integrierten Gesamtschule sind in Anlehnung an ausländische Modelle, besonders die schwedischen Grundschulen und die englischen *comprehensive schools* konzipiert worden. Der Aufbau entspricht am stärksten dem englischen Modell, d.h. die Gesamtschulen umfassen die untere wie obere Sekundarstufe, also das 5. bzw. 7. bis 13. Schuljahr. Teilweise sind den Gesamtschulen auch Grundschulen mit Vorschulklassen kleineren oder gleich großen Einzugsgebiets sowie Studienstufen (Klassen 11 bis 13) angegliedert worden. Nur selten ist die Gesamtschule auf die untere Sekundarstufe, d.h. das 5. bzw. 7. bis 10. Schuljahr beschränkt.

Die Organisation des Unterrichts entspricht stärker den schwedischen Grundschulen. So wird auf das an englischen *comprehensive schools* übliche *streaming* zugunsten des *setting* verzichtet. Allerdings wird bei den meisten deutschen Gesamtschulen die äußere Fachleistungsdifferenzierung mehr betont als bei der bestehenden schwedischen Grundschule. Im allgemeinen arbeiten die deutschen Gesamtschulversuche mit vier unterschiedlichen Unterrichtsformen: dem Kernunterricht, den Fachleistungskursen, den Wahlpflichtkursen und den Wahlkursen.

Der Kernunterricht ohne Differenzierung nach Leistung oder Bildungswilligkeit ist auf weniger Fächer als in Norwegen und Schweden beschränkt. Er umfaßt meist nur sozialkundliche und musische Fächer sowie Sport und teilweise Deutschunterricht.

Die äußere Leistungsdifferenzierung nach Fächern erstreckt sich neben Mathematik und Englisch auch auf die Naturwissenschaften und häufig – wenigstens stundenweise – auch auf das Fach Deutsch. In Anlehnung an den traditionellen, dreigliedrigen, vertikalen Schulaufbau beträgt die Zahl unterschiedlicher Leistungsniveaus mindestens drei, zum Teil vier und mehr. Die Einweisung wird häufig erst nach Ablauf einer Zeit nicht-selektiver Gruppierung im jeweiligen Fach vorgenommen, wobei nicht selten die Schule das Recht der endgültigen Zuweisung in die Leistungsgruppen beansprucht.

Zum Wahlpflichtbereich zählen im allgemeinen die charakteristischen Fächer der bisherigen traditionellen Schulformen, also die zweite und dritte Fremdsprache mit Wahlmöglichkeit in der Sprachenfolge und im

Sprachenbeginn, sowie das Fach Arbeitslehre; angeboten werden darüber hinaus oft auch technische und musische Ergänzungsfächer oder Förderunterricht.

Ferner besteht noch große Auswahlmöglichkeit zwischen einer Reihe von Wahlfächern in vorwiegend sportlicher, technischer und musischer Richtung.

Weitergehende Planungen

Neben dieser vorherrschenden Gesamtschulkonzeption befinden sich Gesamtschulen in der Planung oder im Aufbau, die auf eine äußere Leistungsdifferenzierung zugunsten einer differenzierten Förderung der Schüler je nach ihrer Leistung innerhalb einer Lehreinheit verzichten wollen. Hier soll die Einführung des *team teaching* eine flexible Gruppierung je nach Unterrichtsbedürfnis und Leistungsfähigkeit ermöglichen. In diesen Schulen soll gleichzeitig versucht werden, die Gefahr einer sozialen Selektivität zwischen den Wahlpflichtkursen zu vermeiden. Es werden nur solche Wahlpflichtkurse angeboten, deren Belegung ähnliche schulische und berufliche Aufstiegschancen eröffnen.

Inzwischen wird sowohl im Experimentalausschuß des Deutschen Bildungsrates als auch für einen Berliner Bezirk die Planung einer institutionell eigenständigen, beruflichen und allgemeinbildenden Ausbildungsgänge integrierenden, oberen Sekundarstufe, beginnend mit dem 11. Schuljahr, vorbereitet. Hierbei steht jedoch die Planung wegen des bestehenden dualen beruflichen Ausbildungswesens einerseits mit schulischer und andererseits mit überwiegend betrieblicher Trägerschaft vor erheblichen Problemen.

Stand und Verbreitung der Gesamtschulversuche

Die erste Gründung von Schulzentren erfolgte in Hessen zu Beginn der fünfziger Jahre auf Anregung der amerikanischen Besatzungsmacht. Inzwischen werden in allen Bundesländern Schulzentren bzw. additive Gesamtschulen geplant, wobei Hessen, Nordrhein-Westfalen und Baden-Württemberg führend sind. In Hessen ist zudem im Jahre 1969 ein Schulgesetz verabschiedet worden, das die Einführung von additiven Gesamtschulen vorschreibt. In Nordrhein-Westfalen sind die Kommunen bei allen Schulbauvorhaben durch ministeriellen Erlaß aufgefordert zu überprüfen, inwiefern Erweiterungs-, Ersatz- oder Neubauten von Schulen im Rahmen von Schulzentren stattfinden können. Ein ähnliches Rundschreiben hat die Berliner Schulverwaltung erlassen.

Die Planung der ersten integrierten Gesamtschule begann in Westberlin, dessen Gesamtschulen die heute vorherrschende Unterrichts-

organisation entwickelten. Insgesamt bestehen zur Zeit in der Bundesrepublik etwa 20 integrierte Gesamtschulen, die, abgesehen von einigen Vorläufern, erst seit dem Schuljahr 1968/69 begonnen haben. Die meisten liegen in Nordrhein-Westfalen, gefolgt von Berlin, Hessen und Hamburg. Die Zahl der geplanten integrierten Gesamtschulen erreicht die gleiche Höhe wie die der bereits bestehenden. An den neuen Planungen sind neben den genannten auch andere Bundesländer beteiligt. Bisher hat jedoch nur die politische Vertretung eines Bundeslandes, des Stadtstaates Hamburg, die integrierte Gesamtschule als schulpolitisches Fernziel deklariert.

Dennoch können im Hinblick auf den Stand der Diskussion, die Zahl der schon vorhandenen und geplanten Gesamtschulen, sowie die genannten Gesetze und Erlasse zur Gründung von Schulzentren bzw. additiven Gesamtschulen – als Voraussetzung für eine künftige langfristige Umstellung der Schulorganisation – kaum Zweifel an einer endgültigen Einführung des horizontalen Schulaufbaus in der gesamten Bundesrepublik bestehen.

Chancen und Probleme der Gesamtschulentwicklung

Mit den angelaufenen und geplanten integrierten Gesamtschulversuchen sind vielfältige Innovationen verbunden. Die Gesamtschulen haben bisher durchgeführte Struktur- und Unterrichtsreformen aufgegriffen und sind damit zum Zentrum auch dieser Versuche geworden. So gibt es zwar schon seit 1955 Ganztagschulen, und ihre Einführung ist im Programm aller Parteien enthalten, aber in den letzten beiden Jahren sind die meisten solcher Gründungen an Gesamtschulen vorgenommen worden.

Ebenso ist das *team teaching* wegen der damit verbundenen Möglichkeiten flexibler Differenzierung an Gesamtschulen gekoppelt. Dies hat ebenfalls dazu geführt, daß die interessantesten Schulneubauten mit Großraumunterricht für Gesamtschulen entwickelt werden.

Darüber hinaus ist durch die Planung von Gesamtschulen die didaktische Reflexion der beteiligten Lehrer erhöht worden. Außerdem wurde eine Mitwirkung von Erziehungswissenschaftlern an der Schulplanung erreicht und den Lehrerkollegien eine größere Selbständigkeit gegenüber der Schulverwaltung gegeben.

Den mit der Gesamtschule verbundenen Chancen stehen jedoch beachtliche Schwierigkeiten gegenüber:

- Die Rechtsform der Gesamtschule als Versuch, bedingt durch die geringe Entscheidungsfreudigkeit der Landesregierungen und Landesparlamente, führt zu erschwerten Bedingungen für die Verbreitung und Durchführung der Gesamtschulen. Mit der Rechtsform der Ver-

suchsschule ist die Freiwilligkeit des Schulbesuchs sowie ihr Angebotscharakter verbunden. Zwar sind Gesamtschulen mit Zustimmung der Kultusverwaltungen teilweise Regelschulen für die Hauptschulen der betreffenden Einzugsgemeinden, indem man die Hauptschule institutionell aufgelöst hat, doch sind Realschule und Gymnasium bisher noch nicht einbezogen worden. Vielmehr wurde wegen der Stellung der Gesamtschule als Angebotsschule großer Wert gelegt auf die leichte Erreichbarkeit traditioneller Schulformen im Einzugsbereich der Gesamtschule. Das führt langfristig zu einer Konkurrenzsituation zwischen Gesamtschulen und Realschulen sowie Gymnasien, die durch die Gefahr negativer Vorauslese der Schülerschaft an den Gesamtschulen erhöht wird.

- Die Realisierung von Gesamtschulen aufgrund der Initiative der untersten Schulverwaltung wird durch die meist zu kleinen Einzugsbereiche der Gemeinden behindert. Bei den in einigen Bundesländern angestrebten und teilweise begonnenen Kommunalreformen sind die Einzugsgrößen für die eventuelle Gesamtschule bisher nicht zum Kriterium ihrer Funktionstüchtigkeit erhoben worden.

Hier bildet das Land Hessen eine Ausnahme, das im allgemeinen durch Gesetz anstelle der Gemeinden die Kreise zu Trägern der unteren Schulverwaltung ernannt hat.

- Der Status einer Versuchsschule führt wegen der damit verbundenen Konkurrenzsituation gegenüber den privilegierten Schulen, vor allem den Gymnasien, zumeist zu einer Schulform, die die Mittelstufe und die bisherige gymnasiale Oberstufe umfaßt. Damit erschwert sie aber eine Trennung von Mittel- und Oberstufe, die durch die Integration von beruflichem und allgemeinbildendem Schulwesen in der Oberstufe notwendig wird. Die stufenübergreifende Organisationsform der Gesamtschule steht darüber hinaus einer langfristigen Standort- und Schulbauplanung im Wege.
- Der Status einer möglicherweise vorläufigen, jedenfalls noch in der Erprobung befindlichen Schulform bedingt eine dieser Schulform gegenüber offiziell neutrale Schulpolitik, die eine vom Kultusministerium geleitete bzw. von ihm beauftragte didaktische Planung und Arbeitsmittelentwicklung zur Zeit unmöglich macht. Dementsprechend sind die einzelnen Gesamtschulkollegien auf die selbständige Entwicklung der erforderlichen neuen Lehrziele, Lehrinheiten und Arbeitsmittel ohne didaktische Planungshilfe durch Kultusverwaltungen, wissenschaftliche Institute und Schulbuchverlage angewiesen. Demzufolge ist eine detaillierte Planung zur Zeit nur von seiten idealistisch eingestellter Lehrerkollegien durchführbar, so daß eine Generali-

sierung der Gesamtschulen bei Wahrung des erwünschten Planungsstandards erheblich erschwert wird.

- Mit der schulpolitischen Unentschiedenheit der zuständigen Instanzen sind weitere Probleme verbunden, die eine Verbreitung der Gesamtschule behindern. So ist mit der durch Gesamtschulgründungen möglichen Dezentralisierung von Schulstandorten gegenüber den bisherigen Standorten von Realschulen oder Gymnasien zwar ein Aufstieg von Kommunen zu Kulturzentren möglich; aber im Vergleich zu dem bisher bestehenden partiellen, schulischen Vakuum bringen solche Neuerungen erhöhte einmalige und laufende Unkosten für die Kommunen mit sich. Kleineren Gemeinden erwachsen daraus infolge der gegebenen Finanzverfassung erhebliche Schwierigkeiten.

Insgesamt ist deshalb die weitere Entwicklung der Gesamtschulen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland mit Hinblick auf eine langfristige schulpolitische Zielsetzung auf die Bereitschaft der Parlamente angewiesen.

DEVELOPPEMENT ET ETAT ACTUEL DE L'ORGANISATION DE L'ECOLE POLYVALENTE EN REPUBLIQUE FEDERALE D'ALLEMAGNE

par JOACHIM LOHMANN, Berlin

Les discussions sur l'école polyvalente se produisirent à la suite d'une période de restauration sociale sur la base d'examen critiques du système scolaire traditionnel faits au début des années soixante. L'école polyvalente est maintenant appuyée par deux des principaux partis politiques allemands, le SPD (parti des sociaux démocrates) et le FDP (parti des démocrates libres) et par d'autres organisations importantes. Il y a, en République fédérale d'Allemagne, quelque vingt écoles polyvalentes intégrées et la plupart d'entre elles ont adopté le système utilisé à l'école primaire suédoise, à savoir le système de groupes d'après les résultats sur les différents sujets. Cependant, ce système est utilisé dans plus de sujets, dans plus de niveaux différents et avec une plus stricte réglementation.

Face à la forte différenciation de l'école tout entière, des essais d'écoles polyvalentes ont eu lieu récemment, qui favorisent plutôt une différenciation souple de l'enseignement en groupes (*team teaching*). Les expérimentations de l'école polyvalente sont liées à une quantité d'innovations, telles que: les écoles de toute la journée, le *team teaching* avec des compositions souples de groupes et la planification régionale des bâtiments scolaires. Les problèmes les plus difficiles à résoudre à l'heure actuelle proviennent du fait que les écoles polyvalentes sont des écoles expérimentales et qu'elles entravent par conséquent une division horizontale de la structure scolaire, une planification pédagogique intensive ainsi qu'une planification générale à long terme. Cependant, on est à peu près sûr que le système polyvalent prévaudra en République fédérale d'Allemagne.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND CURRENT STATE
OF COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL PLANNING
IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

by JOACHIM LOHMANN, Berlin

After a period of social restoration, the debate on comprehensive education was stimulated in the early 1960s by a series of critical studies of the traditional school system. The comprehensive school (*Gesamtschule*) is now supported by two of the leading political parties (Social Democrats (SPD) and Free Democrats (FDP)) and by important interest groups. There are some 20 integrated comprehensive schools in the Federal Republic of Germany and the majority of these have adopted the system, used in the Swedish elementary school, of grouping according to performance in particular subjects. The system is, however, employed for more subjects, at a greater variety of levels, and more rigidly throughout the school.

Alongside this rather strong school-wide differentiation, comprehensive school experiments have recently been begun which favour instead a flexible differentiation within classes through team teaching. Linked with the comprehensive school experiments is a complex of innovations, such as full-day schools, team teaching with flexible group composition and planning of school buildings over large areas. The most difficult problems at present arise from the fact that the comprehensive schools are experimental, and thus impede horizontal division in the school structure, intensive development of teaching methods as well as long-term planning. Nevertheless, there is hardly any doubt that the comprehensive system will eventually prevail in the Federal Republic of Germany.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

by ALFRED YATES, Oxford

The Background

The major feature of the history of English education during this century has been the conflict, as yet incompletely resolved, between those whose aims have been embodied in the slogan "secondary education for all" and those who have sought to preserve, within the system, a type of academic course which is made available only to an exceptionally able minority of pupils.

This conflict may be, and often is, interpreted in terms of the advance towards a more broadly based democracy and there is little doubt that many of the changes that have been introduced into the organisation of secondary education during this period have been in response to demands made by, or on behalf of, the lower orders for wider educational opportunities.

However, to represent the issue exclusively in these terms is to offer an altogether too facile analysis. There is little doubt that the introduction of comprehensive education has been opposed with honest conviction by many who do not necessarily oppose the principle of equality of opportunity. It is often agreed, for instance, that a selective system, provided that the criterion for selection is ability, rather than wealth, encourages social mobility and affords opportunities of advancement to clever and industrious children from the poorer homes. And since in this country there is still a firmly entrenched private sector which affords excellent educational facilities to those who have the financial means to enjoy them, the provision of comprehensive education for the remainder could conceivably lead to grosser inequalities than exist at present. The maintained grammar schools, it is suggested, have served to counter the effects that the "public" schools would otherwise have had on the distribution of social and economic favours. It has been through the agency of the grammar schools that the socially under-privileged have been enabled to compete successfully with their public school counterparts in securing university places and entering the professions.

There has also been another kind of opposition to the development of comprehensive education which again cannot be satisfactorily interpreted in social and political terms. A substantial proportion of the teachers in secondary schools of all kinds have been reluctant to support the transition from segregated to comprehensive schools. There are no grounds for

supposing that their attitude is related to such fundamental issues as the possible effects that these changes may have on the structure of society or on any lack of regard for equality of opportunity. Admittedly some of the teachers fear that the changes may involve a loss of status, but for the most part their opposition is based on the grounds that their background, experience and training have equipped them to teach pupils within a prescribed range of ability and that they might well be less effective if required to teach in wholly different circumstances.

This illustrates the need, which has been less than adequately fulfilled in England, to involve teachers closely in any plans for the major reorganisation of the system and to ensure, by the modification of initial training courses and the provision of appropriate in-service courses, that they are equipped, in every sense, to meet the fresh obligations that are involved.

The Demand for Secondary Education

During the first half of this century the vast majority of English schoolchildren began and finished their education in elementary schools. From the turn of the century the local education authorities had been empowered – by the Education Act of 1902 – to provide secondary education, but this was reserved mainly for those able and willing to pay fees for this privilege and for a very small minority of able pupils who were awarded free places. It soon became apparent not only that these pupils with free places in the maintained grammar schools justified their selection but also that there were many more pupils left behind in the elementary schools who were capable of profiting from a more advanced course. Consequently the proportion of children who were awarded free places in maintained grammar schools steadily increased until, in some parts of the country, they began to outnumber the fee-payers.

The manifest success of the free-place system led to a demand for the extended provision of secondary education and, indeed, for the abolition of the parallel system within which a minority left the elementary schools at the age of eleven to pursue their education elsewhere and the majority remained behind until the statutorily determined age for leaving school. This proposed reform was eventually given official recognition by the Hadow committee¹) (an advisory panel set up by the government to make recommendations concerning future policy) in 1926. This committee supported the view that elementary and secondary education should be regarded as successive stages in the education of every child and recommended that the transition from one stage to the next should take place at the age of eleven. The age of eleven was chosen because, at the

time, pupils were allowed to leave school at fourteen and three years was regarded as the minimum period for the organisation of a viable secondary school course.

Unfortunately there followed a period of severe economic depression, with the result that the reforms proposed by the Hadow committee, although accepted in principle by the government, could not be rapidly undertaken. (Indeed in some of the rural areas of the country this recommended reorganisation was not completed until the late nineteen-fifties.)

During the years immediately preceding the second world war, the economic situation was improving and it was therefore clearly becoming feasible to introduce on a nationwide scale the changes recommended by the Hadow committee. There was a good deal of controversy during this period concerning the ways in which a policy of secondary education for all could best be implemented. Some sections of the Labour Party and the trades unions, supported by a number of educationists, advocated the setting up of either comprehensive or multilateral schools. Others preferred a system which would allow for the continued existence of grammar schools with the proviso that admission should be free to all pupils who could demonstrate that they possessed the required level of ability.

The outcome was determined largely by the reports of two further advisory committees set up by the government. The Spens²⁾ committee in 1938 offered, as an organisational blue-print for secondary education, a tripartite system of grammar, technical and "modern" schools. There followed, in 1941, the report of the Norwood committee³⁾ which not only supported the Spens committee's recommendations, but offered the remarkable pronouncement, contrary to the evidence submitted to it by several expert witnesses, that there are three distinguishable "types" of children requiring, providentially, for the satisfaction of their educational needs, the three kinds of school that were being discussed.

The Education Act of 1944 embodied the principle of secondary education for all in that it followed the Hadow committee's recommendation that the parallel system of elementary and secondary schools was to be replaced by a unified system divided into two stages for all children: primary education up to the age of eleven; and secondary education from eleven to fifteen (the statutory age for school-leaving) or to eighteen for those who wished to stay beyond the legally required limits. Within the Act itself there was no reference to a tripartite system. Local authorities were enjoined "to afford for all pupils... such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable in view of their different ages, abilities and aptitudes, and of the different periods for which they may be expected to remain at school".

It might be argued, and indeed it has been most assiduously argued by the advocates of comprehensive education, that this requirement could be adequately satisfied by the provision of common or neighbourhood secondary schools. It soon became apparent, however, that the official interpretation of this clause – shared by the Ministry of Education and the vast majority of local education authorities – was that secondary schools of different kinds were required to supply the necessary variety of instruction.

The Tripartite System

The period immediately following the 1944 Act, therefore, saw the introduction in most areas of the tripartite system of separate secondary grammar, technical and modern schools. The three types of school were to enjoy “parity of esteem” and the allocation of pupils to each was to be based on assessments of their abilities and aptitudes.

A few local authorities, notably those of London, Middlesex, Coventry, Oldham and the West Riding, decided to provide comprehensive schools, but the majority, supported for the most part by their teachers, chose to follow the guidance of the Ministry of Education which, although a Labour Government was in power from 1945 to 1951, expressed its preference for a policy of selection and segregation.

There is little doubt that support for the tripartite system was based mainly on the recognised success of the maintained grammar schools between the wars. They had achieved high academic standards and they had afforded opportunities for a steadily increasing number of children from relatively poor families to achieve academic success and an improved social status. Therefore many believed that the tripartite system could provide genuine equality of opportunity, that the allocation of children to the three different types of school could be accomplished efficiently and fairly and that the schools would come to be regarded by the general public as of comparable status.

It very soon became apparent, however, that “parity of esteem” would not be realised. Parents and pupils alike had become accustomed to regard the grammar schools as the only genuinely “secondary” schools and were disposed to equate the others, the new secondary modern schools in particular, with the old senior elementary schools. Consequently, the procedure for allocating pupils to grammar schools, which some authorities had hoped could be treated as a form of educational guidance, became instead an intensely competitive struggle for a limited number of highly coveted places. This “eleven-plus examination” thus proved to be one of the most controversial features of the post-war educational system. It

began to dominate adversely the life and work of the primary schools and to be subjected to considerable criticism from the general public. This led to a series of researches designed to evaluate its effectiveness as a means of selecting pupils for grammar schools.

As a result of these inquiries two indisputable facts have emerged and have led to a growing demand for the abolition of this examination: First, it was demonstrated⁴) that, even when the most carefully designed forms of assessment were used, errors of prediction affecting some ten per cent of the candidates were unavoidable. Although from a purely psychometric point of view this indicated a high degree of efficiency, it could not satisfy those who recognised that the result of this examination not only determined the kind of secondary school course that a child was allowed to pursue, but also significantly affected his vocational prospects and, consequently, his eventual social status. Nothing less than perfect validity was acceptable to those who appreciated the crucial nature of the choice that was being made and, since no form of assessment could be expected to satisfy this criterion, the viability of the tripartite arrangement began to be questioned.

Secondly, it became apparent⁵) that the procedures of selection involved a marked degree of social bias. Although it had been hoped that the abolition of fee-paying and the adoption of "ability and aptitude" as the criteria for admission to grammar schools would promote equality of opportunity, the evidence yielded by a number of follow-up studies indicated that a child's home background significantly affected his chances of success in the tests and examinations that were used for the purpose of selection and that the children of the lower social economic groups were seriously under-represented in the grammar schools.

A Change of Policy

These criticisms of the tripartite system have led to a change in the climate of opinion which has finally reflected in a change of policy announced by the government in 1965.⁶) The introduction to this directive, issued to all local education authorities, states unequivocally: "It is the Government's declared objective to end selection at eleven-plus and to eliminate separation in secondary education". The government's circular goes on to require the local authorities to submit plans for reorganising secondary education in their areas on comprehensive lines.

This declaration of official policy is in effect following an already established trend rather than introducing a wholly new form of organisation. It has already been noted that a few authorities, immediately after the 1944 Act, chose to row against the official tide and to establish compre-

hensive schools in their areas. Since then the number of authorities that have reorganised their secondary schools on comprehensive lines has steadily increased and, before the Government's circular of 1965 was issued, fifty authorities had made plans for abandoning or at least considerably modifying their tripartite arrangements.⁷⁾

The present situation is somewhat confused. There is evidence that a last ditch stand will be attempted by those who wish to preserve the tripartite system or the grammar schools at least. Some of these appear to be seeking the somewhat utopian solution of preserving the grammar schools intact but at the same time abolishing the eleven-plus examination – a combination that calls for mental agility and a measure of rationalisation.

The majority of local authorities, however, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, have accepted the Government's circular of July, 1965, although it is not yet clear what kind of comprehensive organisation will eventually predominate. During the current transitional phase six main patterns are being tried or proposed:

- 1) "All-through" comprehensive schools with an age range from 11 to 18.
- 2) A two-tier system in which all pupils attend a junior comprehensive school from 11 to 13 and all then proceed to a senior comprehensive school.
- 3) A two-tier system in which all pupils attend a junior comprehensive school and some move on, at the age of 13 or 14, to a senior school and the remainder stay behind.
- 4) A two-tier system in which all pupils attend a junior comprehensive school and then, at the age of 13 or 14, all have a choice between a senior school catering for those who propose to leave when they reach the statutory school leaving age and one which provides for those who wish to continue their education beyond this stage.
- 5) Comprehensive schools with an age range from 11 to 16 combined with sixth form colleges for pupils over 16.
- 6) Middle schools with an age range from 8 or 9, to 12 or 13 followed by comprehensive schools with an age range from 12 or 13 to 18.

There are *a priori* arguments that could be used both for and against each of these six types of organisation. However, in the absence of firm evidence based on empirical investigations it would seem desirable that each of them should be tried out for a period. One would hope that eventually the effectiveness of each pattern will be objectively evaluated. A step in this desirable direction has already been taken, in that the National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales (NFER) has been commissioned to undertake a long-term inquiry into the organisation of comprehensive schools.⁸⁾

NOTES

- 1) Board of Education, *The Education of the Adolescent* (Hadow Report). London: HMSO, 1926.
- 2) *Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools* (Spens Report). London: HMSO, 1938.
- 3) *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools* (Norwood Report). London: HMSO, 1941.
- 4) A. YATES; D. A. PIDGEON (eds.), *Admission to Grammar Schools*. London: Newnes, 1957.
- 5) J. E. FLOUD; A. H. HALSEY; F. M. MARTIN, *Social Class and Educational Opportunity*. London: Heinemann, 1958.
- 6) Department of Education and Science, *The Organisation of Secondary Education*. Circular 10/65. London: HMSO, 1965.
- 7) Comprehensive Schools Committee, *Comprehensive Education*. Survey No. 1, 1966/7.
- 8) This article was completed in 1968. Two volumes have thus far resulted from the NFER's study, both edited by T. G. MONKS: *Comprehensive Education in England and Wales*; *Comprehensive Education in Action*. Slough: NFER, 1968 and 1970.

DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER GESAMTSCHULE IN ENGLAND

VON ALFRED YATES, Oxford

In den Jahren 1902 bis 1944 machte sich in den englischen Gymnasien (*grammar schools*) ein allmähliches Ansteigen der Stipendiatenzahlen sowie ein wachsendes Bedürfnis nach einer allen Kindern zugänglichen Form der Sekundar-Erziehung bemerkbar. Durch das Erziehungsgesetz von 1944 wurden die Verordnungen, nach denen nur ein relativ kleiner Anteil der Kinder im Alter von 11 Jahren in ein Gymnasium zugelassen wurde und der weitaus größte Teil zur Absolvierung der Pflichtschulzeit in den Volksschulen verbleiben mußte, aufgehoben. Im Gesetz war vorgesehen, daß die Primarstufe im Alter von 11 Jahren abgeschlossen sein sollte und die lokalen Erziehungsbehörden für eine Sekundar-Ausbildung, die den Fähigkeiten und Begabungen aller Kinder gerecht würde, zu sorgen hätten. Obgleich das Erziehungsgesetz von 1944 eine bestimmte Organisationsform der Sekundar-Schule nicht vorschrieb, zeigte es sich doch bald, daß das ministeriell geförderte Schulsystem aus drei verschiedenen Schultypen bestand, die unter den Termini "grammar", "technical" und "modern" bekannt wurden. Einige Erziehungsbehörden entschlossen sich zwar bereits zu diesem frühen Zeitpunkt zur Einrichtung von Gesamtschulen, der weitaus größte Teil jedoch entschied sich auf Grund der Empfehlungen des Ministeriums für das "Säulensystem". Bis zum Beginn der fünfziger Jahre wurde dieses dreigeteilte System zum Ziel allgemeiner Kritik. Man mußte sehr bald zur Kenntnis nehmen, daß sowohl Eltern als Kinder sich dagegen wehrten, die drei Schularten als ranggleich anzusehen. Die Gymnasien genossen ein beträchtliches Prestige und die Aufnahme in diese Schulen wurde zu einem heftigen Konkurrenzkampf. Die "eleven plus" Prüfung, wie das Auswahlssystem genannt wurde, und das als Kriterium für die Aufnahme ins Gymnasium galt, wurde heftig angegriffen, nicht so sehr wegen seiner offenkundig gewordenen Unzulänglichkeit als Instrument der Selektion, sondern weil die Aufteilung der Schüler im Alter von 11 Jahren und die sich daraus ergebenden unterschiedlichen Bildungswege in zunehmendem Maße von der Öffentlichkeit abgelehnt wurden.

Im Jahre 1965 gab die Regierung ihren Entschluß bekannt, das System der Selektion im Alter von 11 Jahren abzuschaffen. Von diesem Zeitpunkt an haben die lo-

kalen Erziehungsbehörden begonnen, Pläne für die Reorganisation der Sekundarschulen als Gesamtschulen auszuarbeiten. Diese Pläne weisen eine bemerkenswerte Variationsspanne auf: einige enthalten Vorschläge für Schulen der gesamten Altersstufe von 11 bis 18 Jahren; andere schlagen verschiedene Formen von altersspezifischen Trennungen in den Oberstufen vor, um die Größe der Schulen in Grenzen zu halten und die vorhandenen Schulgebäude weiterhin nutzen zu können. Es ist zu hoffen, daß die Effektivität der einzelnen Vorschläge in den nächsten Jahren objektiv untersucht werden wird.

EVOLUTION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT POLYVALENT EN ANGLETERRE

par ALFRED YATES, Oxford

Durant la période s'étendant de 1902 à 1944, il s'est produit un accroissement progressif du nombre d'élèves qui purent étudier gratuitement dans les lycées (*grammar schools*), et une revendication de plus en plus grande de créer quelque forme d'enseignement secondaire pour tous les enfants. La loi d'enseignement de 1944 abolit les dispositions, par lesquelles seule une minorité d'enfants parvenait, à l'âge de onze ans, dans un lycée laissant les autres terminer leurs cours d'enseignement obligatoire dans les écoles primaires. L'Acte stipulait que la première étape de l'instruction devait se terminer à l'âge de onze ans, et obligeait les autorités locales de l'éducation à prévoir une forme d'enseignement, au niveau secondaire, qui s'adapterait aux aptitudes et aux capacités de chaque enfant. Quoique l'Acte ne prescrivit pas le genre d'organisation d'école secondaire qu'il fallait adopter, il apparut bientôt que le système préconisé par le ministère comprenait trois types d'école intitulées: '*grammar schools*', écoles techniques et écoles modernes. Bien que quelques autorités aient déjà choisi de créer, à cette époque, des écoles polyvalentes, la majorité d'entre elles suivirent le conseil du Ministère et formulèrent un arrangement "tripartite". Jusqu'au début des années cinquante, ce système tripartite devint l'objet de nombreuses critiques. On reconnut bientôt que les parents, tout comme les enfants, refusèrent de considérer les trois types d'école comme ayant une renommée équivalente. Les lycées jouissaient d'un prestige considérable et l'entrée dans ces écoles devint une lutte vraiment compétitive. La *eleven-plus examination*, comme on intitulait ce procédé de sélection des candidats, servit de cible au dénigrement général, non pas tellement à cause de ses réelles imperfections comme moyen de sélection, mais surtout parce que le concept de procéder à une ségrégation d'élèves à l'âge de onze ans et de leur offrir des sortes sensiblement différentes d'instruction, devint inacceptable à une grande partie de l'opinion publique.

En 1965, le Gouvernement annonça sa décision d'abolir ce système de sélection à l'âge de onze ans, et d'éliminer la ségrégation dans l'enseignement secondaire. Depuis lors, les autorités de l'éducation locale préparent des plans, en vue de réorganiser l'enseignement secondaire selon des normes polyvalentes. Ces plans présentent une variété considérable: certains proposent des écoles pourvoyant aux besoins de tout le groupe d'âge de onze à dix-huit ans; d'autres prévoient toute une série de dispositions pour restreindre les catégories d'âge au sein des écoles secondaires, de manière à avoir des écoles d'une dimension plus pratique, et à être à même d'utiliser les bâtiments existants. On espère que l'efficacité de chaque modèle proposé sera, à l'avenir, évaluée de manière objective.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION

by T. G. MONKS, Exeter, and T. KAWWA, London

The comprehensive school, as an answer to the deficiencies and alleged injustices of a selective system, is still in the early stages of its development. Belief in its principles is still an act of faith, though somewhat strengthened and encouraged by the findings of recent research. However, since the present is so much a consequence of the past, it will be useful, before looking at aspects of the selective and comprehensive systems in more detail, briefly to survey the historical background.

Historical Background

The days are long past when the task of the school was clearly (though narrowly) defined and the purpose seen in sharp focus, when the public schools, taken over by the upper classes, were accepted as raising grounds for leaders in war and peace and the grammar schools, monopolized by the "new aristocracy" of the industrial revolution, provided a public-school-type education for those denied access to the real thing. "In this way, secondary education and indeed higher education as a whole had become... the prerogative of a small section of the community".¹) For the working classes there existed the elementary schools and, at the turn of the century, a handful of higher grade schools. A student of education in England cannot therefore fail to see the close connection between education and the social structure.

During the early years of the 20th century the beginnings of a selective system, to remain for six decades and beyond, could clearly be seen. The higher elementary schools, advocated by the Cross Commission of 1898, ran parallel to the selective secondary schools instituted by the Education Act of 1902, their (even limited) liberalism to some extent presenting a challenge to the academically oriented secondary schools. But although secondary education was still regarded as different in kind from higher elementary education, its exclusive pattern was breached by the admission of fee paying pupils from elementary schools. Thus "... as a growing proportion of really able working class children participated in secondary education, this led to a greater demand from others for the opportunity to share in such a privilege especially when it was realised that higher social ... status could thereby be attained."²)

In 1926 the Hadow Report,³) from a Consultative Committee appointed by a Labour Government in 1924, proposed that having regard to the

country as a whole, many more children should pass to secondary schools, in the then current sense of the term, and recommended the establishment of two main types of school. These were to be the Grammar School (erstwhile Secondary) and the Modern School providing courses with a "realistic" or practical trend. Thus a structured separatism was established and with the addition of the Technical High School recommended in the Spens Report of 1938⁴) became the tri-partite system. With the virtual non-development of the technical schools, however, most children in England and Wales attended, and still attend, either grammar or modern schools. The status of the Grammar School still catering largely for pupils from middle class homes was not altered in any substantial way.

The Education Act of 1944 was the culmination of educational thinking up to that date and in bold progressive terms stated that "... it shall be the duty of the local education authority... to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community by securing that efficient education... should be available to meet the needs of the population in its area"; further, that the schools should not be deemed sufficient unless they were adequate in number, character and equipment, "offering such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable" in view of the different ages, abilities and aptitudes of the pupils. For an Education Act this wording had new implications and was indicative of an awareness that education is different from, and far more than, mere schooling. The principal of teaching simply the basic curriculum to the great majority of children and offering academic or advanced technical education to the few was no longer tenable.

The Act did not, however, lay down how the schools should be organised. In consequence, the selective system became more embedded, resting firmly upon the trend of thought, well established in the 1930's and 40's, that intellectual differences in children were innate and accurately measurable. It was considered that education suited to the age, ability and aptitude of each child could be provided in the schools already established under "Hadow" reorganisation, following a selection procedure to determine the suitability of the child for school. But there was an increasing tendency to question the validity⁵) and justice of selection at age 11 plus and in a small number of areas comprehensive schools were making their appearance.

The provision of universal secondary education had been urged by the Labour Party throughout the first decades of the 20th century; the multi-lateral school, and later the comprehensive school, found much support due to their avoidance of selection and segregation. The statement of the Trades Union Congress, ^{5a}) opposing the Spens Report which maintained

the three types of secondary school and gave only guarded encouragement to the multi-lateralists, well sums up this attitude. They pointed out that "... so long as this stratification of children at the age of eleven remains, it is in practice useless to talk of parity in education or equality of opportunity in after life". Similarly the Labour controlled education committee of the London County Council dismissed the rationale of the separatist system as "a piece of rationalization".

At the beginning of this paper we said that findings of recent research were encouraging to the comprehensivists. We consider such findings below, in two classes: first, those unfavourable to a selective system, and secondly those positive towards a comprehensive system.

Evidence against the Selective System. This turns upon the deficiencies of selection procedures, in particular the "intelligence test", as the basis of allocating children to schools. Yates and Pidgeon summarize the position as follows: "If children are to be segregated into courses of secondary education which are sharply differentiated for those who just secure entrance to a grammar school and those who fail by a narrow margin to do so - as is the case in most tri-partite or bi-partite systems then - even the use of the most efficient procedure that can, in the light of our present knowledge, be devised, results in a considerably greater number of wrong allocations than can be viewed with equanimity".^{5b)} Professor Vernon⁶⁾ contests the view "... widespread among educationists that there exists in the population a fixed distribution or 'pool' of intelligence which limits either the numbers of individuals capable of higher education, or the educational standards that can be achieved by groups of pupils or students of given IQ level". He further observes that to base selection for academic and higher education on tests of intelligence or other aptitudes is unsound and that such selection could conceivably be based on tests or surveys of aspirations, interests and social attitudes in the populations.

Elvin⁷⁾ points out that "two related tendencies have been observable in recent years: first, rather less confidence in the precision and finality of measurements of intelligence; and second, rather more attention to psychologists who have said that such tests should be used for diagnostic rather than for virtually final selective purposes".

The cultural and social bias reflected in most tests means a measurement highly loaded towards "experience" rather than innate ability; thus children from homes lacking, or inadequate, in the right kind of experience for intellectual development inevitably score low. Moreover, selection at the early age of 11 allows little time for the enriching experience of school to have its effect.

Several studies have commented on the differential effects of environ-

ment on test scores and selection procedures. Floud, Halsey and Martin⁸⁾ describe the large numbers of children handicapped in selection procedures by social factors. Douglas⁹⁾ considers the limiting effect of the varying availability of places in grammar schools as well as describing the deterioration of the performance of working class children while in primary school. The Robbins Report¹⁰⁾ indicates the greater proportion of children of non-manual workers reaching full-time education than those of manual workers.

Lawton¹¹⁾ shows that the educational performance of large numbers of working-class children is far below their potential ability. He ascribes this to a working class sub-culture which handicaps those children in school and manifests itself in inferior performance. Husén¹²⁾ has described how, for Swedish children, their social starting point is more predictive of success in later life than measured ability.

Further evidence unfavourable to a selective system exists in the social psychological effects of the system upon the pupils themselves. It has been demonstrated that secondary grammar and secondary modern schools have different social class structures, the grammar school being predominantly middle class and the modern school mainly working class. Further, the boys of modern schools clearly "show that they are aware of the limitations imposed upon possible ascent or even social 'status-quo' by the type of education they are receiving", and each social class group in the grammar school has more ambitious aspirations than its counterpart in the modern school.¹³⁾

Tapper¹⁴⁾ points out that "for educational and occupational aspirations school is the most important influence" and carries great weight in the formation of roles and attitudes. In this area, he finds the effect of school greater than the effect of social class.

Thus it is undeniably established that ability or intelligence tests are not infallible, and are best used as diagnostic instruments. Used in selection procedures, they discriminate against working class children by virtue of their cultural bias and by reflecting the impoverished environment of less literary homes. Such children therefore are deemed suitable for education in a secondary modern school, where a lack of academic stimulation, an inadequate "self-image" and falling levels of aspiration lead to a deterioration in measured intelligence. Selection, and its ally, streaming might be seen as a process of conditioning which in many cases begins on entry to junior school.

Most studies in this field would support Fleming's contention that enriching the environment improves intellectual performance and that "... the sooner the change occurs the greater its effect".¹⁵⁾

Evidence for the Comprehensive System. A Conservative Minister, Lord Butler, designer of the 1944 Education Act, is on record as saying that education cannot by itself create the social structure of a country.¹⁶⁾ The Rt. Hon. A. Crosland, Labour Minister of Education and originator in 1965 of Circular 10/65, which ordained that the comprehensive system should be national policy, has stated his belief that education can and must compensate for deficiencies in upbringing and adverse social circumstances.^{16a)} It is held that education can re-shape the social structure and comprehensive education is the way towards this end. In support of these views there is much "committed" writing but little research not suffering from the usual limitations of work done in pursuit of specific higher degrees in the universities.¹⁷⁾

An important study, however, is that of Miller,¹⁸⁾ who compared matched samples of boys in comprehensive, secondary modern and grammar schools and concluded that comprehensive schools had beneficial results in regard to certain cultural, social and educational phenomena. He found the comprehensive schools contributed to a greater cultural unity, improved cultural standards, helped overcome problems in disparity of esteem and through a more purposeful education encouraged boys to stay on at school. Social maturity, however, appeared to be related to ability and/or home conditions rather than to school environment.

A factor which affects all studies of comprehensive schools and which Miller duly notes, is the problem of diversity. Few schools have the same kind of accommodation, intake or organisation. Research into comprehensive schools therefore means, in general, research into schools designed or intended to provide comprehensive education but operating within the limits of local conditions.

Hill (1959)¹⁹⁾ considered that in the schools he studied the pupils were gaining a "richer" education by the provision of a wide range of courses combining liberal and technical studies. An advantage was that the schools served a representative community of children both socially and intellectually. However, he saw the problem of size and the confusion of social purpose with educational aims as two inherent threats to educational standards in the comprehensive school.

Currie (1962)²⁰⁾ Sinha (1963)²¹⁾ and Hind (1964)²²⁾ all discuss various aspects of organisation within the school and their effects. Of these, Currie's study is the most extensive, examining comprehensive schools with "particular reference to the educational, social and cultural effects of the single-sex and co-educational types of school". He concludes that in providing for a wider range of needs and interests of its pupils the comprehensive school achieves greater personal satisfactions and adjustment;

this is reflected in fewer emotional upsets, tensions and problems. Tensions associated with learning and development were generally less severe in comprehensive schools than in grammar or secondary modern schools. Currie's evidence thus suggests a generally higher degree of adjustment to school in the comprehensive schools. Currie adds an important comment: "It would be wrong to evaluate the relative success or failure of the various secondary school systems by using the same criteria. It can justifiably be claimed that the Grammar and Comprehensive schools are providing different functions within the English secondary educational system and therefore should not be considered as rivals in status or efficiency."

Koshe (1957)²³ found that, in measured intelligence and in English, girls profit more by entering a grammar school. However, boys gained higher scores in arithmetic/mathematics tests when in a comprehensive school. In comparable groups of pupils attainment in English and arithmetic is greater in comprehensive schools compared with modern schools. In general, he comments that the type of school seems to influence girls more than boys.

As for the general "mixing" of pupils, both Pape (1961)²⁴ and Dixon (1962)²⁵ found this did occur within comprehensive schools irrespective of social background or ability level. Pape compared this with the finding that in the grammar school pupils tended to separate themselves off within the school into even finer ability groupings corresponding to the graded forms.

Egglestone (1965)²⁶ examined the provision and retentivity of extended courses in different schools, finding that comprehensive schools emerged superior. He points out, however, that this was partly due to the socio-economic attributes of the areas where most of the comprehensive schools were situated and partly to a climate of expectation favourable to extended education and fostered by the local education authorities involved. In the non-selective comprehensive school there was evidence of less holding power over the most able pupils than in selective schools.

The studies cited in the foregoing section are generally modest in scopes, focussed upon a particular area of enquiry and mostly comparative between different systems. School is compared with school in different areas of activity. Given that the activities are aimed towards acceptable objectives all this is helpful so far as it goes. But what of comprehensive education *per se*, and the hopes and intentions of its protagonists? This means an assessment in terms of objectives, in this case specifically of social psychological objectives.

Objectives

The official establishment of comprehensive schools was based largely upon negative evidence for the selective system and a socialist philosophy. No specifically behavioural objectives were evident. Of eight "advantages" of the comprehensive school listed by Miller,^{26a)} six may be said to be relevant to the social psychological field. The comprehensive school

- overcomes numerous difficulties associated with early selection,
- helps to solve the problem of disparity of esteem for the different kinds of secondary education,
- ensures equality of educational opportunity for all children,
- provides a wide variety of courses resulting in more adequate adjustment of education to the children's needs, increased purpose in schooling and longer attendance at school,
- avoids the harmful effects of social segregation,
- promotes cultural unity and an enhancement of the community's general standing.

Such evidence as there is suggests that these advantages are in fact being achieved. But there is need for discussion and assessment of a profounder kind.

Education in the Soviet Union is completely comprehensive and its aims have been summed up thus: "The role of Soviet education is to assist in the building of a communist society, in shaping the materialist world outlook of the students, equipping them with a good grounding in the different fields of knowledge and preparing them for socially useful work".²⁷⁾ As Grant²⁸⁾ points out, the political aims of their educational system are openly declared.

The Swedish Education Committee (a political body) presented to Parliament in 1950 proposals for school reforms. They summarised the task of the school as the provision of "welfare, study training, skill in languages and mathematics, general knowledge, aesthetic training, practical training, vocational guidance, health training, social training and character training."²⁹⁾

Conant³⁰⁾ describes two of the main objectives of a comprehensive high school as "first, to provide a general education for all future citizens; second, to provide good elective programmes for those who wish to use their subsequent education in college or university". In a check list of fifteen items for evaluating a comprehensive high school, only three or four would directly or indirectly refer to social psychological aims.

It is clear that behavioural objectives, especially in the area with which we are concerned, are not strikingly evident and have rarely been made explicit. It is in this direction that our discussion must turn.

A first step in this direction has been taken as part of a major research project into comprehensive education in England and Wales.^{30a}) Following factual surveys depicting the types and organisation of schools, this will investigate whether or to what extent certain objectives of comprehensive education are being achieved. Failing an "official" statement, objectives were enunciated by groups of professional experts, including teachers, psychologists, philosophers, sociologists and administrators. Thus a framework of investigation for the enquiry was provided. Here the comparison is not with other types of schools but with a set of objectives developed exclusively for the comprehensive style itself.

There would appear to be two methods of approach to the study of comprehensive schools. The first is to philosophise in advance of research. The other is the "waiting game", that is, allowing comprehensive education to develop and in course of time arriving at objectives in the light of the results of the implementation of the comprehensive ideal. Although the project just mentioned by no means exhausts all approaches to evaluation, it perhaps serves both the foregoing purposes. As well as assessing the schools in terms of agreed objectives, it also attempts to discover what comprehensive education means in practice, to administrators, field workers, teachers and others who work in comprehensive schools.

Himmelweit³¹) states: "A characterization of pupils' attitudes and behaviour is more meaningful in terms of the type of school an individual attends than in terms of the home he comes from"; "once assigned to given types of schools, the pupils learn to internalise the norms and expectations of the school and to respond to the particular type of teaching and teacher-pupil interaction". Here is a renewed faith in education and in the potency of the school as the chief agent of social change. However, what the protagonists of comprehensive education would welcome, the radicals would view with caution. Even with agreed behavioural objectives, the question remains as to whether a change in the educational system will remedy the ills of society, or merely the ills of the previous system.

Objectives should point beyond the outward reorganisation of schools and their immediate aims and envisage conscious and active efforts to change basic attitudes to the function of education, to society and to the social structure generally. One important aspect of this is the degree to which a school is correctly orientated towards the encouragement of social acceptance at all levels. A meaningful criterion of assessment could well be an index indicating the degree of exposure to interaction and integration allowed the pupils. Operationally this might be seen in these terms:

- The extent to which the school is physically planned to facilitate mixing of all kinds of children.

- The extent to which the curriculum is planned to facilitate grouping of pupils for various academic and non-academic activities.
- The extent to which the school makes explicit attempts to *involve* the children when they first enter school and create for them meaningful success experiences.
- How far the school actively and operationally encourages and allows the pupils to share in the running of the school.
- Whether the pupils are brought to see the worth of their contributions to school life and to the life of the community, and to perceive their role as active members of a community engaged in the business of learning and developing.
- The kinds of attitudinal patterns which teachers and administrators hold towards their pupils and the social structure and function of the school.

The answers to questions of this kind can assist in a functional assessment of how far schools can, and perhaps do, help in the social and psychological re-education of the individual in society.

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SOZIAL-PSYCHOLOGISCHE ASPEKTE DER GESAMTSCHULE

von T. H. MONKS, Exeter, und T. KAWWA, London

Seit Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts ist das englische Bildungssystem vorwiegend selektiv gewesen. Der Bericht der Cross Commission (1898), das Erziehungsgesetz von 1902, der Hadow-Bericht von 1926 und der Spens-Bericht von 1938 haben wenig dazu beigetragen, eine Änderung herbeizuführen. Das Erziehungsgesetz von 1944 hat das selektive Prinzip sogar noch verstärkt. Die zunehmende Ablehnung von Intelligenztests als Ausleseinstrument und die Vielfalt der Forschungsergebnisse über Milieueinflüsse auf die intellektuelle Entwicklung des Kindes, sowie die Kritik an der Ungerechtigkeit des Auslesesystems haben jedoch der Forschung im Bereich der Gesamtschule neuen Auftrieb gegeben. Die innerschulische Struktur (insbesondere das *streaming*) wurde untersucht. Die Effizienz der Gesamtschulen ist bislang noch wenig durch wissenschaftliche Forschung belegt. Aus den vorliegenden Ergebnissen geht jedoch hervor, daß solche Schulen dazu beitragen, kulturelle

Unterschiede auszugleichen und das Prestigegefälle zwischen den verschiedenen Schultypen abzubauen. Einen direkten Beweis, daß das Gesamtschulsystem das akademische Niveau negativ beeinflußt, gibt es nicht. Die Forschung wird auf dem Gebiet der Gesamtschule weiter fortgesetzt mit dem Ziel, die Reformen unter Einbeziehung von sozialen, psychologischen und philosophischen Kriterien auszuwerten.

ASPECTS PSYCHOLOGIQUES SOCIAUX DE L'ECOLE POLYVALENTE

par T. G. MONKS, Exeter, et T. KAWWA, Londres

Depuis le début du 20^e siècle, l'éducation anglaise a surtout été sélective. Le rapport de la commission Cross (1898), la loi d'enseignement de 1902, le rapport Hadow (1926) et celui de Spens de 1938 ont peu fait pour modifier cette situation. La loi d'enseignement de 1944 a même servi à enraciner plus fermement la sélection. Cependant, le refus croissant d'accepter les tests d'intelligence comme instruments valables de sélection, ainsi qu'une série de plus en plus grande de renseignements relatifs à l'effet de l'environnement sur le développement intellectuel, et des sentiments profonds relatifs à l'injustice du système sélectif, ont provoqué un élan de pensée et de recherche vers l'éducation polyvalente. L'organisation interne des écoles, surtout les systèmes divisés en plusieurs groupes d'après les différents sujets, a aussi été examinée attentivement. Les preuves de l'efficacité des écoles polyvalentes sont encore limitées. Les renseignements, dont nous disposons, indiquent que ces écoles contribuent à une plus grande unité culturelle, et aident à supprimer les différences de prestige entre les différents types d'école. Il n'existe pas de preuve directe établissant que les niveaux académiques diminuent dans les systèmes polyvalents. Des recherches sur l'éducation polyvalente se poursuivent toujours, et se concentrent surtout, à l'heure actuelle, sur l'évaluation, utilisant certains critères sociaux, psychologiques et philosophiques.

DOES BROADER EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY MEAN LOWER STANDARDS?

by TORSTEN HUSÉN, Stockholm

As some may recall, an account of Soviet education was published in the United States almost simultaneously with the launching in 1957 of the first Sputnik. Very soon American educators began to pass Scandinavia breathlessly heading for Moscow. Educational folklore has always been full of sweeping statements about the quality of education both within and between countries. Under the impact of the Sputnik psychosis eminent personages began to add to this folklore by making statements about the relative merits of American and European education. Typical of the spell of masochism that struck the United States and the self-criticism that was levelled at American education was the eagerness to look for remedies in Europe (whom Mr. Babbitt had once upon a time pronounced unable to "produce" anything but zoological gardens and museums) that would enable the United States to revise its educational system and thus to compete successfully with the Soviet Union and other countries with regard both to quantity and quality, especially in producing enough qualified scientists and engineers.

Most of the naive comparisons made under the impact of the Sputnik shock were based upon assumptions which have never been tested empirically. So far, criteria for the effectiveness of various educational systems have often been enrolment or graduation figures but no international criteria for educational quality, such as internationally valid examinations, have been devised. Within countries there is a rather high degree of uniformity in educational structure and practices, whereas across countries there are considerable differences. By relating input factors reflecting the characteristics of a country, the social background of pupils, teacher competence, curriculum characteristics and teaching practices, both to cognitive outcomes in terms of achievement and to non-cognitive outcomes in terms of attitudes toward school learning, comparisons could be made on a much firmer basis. We would then be able to identify factors which are decisive in influencing pupil achievement in particular subject areas. In order to carry out meaningful comparisons between countries and to identify such factors, we need to establish internationally valid, quantitative criteria whereby the performance of pupils at certain grade or age levels or at certain terminal points (for instance at the end of the pre-university school) can be assessed.¹⁾

The term "standard" has a time-honoured place in educational folk-

lore; it often has connotations of self-evidence conducive to the belief that it denotes a metaphysically anchored concept. The accusation of "lowering standards" is frequently levelled in order to counter attempts to change educational structure in order to broaden opportunities. It is a phrase which has an almost deadening effect upon those who advocate changes. When the selective type of secondary academic school in Sweden was gradually replaced during the 1950's by comprehensive schools providing universal secondary education, it was predicted that the new system would "lower standards". The new schools had to disprove the contention that "more means worse" by being subjected to continuous comparisons with the previous type of selective school. For almost a decade, it did not occur to anyone in Sweden that one cannot compare a comprehensive with a selective educational system solely in terms of their respective end-products. In the first place, we must evaluate the systems in terms of the price paid for the quality of the end-products. How many have been lost, or what is the attrition rate? In the second place we must consider the "productivity" of an educational system, by asking: "How many are brought how far?"

The International Project for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, known under the abbreviation IEA, was not launched primarily to compare countries. The overall aim was to relate certain important characteristics of different systems to the outcomes of instruction in terms of pupil achievement and attitudes. I shall limit myself here to problems related to the different *systems* and thereby focus on the problem given in the slogan I use as a theme: "Does more mean worse?" It should, however, be pointed out that the IEA project attempts to take advantage of international variations in educational structure and practice in order to assess the relative importance of these factors for the outcome of instruction as measured by achievements on internationally standardized tests.

It should further be pointed out that the IEA project was also designed to study the relationships between education and the salient social and economic factors for each country. An educational system does not operate in a socio-economic vacuum. The change in school structure from a dual, class-stratified to a more integrated and unitary one, which we are witnessing in several European countries reflects a trend toward a society and economy with a rapidly increasing need for highly trained manpower. Such a need cannot be satisfied by an elitist system based on social and intellectual selectivity.

At the end of the 1950's I attended an extremely interesting conference in the United States, sponsored by the College Entrance Examination

Board.²⁾ The theme was "talent hunting", a most fitting one during the intensive soul-searching that occupied the Americans during the Sputnik psychosis. An outstanding expert in comparative education gave a lecture on "talent hunting abroad" in which he very competently described the high standards reached by secondary school leavers in most European countries and thereby emphasized the high level of intellectual excellence on which undergraduate university education could be built. In the discussion afterwards, I took the liberty of pointing out that what had been accurately described was the high standard reached by the intellectual – and social – élite which survives the continuous screening in the secondary academic school in Europe. These students consisted at that time of 5–10 per cent of an age cohort as compared to over 60 per cent in the United States. In order to make a fair comparison, therefore, one should take the top 15 per cent of high school graduates in the United States and compare them with the entire "high school graduating group" in European countries. Chart I gives the figures for 1964. About 70 per cent of an age cohort in the United States and more than 50 per cent in Japan are in the final year of the secondary school, as compared to less than 20 per cent in most of the European countries which participated in the IEA study.

But not even a comparison which takes into account the differences between countries with regard to the proportion of the total age group reaching the pre-university level would be "fair". One should also take into account the price paid for the high standard achieved by the few. In that price, one should include the able pupils from underprivileged homes who were not even given the chance to realise their potentialities because of the selective structure of the school system. In several European countries, children at the age of 10–12 are divided into two categories, whereby the "academic goats" are separated from the "non-academic sheep". One thus gets a dual-track system which has its roots in the traditional class structure of the society. Pupils at the age of 10–12 do not have any articulate plans about their educational and vocational career, and the decisions are made by their parents in terms of social ambitions and economic resources. Furthermore, the attrition rate, in terms of drop-out and grade repeating, is often very high in the traditional European academic secondary school. To take only one example: of 100 pupils who enter the German nine-year *Gymnasium* at the age of 10–11 less than 20 succeed in finishing the course in due time, at the age of 19.³⁾ The rest consists either of grade repeaters or drop-outs. The relationship established in the IEA mathematics study between selectivity (or its reverse, "retentivity") on the one hand and social background of the pre-university pupils, on the other, is given in the Table. An index of 100 means

CHART I

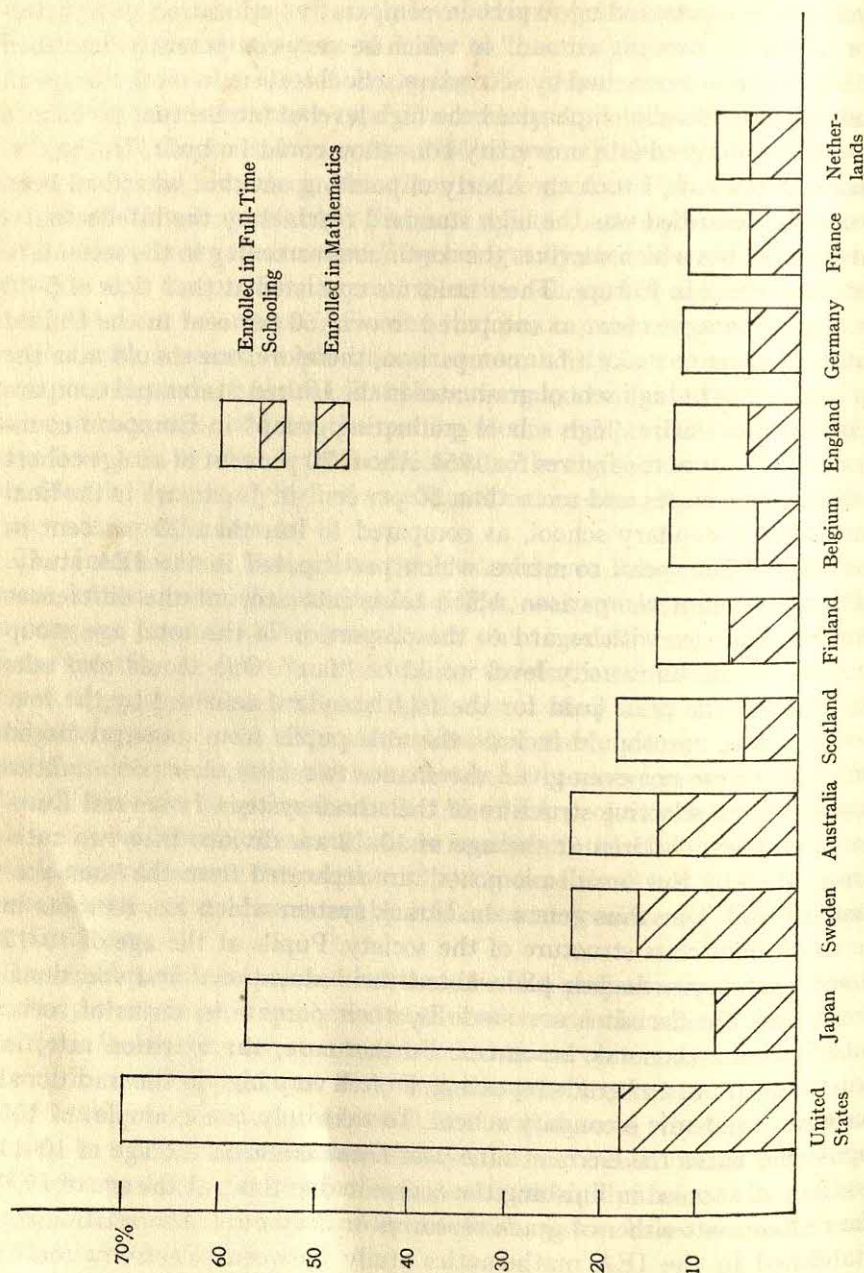
Percentage of Age Group in Final Year of Secondary School

TABLE
*Relationship between Retentivity and Social Class Composition
 at the Pre-university Level*

Country	Retentivity indices				
	(1) Percent of total age co- hort in pre-university year	(2) Profes- sionals, high tech- nical ex- ecutives (groups 1 and 2)	(3) Middle class sub- profes- sionals, clerks, working proprietors etc. (groups 3, 4, and 6)	(4) Farm pro- prietors and farm laborers (groups 5 and 8)	(5) Working class skilled, semi- skilled and unskilled (groups 7 and 9)
USA	70	117	120	129	85
Japan	57	204	114	79	48
Sweden	23	344	169	30	48
Scotland	18	364	200	100	48
Finland	14	272	117	94	58
Belgium	13	263	126	110	51
England	12	620	184	75	31
France	11	538	161	119	..
Fed. Rep. of Germany	11	589	113	45	12
Rank correlation with column 1		-0.76	0.05	0.36	0.62

that a group is fairly represented, whereas more than 100 means over-representation and less than 100 under-representation. As can be seen from the Table, the higher the retentivity the lower the social bias. In England and the Federal Republic of Germany, which in 1964 had a rather low retentivity, pupils whose parents are professionals and executives are vastly over-represented, whereas working class pupils are strongly under-represented.

Until recently it has not been possible to make sensible cross-national comparisons because of the lack of internationally valid yardsticks to measure the outcomes of instruction in various school systems. The lack of such evaluative criteria was strongly felt by a group of researchers who met at the Unesco Institute for Education in Hamburg, Federal Republic of Germany, during the latter part of the 1950's. The group analyzed school failure, such as non-promotion, and evaluation procedures, such as school marks and standardized achievement tests, in various countries. The original group, plus invited representatives of other research centers (from twelve countries in all), decided to conduct a pilot study to find

out whether it was feasible to administer achievement and attitude tests on an international scale.⁴⁾

The experiences in the pilot study were so encouraging that the group decided to embark on a main study, much broader in scale and including pupils at several age or grade levels. The first phase of the study was confined to mathematics, and was conducted during the years 1961-66.⁵⁾

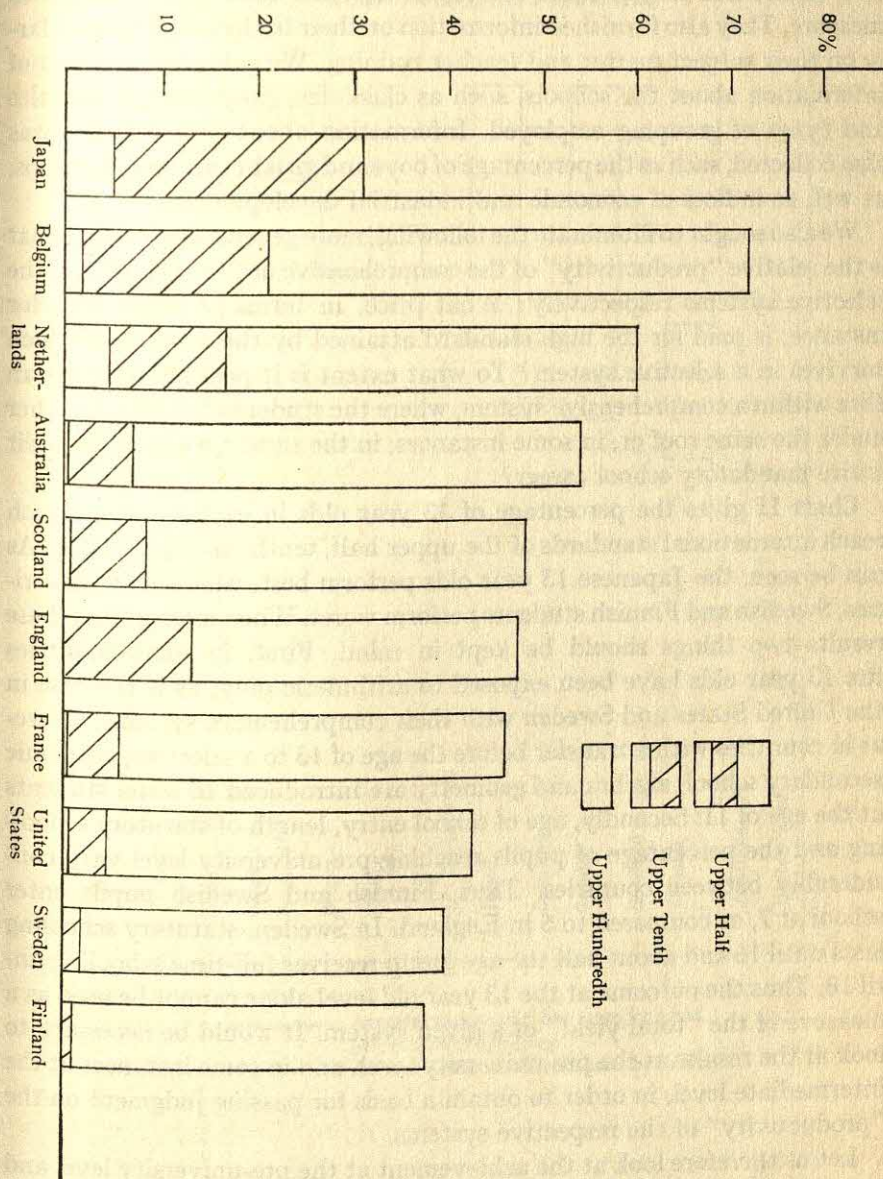
The project was a truly co-operative enterprise, in which twenty-five senior research workers from the twelve countries as well as random samples of about 133,000 pupils from 5,450 schools have been involved. Four target populations at the 13 year and pre-university level were sampled and tested in all the countries, consisting of: (1) All the pupils who were 13:0 – 13:11 on the day of testing; (2) All the pupils at the grade level where the majority of pupils of age 13:0 – 13:11 were to be found; (3) All pre-university pupils studying mathematics as an integral part of their course for future training or as part of their pre-university studies; and (4) All the pre-university pupils studying mathematics as a complementary part of their studies, and the remainder who did not take mathematics at all.

The rationale behind choosing these populations was, briefly, the following. If one wants to analyse the relationship between such factors as age of school entry, parental education and vocational status, teacher competence, amount of homework, number of hours of instruction, on the one hand, and the outcome of instruction, on the other, there are evident reasons for choosing an age when *all* are still at school to insure a representative sample of the total age group. The age of 13 proved to be best for this purpose. In some countries, the grade with the majority of 13 year olds consisted of those left in elementary school after the academic secondary school had taken off the "cream". In other countries, practically all the 13 year olds were found in the same grade. The pre-university group lends itself primarily to studies of "retentivity" and factors associated with selectivity. Together with an intermediate group of 15 to 16 year olds tested in a few countries, the pre-university group constitutes the basis for an analysis of the "total yield" of the educational systems under study.⁵⁾

An international committee of mathematics educators and test experts had the difficult and tedious task of devising the mathematics tests on the basis of an analysis of curriculum content and the items provided by national committees in the participating countries. The tests were tried out within eight different language areas. Tests were also constructed to evaluate the pupil's attitude toward mathematics, his perception of mathematics teaching and his conception of the role of mathematics. The

CHART II

*Percentage of Thirteen-Year-Old Pupils in Each Country
Reaching International Standards of Upper Half, Tenth, and Hundredth*



pupils and the teachers also completed questionnaires. The teachers rated, among other things, the opportunity which the students in their respective classes had had to learn the topics that the tests were designed to measure. They also furnished information on their background, particularly on their subject matter and teacher training. We collected all kinds of information about the schools, such as class size, programmes, facilities and types of grouping employed. Information about the countries was also collected, such as the percentage of boys and girls in various age groups, as well as indices of economic and industrial development.

We also sought to illuminate the following, more general questions: What is the relative "productivity" of the comprehensive or "retentive" and the selective systems respectively? What price, in terms of social bias for instance, is paid for the high standard attained by the small élite which survives in a selective system? To what extent is it possible to foster an élite within a comprehensive system, where the students are kept together under the same roof or, in some instances, in the same classroom for their entire mandatory school career?

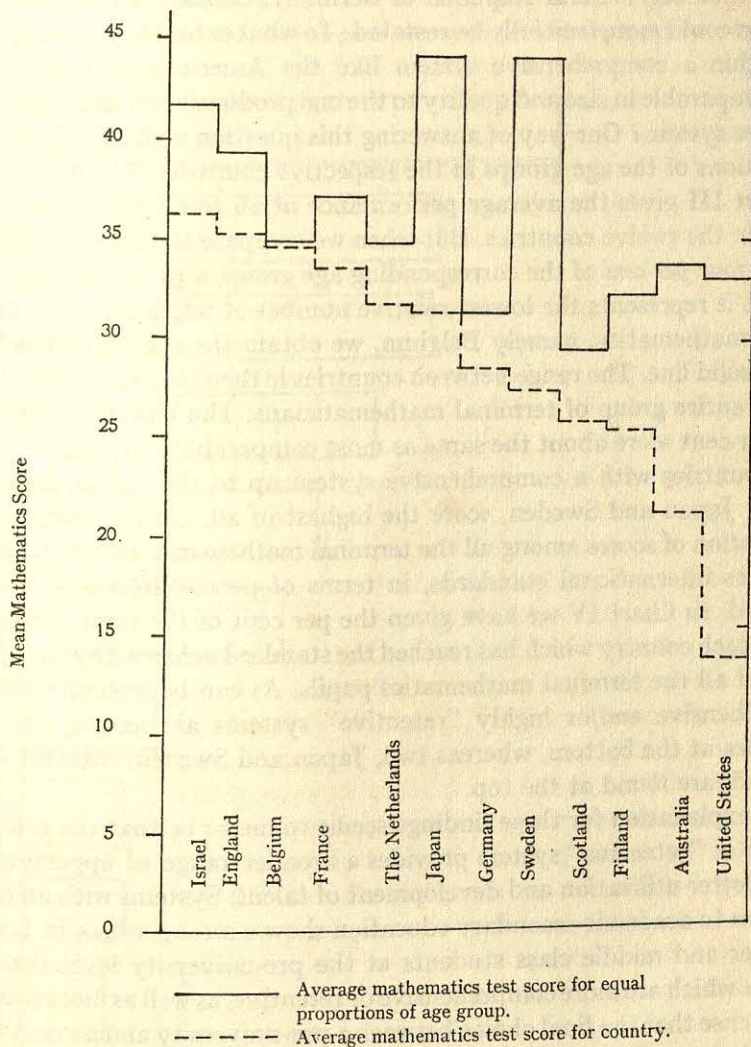
Chart II gives the percentage of 13 year olds in each country which reach international standards of the upper half, tenth, and hundredth. As can be seen, the Japanese 13 year olds perform best, whereas the American, Swedish and Finnish students perform worst. When interpreting these results two things should be kept in mind. First, in some countries the 13 year olds have been exposed to arithmetic only, as is the case in the United States and Sweden with their comprehensive systems, whereas in countries with a transfer before the age of 13 to a selective, academic secondary school, algebra and geometry are introduced to some students at the age of 11. Secondly, age of school entry, length of statutory schooling and the percentage of pupils reaching pre-university level vary considerably between countries. Thus, Finnish and Swedish pupils enter school at 7, as compared to 5 in England. In Sweden, statutory schooling lasts until 16 and about half the age group receives full-time schooling until 18. Thus the outcome at the 13 year old level alone cannot be used as a measure of the "total yield" of a given system. It would be necessary to look at the results at the pre-university level, and in some instances at the intermediate level, in order to obtain a basis for passing judgment on the "productivity" of the respective systems.

Let us therefore look at the achievement at the pre-university level and confine our comparisons to those who study mathematics as a main subject. As can be seen from the dotted line in Chart III, the average mathematics score among United States high school graduates taking mathematics is clearly below that of all other countries. However, we then have

CHART III

Mean Mathematics Test Scores

(1) for the Total Sample and (2) for Equal Proportions of Age Group in Each Country for Terminal Mathematics Populations



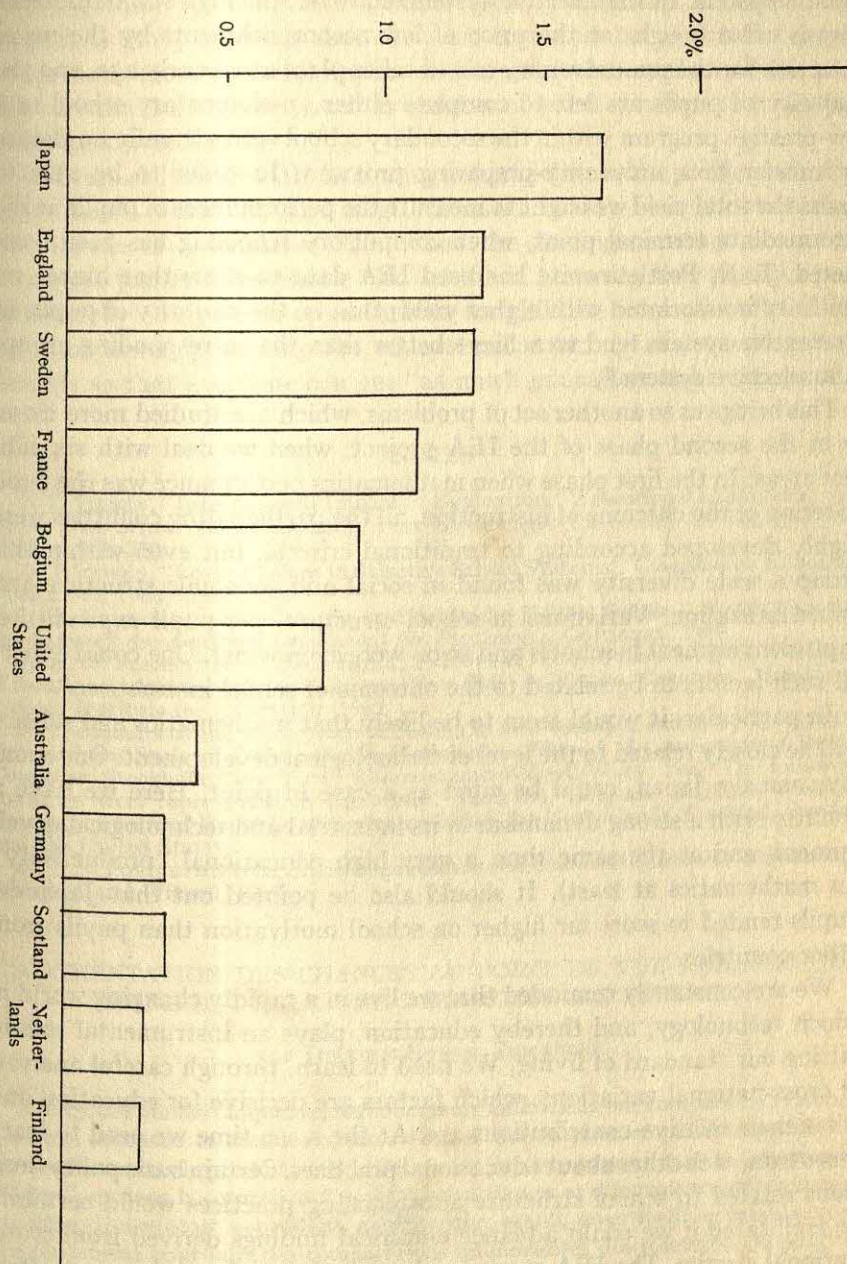
to take into account the fact that in the United States about 18 per cent of the age group of 17-18 year olds took mathematics and science in the graduating class as compared to only 4-5 per cent of the age group in England or the Federal Republic of Germany. Considering this fact the problem could more fruitfully be restated: To what extent has it been possible within a comprehensive system like the American to produce an élite comparable in size and quality to the one produced within a European selective system? One way of answering this question is to compare equal proportions of the age groups in the respective countries. The dotted line in Chart III gives the average performance of all terminal mathematics pupils in the twelve countries. But when we compare the average score of the *top four per cent* of the corresponding age group, a proportion selected because it represents the lowest relative number of pupils in any country taking mathematics, namely Belgium, we obtain the results represented by the solid line. The range between countries is then much narrower than for the entire group of terminal mathematicians. The United States' top four per cent score about the same as most comparable European groups. Two countries with a comprehensive system up to the age of 15 or 16, namely Japan and Sweden, score the highest of all. On the basis of the distribution of scores among all the terminal mathematics pupils in all the countries international standards, in terms of percentile scores, can be obtained. In Chart IV we have given the per cent of the total age group within each country which has reached the standard achieved by the upper tenth of all the terminal mathematics pupils. As can be seen none of the comprehensive and/or highly "retentive" systems are among the five countries at the bottom, whereas two, Japan and Sweden, together with England, are found at the top.

The explanation for these findings seems to me to be that the comprehensive or "retentive" system provides a broader range of opportunities and a better utilization and development of talent. Systems with an early selection to academic secondary education show a stronger bias in favour of upper and middle class students at the pre-university level than do systems which are more comprehensive or retentive, as well as more flexible in the sense that the final choice between a pre-university and a vocational program is made at the age of 15-17 instead of at the age of 10-12.

As was indicated earlier, the "productivity" of a school system ought to be assessed not only by the quality of its final products: the students who qualify for university entrance, because we are then comparing widely varying proportions of age groups, and we leave out those who are either excluded from secondary education or do not survive it. We are therefore entitled to put the question like this: "How many are brought how far?"

CHART IV

Percent of Age Group Reaching Upper Tenth of Terminal Mathematics Pupils by International Standards



We have shown that an elite comparable in size and quality to that of an "elite system" can be cultivated within a retentive and often comprehensive system. In the selective system, however, the high standard of the elite is often bought at the price of low accomplishments by the mass. Selection for the pre-university school takes place at an early age, and the majority of pupils are left to complete either an elementary school or a low-prestige program within the secondary school with virtually no chance to transfer to a university-preparing program. In order to be able to assess the total yield we ought to measure the performances of pupils at the intermediate terminal point, when compulsory schooling has been completed. T. N. Postlethwaite has used IEA data to show that higher retentivity is associated with higher yield; that is, the majority of pupils in a retentive system tend to achieve better than the corresponding groups in a selective system.⁶⁾

This brings us to another set of problems, which are studied more closely in the second phase of the IEA project, when we deal with six subject areas. In the first phase when mathematics performance was the main criterion of the outcome of instruction, all the participating countries were highly developed according to traditional criteria, but even within this group a wide diversity was found in social and economic structure and industrialization. Variations in school structure, per-pupil expenditure, capital investment in schools and so on were even wider. One could expect all such factors to be related to the outcome of school instruction.

In particular, it would seem to be likely that mathematics and science will be closely related to the level of technological development. One country, namely Japan, could be cited as a case in point. Here we have a country with a strong dynamism in its industrial and technological development, and at the same time, a very high educational "productivity" (in mathematics at least). It should also be pointed out that Japanese pupils tended to score far higher on school motivation than pupils from other countries.

We are constantly reminded that we live in a rapidly changing world in which technology, and thereby education, plays an instrumental role in raising our standard of living. We need to learn, through careful analysis of cross-national variations, which factors are decisive for education and what their relative contributions are. At the same time we need to learn more from each other about educational practices. Certain basic policy decisions related to school structure and teaching practices would certainly be facilitated if we could advance empirical findings derived from cross-national studies. The IEA group has been trying to develop a more effective conceptual model for the next phase of its study, which, among

other things, will try to identify independent strategic variables which account for most of the cross-national variation and at the same time try to bring these variables into a hierarchical relationship. From the mathematics study it seems that the socio-economic background of pupils has a much more powerful impact on learning outcome than all the pure school variables together, such as number of years of instruction, teacher competence, and so on.

I have mainly dealt with the findings which relate to the problem whether more means worse. By and large, therefore as has been shown earlier, the answer is a tentative "No", but the findings are not consistent enough to justify an emphatic "No". I think, however, they justify a policy whereby educational opportunities for children from all walks of life are broadened by making the educational structure of a country more flexible so that everyone can get "as much education as he can stand."

NOTES

1) T. HUSÉN, "International Impact of Evaluation," *Educational Evaluation: New Roles, New Means*. 68th Yearbook, Part II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969, p. 335-350.

2) T. HUSÉN, "Loss of Talent in Selective School Systems," *Comparative Education Review*, 48, 1960, pp. 70-74.

3) U. UNDEUTSCH, "Auslese für und durch die Höhere Schule." *Bericht über den 22. Kongreß der deutschen Gesellschaft für Psychologie*. Göttingen, 1955.

4) A. W. FOSHAY; R. L. THORNDIKE; F. HOTYAT; D. A. PIDGEON; D. A. WALKER, *Educational Achievements of Thirteen-Year-Olds in Twelve Countries*. Hamburg: Unesco Institute for Education, 1962.

5) The results of the study were published in two volumes, edited by T. HUSÉN, *International Study of Achievement in Mathematics. Phase I. A Comparison of Twelve Countries*. Stockholm/New York: Almqvist and Wiksell/Wiley, 1967. The following countries were represented in the study: Australia, Belgium, England, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, Scotland, Sweden and the United States.

6) T. N. POSILETHWAITE, *School Organisation and Student Achievement*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1967.

L'AUGMENTATION DES CHANCES AU POINT DE VUE PEDAGOGIQUE SIGNIFIE-T-ELLE UNE DIMINUTION DES NIVEAUX?

par TORSTEN HUSÉN, Stockholm

A la fin des années cinquante, les éducateurs américains ont comparé les systèmes scolaires européen et américain, dans l'espoir que le premier puisse suggérer des façons d'accroître la productivité de l'école américaine, surtout dans la "chasse aux talents", et dans la formation d'experts scientifiques et d'ingénieurs suffisamment qualifiés. Il n'existait, cependant, aucun critère établi, quantitativement et valablement internationalement pour faire des comparaisons intéressantes des résultats. De plus, les questions pertinentes furent: quel est le prix que paie l'école sélective pour la bonne qualité du produit final, combien d'élèves a-t-on perdus en cours d'étude, et à quel

niveau combien sont parvenus. Une telle comparaison devrait tenir compte des différences entre pays, relatives à la proportion du groupe total d'âge dans les différentes branches du système scolaire. Dans le système à double voie, les enfants sont divisés à l'âge de 10 à 12 ans en deux catégories – en pratique, en grande partie selon la structure de classe traditionnelle de la société. L'étude internationale sur le rendement en mathématiques dans douze pays (*IEA*) présente les résultats des examens des échantillons pris au hasard totalisant 133 000 élèves. En 1964, quatre groupes de population furent testés. En général, on a découvert que les pays utilisant le système polyvalent de rétention, ont accusé une meilleure "productivité". L'explication semble être que ce système fournit une gamme plus étendue des chances et une utilisation et un développement meilleurs de talents – tandis que le système, avec une sélection précoce vers l'enseignement secondaire académique, accuse une accentuation plus forte en faveur des étudiants de la classe supérieure et moyenne. Les enfants doués, provenant de groupes sociaux non-privilegiés ne sont pas compris.

La seconde phase du projet de l'*IEA*, qui traite six domaines de sujets, espère déterminer avec plus de précision l'influence de différents facteurs, tels que: structure sociale et économique, industrialisation, structure scolaire, dépenses par élève, et investissement de capital dans les écoles sur les résultats de l'enseignement. Les mathématiques et surtout les sciences devraient avoir un rapport étroit avec le niveau de développement technologique. Il semblerait que le niveau socio-économique des élèves a une influence beaucoup plus puissante sur les résultats de l'étude que toutes les variables scolaires "pures". La réponse à la question: "l'augmentation des chances dans l'enseignement au point de vue pédagogique signifie-t-elle une diminution des niveaux?" est un "non" provisoire, mais nous devons savoir les facteurs qui sont décisifs et ce qu'est leur contribution relative. Pour expliquer ces problèmes, le groupe de l'*IEA* a essayé de développer un modèle conceptuel plus efficace pour la prochaine phase de son étude, où il s'efforcera d'identifier les variables stratégiques indépendantes qui expliquent la plupart des variations entre pays.

BEDEUTET ERWEITERUNG DER BILDUNGSCHANCEN NIEDRIGERE LEISTUNGEN?

VON TORSTEN HUSÉN, Stockholm

Ende der fünfziger Jahre haben amerikanische Erziehungswissenschaftler europäische und amerikanische Bildungssysteme untersucht und verglichen mit dem Ziel, auf Grund der europäischen Erfahrungen Wege zu finden, um die "Produktivität" der amerikanischen Schulen zu steigern, Begabungsreserven auszuschöpfen und genügend qualifizierte Wissenschaftler und Techniker heranzubilden. Es bestanden jedoch keine international gültigen, quantitativen Kriterien, mit denen sich zutreffende Vergleiche von Schülerleistungen durchführen ließen, wobei folgende Fragen von Wichtigkeit wären: Welchen Preis hat die Selektiv-Schule für das hohe Leistungsniveau zu zahlen, d.h. wieviele Schüler müssen ausscheiden und wieviele Schüler erreichen welches Niveau? Solche Vergleiche sollten die Unterschiede zwischen den Ländern im Hinblick auf die Proportionen des gesamten Jahrgangs in verschiedenen Zweigen des Schulsystems berücksichtigen. Im Zwei-Säulen-System werden die Kinder im Alter von 10-12 Jahren in zwei Gruppen auf-

geteilt – in der Praxis weitgehend nach der traditionellen sozialen Struktur eines Landes. Die internationale Untersuchung über Leistung in der Mathematik in 12 Ländern (IEA) hat auf Grund von Stichproben, bestehend aus insgesamt 133.000 Schülern, Leistungstests durchgeführt. Im Jahre 1964 wurden 2 Altersgruppen getestet. Allgemein wurde festgestellt, daß diejenigen Länder mit einem gesamtschulartigen System eine größere "Produktivität" aufwiesen. Die Erklärung dafür scheint darin zu bestehen, daß dieses System bei größerer Berücksichtigung der Begabungen eine breitere Skala von Chancen bietet, während das System der frühen Auslese für die akademische Sekundar-Schule dazu neigt, Schüler aus den oberen und mittleren Schichten zu bevorzugen, wobei die begabten Kinder aus den unteren Schichten ausscheiden.

Die zweite Phase der IEA-Untersuchung, die sich mit 6 Unterrichtsfächern befaßt, versucht, den Einfluß verschiedener Faktoren, wie z.B. soziale und ökonomische Struktur, Industrialisierung, Schulorganisation, Ausgaben pro Schüler und finanzielle Aufwendungen der Schulen, auf die Unterrichtsergebnisse genauer zu bestimmen. Insbesondere sollte zwischen dem Leistungsniveau in den mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Fächern und dem Stand der technologischen Entwicklung eine enge Beziehung bestehen. Das sozio-ökonomische Milieu der Schüler scheint einen viel stärkeren Einfluß auf die Ergebnisse des Unterrichts zu haben als alle rein schulischen Faktoren. Die Antwort auf die Frage "Bedeutet Erweiterung der Bildungschancen niedrigere Leistungen?" ist ein vorläufiges "nein", aber es muß untersucht werden, welche Faktoren entscheidend sind und welchen Einfluß sie jeweils auf die Leistung haben. Um diese Fragen beantworten zu können, hat die IEA-Gruppe versucht, ein theoretisch besser ausgearbeitetes Modell für die nächste Stufe der Untersuchung aufzustellen, um unabhängige strategische Faktoren zu identifizieren, die den größten Teil der Variationen zwischen den Ländern erklären.

BOOK REVIEWS – BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN ANALYSES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

BURGESS, TYRRELL; LAYARD, RICHARD; PANT, PITAMBAR, *Manpower and Educational Development in India 1961-1986*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1968. pp. 89. 60/3.

Dieser Band über Arbeitskräftebedarf und Entwicklung des Bildungssystems in Indien ist die dritte Studie der Forschungsgruppe für ökonomische und statistische Studien der Hochschulbildung, die sich an der *London School of Economics and Political Science* gebildet hat. Die Arbeit entstand aus der direkten Zusammenarbeit zwischen indischen Planungsbehörden (Pitambar Pant war seinerzeit Chef der Planungsgruppe in New Delhi und gleichzeitig Chef der Perspektivplanungsabteilung in der Planungskommission Indiens), während Richard Layard stellvertretender Direktor der Forschungsgruppe an der LSE ist.

Die Studie reiht sich ein in die Serie verschiedener Veröffentlichungen über Prognosen zum Arbeitskräftebedarf der Zukunft, wie sie in den verschiedensten Ländern (auch in Entwicklungsländern) von privaten, halbamtlichen oder amtlichen Forschungsgruppen erstellt worden sind. Dieser Bericht ist als Vorbericht einer umfassenderen Studie zu sehen, die später noch differenzierte Angaben machen wird.

Die Arbeit beginnt mit einer Darstellung der Beschäftigungssituation hochqualifizierter Arbeitskräfte im Jahre 1961. Eine Bedarfsschätzung schließt sich an. Diese Bedarfsschätzung wird anhand einer groben Gliederung in Wirtschaftsbereiche vorgenommen.

Die Vorausschätzungen wurden abgeleitet von Zielsetzungen des wirtschaftlichen Wachstums, wie sie von der Perspektivplanungsabteilung der Planungskommission vorgegeben waren. Anschließend haben die Autoren das Bildungssystem selbst analysiert und die Arbeitskräftevorausschau umgesetzt in Anforderungen an das Bildungssystem.

Die benutzten Methoden für die Prognosen variieren je nach dem Teilbereich, auf den sie angewendet werden. So wurden beispielsweise im Bereich Bildung und Gesundheit die Schätzungen teilweise über die Bevölkerungsprognosen vorgenommen. In anderen Bereichen stand mehr das Wachstumsziel im Vordergrund. In diesem Zusammenhang interessiert besonders folgendes Ergebnis: Die Variationen der Zielvorstellungen in bezug auf die Wachstumsrate des Sozialproduktes zeigten, daß dadurch lediglich eine zeitliche Verschiebung der Bedarfsgrößen um zwei oder drei Jahre eintritt.

Die Arbeit enthält eine Reihe von interessanten technischen Anhängen, die für die konkrete Planungsarbeit und zu Vergleichszwecken außerordentlich nützlich sind.

Hier liegt auch der Vorzug des Buches, das sehr knapp und übersichtlich geschrieben ist. Es bietet vor allen Dingen für den Entwicklungshelfer und den Berater in Planungsfragen aufschlußreiche technische Hinweise und zugleich Daten zu Vergleichszwecken. Man erwartet nach diesem Zwischenbericht der Autoren mit großem Interesse den ausführlichen Hauptbericht der Studie über Arbeitskräftebedarf und Bildungsentwicklung in Indien, der voraussichtlich im nächsten Jahr erscheinen wird.

DUBIN, ROBERT; HEDLEY, R. ALAN, *The Medium May be Related to the Message: College Instruction by TV*. Eugene: University of Oregon, 1969. pp. 114.

In this book, the authors marshal research-based evidence to support the viability of instructing large classes of students in higher educational institutions by television, as an alternative to the medium of the conventional lecture. They look first at the consequences for students of being taught by television by means of an assessment of their examination performances, and then turn to a survey of the attitudes of both teachers and students towards this technological innovation, which may potentially influence its adoption.

A quotation which is used to preface the study emphasises the neutrality of television as a medium "neither educational nor instructive... simply an instrument that can be used to do certain kinds of educational jobs" (Carpenter). The limitation of this book is that its central argument is based on the use of television for only one particular kind of job, that of televising a "straight" lecture or discussion. Other tasks for which the medium may be well suited, with its specific characteristics of auditory and visual transmission, storage and distribution, are only briefly discussed. Likewise more philosophical questions of which kinds of educational ends television can best be used to implement, as well as problems concerning the organisational implications of its introduction, are issues merely touched on, mainly in the section on college teachers' views.

The first chapter analyses a number of studies comparing the effectiveness of television as an instructional medium with what the authors call "face-to-face" instruction. Emphasis is placed on experimental rigour, and consequently variations between media, methods of instruction and finally subject matter areas in the studies examined are systematically controlled. The authors' principal finding is that the performance of students taught by *one-way* television is as good (or bad) as that of students receiving conventional instruction. Two-way television produces distinctly inferior results.

These findings cannot be said to break any important new ground. It is the authors' interpretation of them which is controversial. By reference to one of their own previous works, they claim that there are no measurable differences to be found on student performances when comparisons are made between teaching *methods*. Therefore, if there are also no differences to be found between media, then there is really no *educational* issue at stake, only one of technological innovation. However, the following chapter, "Professors' Views on ETV", gives indications that there are indeed philosophical and educational issues raised by the introduction of new media, which cannot be so easily resolved. The authors find evidence that while the attitudes of American professors are "progressive and experimental" regarding ETV when viewed at a distance, negative attitudes increase with the likelihood of direct personal involvement. The cause seems to be primarily fears of a loss of student-teacher contact. Teachers in subject matter areas where individual instruction is considered of particular value tend to be unfavourable towards television. On the other hand, where a visual component and observable demonstration is a key factor in teaching, faculty members are likely to be much more enthusiastic towards the medium. As with the students, whose views are somewhat sketchily investigated in the following chapter, it is the impact on the *quality* of teaching which appears most to influence the judgments of those who are favourable to the use of the medium.

In a short concluding chapter the authors develop their own case for the use of ETV to improve the quality of teaching. With increasing enrolments of students in American colleges, the medium may enable the best teachers to instruct large numbers while cutting down the use of graduate assistants. Their assumption is that to continue the time-honoured proffering of knowledge by an instructor to a mass audience is the soundest solution to an educational dilemma. It may be argued, however, that the introduction of new media should provide an opportunity for a radical re-thinking of teaching methods, the utilisation of the resources which particular media offer, and of the goals of teaching and learning.

This book should be read by administrators and those concerned with issues of technological innovation, not as providing any definitive answers to the complex problems raised but as representative of a current of thought and reasoning. The reader must be aware of alternative interpretations of the data presented. The main lines of argument are clearly and vigorously unfolded, however, and are aided by a number of readily grasped tables and graphs. The book stimulates a worthwhile debate.

GRAEME KEMELFIELD, Leeds

FROESE, LEONHARD (Hrsg.), *Aktuelle Bildungskritik und Bildungsreform in den USA*. Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1968. pp. 258. DM 29.

American life and education began to attract the attention of Europeans about the time the new republic was established in 1788–1789. Interest mounted in the succeeding decades, with the result that European travellers and educators tended to include education in their reports and even to devote entire books to schools in the United States. Such writings in the nineteenth century included those by Nikolaus Heinrich Julius of Hamburg, Edouard Ducpetiaux of Brussels, and Célestin Hippeau of Paris. Interestingly, several French educators, Edouard Laboulaye, M.-J. Gauthier, and Gabriel Compayré, wrote on the life of Horace Mann, while Charles Barneaud devoted a book to Thomas Jefferson and education in Virginia. During the twentieth century, there appeared, *inter alia*, analyses of American education by Maurice Caullery of France; Omer Buyse of Belgium; Carl Brinkmann, Georg Kartzke, and Erich Hylla of Germany; Ester Hermanson and Elsa Skäninger-Larson of Sweden; Zoya Malkova of the USSR; and a comprehensive history of education in the United States by C. Philippi-Siewertsz van Reesema of the Netherlands. In sum, there is an abundance of literature, past and current, in many languages on American education. However, there is room for more, and especially for attempts to analyze, interpret, and evaluate. Such a volume has been prepared under the editorship of Leonhard Froese, Professor of Education and Director of the Center of Comparative Education at the University of Marburg. A unique feature is that the contributors comprise six Germans and nine Americans (four of them German-born), and that the chapters are in English and German. Among the American writers are James Bryant Conant and Lawrence A. Cremin, while the German authorship includes Fritz Bohnsack and Hermann Röhrs.

Six of the chapters are published for the first time, while the other nine appeared during 1958–1966. The American authors deal with the educational crisis, secondary and higher education, and the growth of popular, informal education. Three essays, two by German educators, are concerned with John Dewey and his influence. The

other German contributions treat current school conditions and reforms. As might be expected, the essays are of varying value as sources of information and ideas. Thus Hannah Arendt admits: "Ich bin von Beruf nicht Pädagogin und werde also hier über etwas sprechen, wovon ich im Sinne der Experten nichts verstehe" (p. 11). Her essay is interesting and well-intentioned, but full of generalizations, some of them sweeping; why the editor reprinted this popular lecture and radio talk is not clear. Nor are generalizations lacking in some of the other essays, as in the one by Conant.

For American educators, this compilation offers, for the most part, material which is familiar. However, the analyses by the German educationists are instructive. For foreign readers, the book represents a helpful, if not fully balanced, introduction to recent developments and problems in an educational system and culture which has attracted the interest of Europeans for close to two centuries.

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN, Philadelphia

GEORGEOFF, PETER JOHN, *The Social Education of Bulgarian Youth*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1968. pp. 329. \$ 10.

Except for Albania, Bulgaria is perhaps the least known of the East European countries, especially in regard to education. Aside from governmental reports which hardly circulate outside the country and which, in any case, are inaccessible to the many nonreaders of Bulgarian, one finds educational information in occasional periodical articles, yearbooks, and reference books. *Das bulgarische Bildungswesen* by W. Nikolschow (Leipzig, 1910), and William F. Russell's *Schools of Bulgaria* (New York, 1924) represent the only substantial books that come to mind. The persistent paucity of publications on Bulgaria, in the non-Slavic languages at least, is evident from the documentation and bibliographies in the pamphlet, *Education in Bulgaria* by Nellie Apanasewicz and Seymour M. Rosen (Washington, 1965), and in the chapters in Nigel Grant's *Society, Schools and Progress in Eastern Europe* (Oxford, 1969) and Wasyl Shimoniak's *Communist Education* (Chicago, 1970).

Consequently, the detailed work by P. J. Georgeoff, Professor of Education, Purdue University (Lafayette, Indiana) will be of considerable interest to specialists in comparative education concerned with Eastern Europe. The author, who is familiar with the language and traditions of Bulgaria, observed schools in action and analyzed the pertinent literature. His objective, evaluative attitude elevates the book beyond the level of basic description.

Social education, according to Georgeoff, is "instruction in the school or in school-related organizations that is deliberately designed to promote the children's social development in directions deemed desirable by the Communist society" (p. 47). This means that Bulgarian education aims primarily at getting children and young people "to accept the Communist concept of life and of relations to other men and the state" (p. 66). With a focus on primary education, the author analyzes the educational system as a whole, the curriculum in general, the specific subjects, texts and other instructional materials, the training of the teacher, and the impact of the Pioneer and Komsomol organizations. All subjects, especially those peculiar to Marxist-Leninist countries, such as "sociopolitical information" and foundations of communism, are taught so as to contribute toward the realization of the goals of

social education. Moreover, atheism is "an integral element of Communist morality and, hence, has become a tenet of Bulgarian education", and its concepts "are integrated with all subject areas of the school curriculum" (p. 87). Georgeoff does not indicate the degree of success of atheistic indoctrination in Bulgaria. It may be, as in the USSR, that there are some serious problems standing in the way of complete fulfillment of the ideal. Nor does he show either by references to observation or literature to what extent Bulgarian society realizes its fundamental educational objective: "to train the youth to become competent, contributing members of the society, giving their unswerving devotion both to the state and to the Party" (p. 162).

There is much information and considerable analytical interpretation in the volume, and it is reinforced by references to primary sources and pertinent secondary works. The exemplary appendix of translations of documents and textbook materials is valuable both for the historian and the comparativist. Also useful is the well-classified bibliography, in Bulgarian and English, of general works, educational writings, and school textbooks. Georgeoff could have enhanced the value of his book by adding a section on socio-cultural history, documenting and balancing his account of Bulgarian educational history, and by being more specific where he is vague (e.g., pp. 18, 24, 25, 28). It is to be hoped that he will be encouraged to prepare a volume of documents on the history and contemporary system of Bulgarian education, as well as one giving a narrative account of the development of education in Bulgaria since the introduction of the Cyrillic alphabet in the ninth century, with special emphasis on the period from 1878 to the present.

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN, Philadelphia

HENDERSON, JAMES L., *Education for World Understanding*. Oxford: Pergamon, 1968. pp. 160. 30/—.

International understanding via the educational process has been treated in recent decades in a variety of volumes, in a multitude of meetings and by a conglomeration of commissions and committees. To mention but two composite works among many, one can recall the *World Year Book of Education* (1964), edited by George Z. F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwerys, under the title, "Education and International Life," as well as the yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education on "International Understanding through the Public-School Curriculum" (1937), edited by the late I. L. Kandel. The multitude of single and multiple-author publications on this theme has been adequately recorded in bibliographies.

Nonetheless, there is room for more literature. Some might indeed become cynical at the lack of correlation between effort and outcome. Some might recall the many attempts in the long history of international educational relations to bring about amity and concord among nations and regard any new book along these lines with great scepticism. However, it is better to be optimistic than pessimistic. "*Dum spiro, spero.*"

James L. Henderson, Senior Lecturer in History and International Affairs, University of London Institute of Education, is well-qualified to write on the problems and procedures of education for world understanding. Among his writings in the international field is a translation in German, *Adolf Reichwein: eine politisch-päda-*

gogische Biographie (1958), a portion of his Ph.D. dissertation at the University of London. (Reichwein, 1898-1944, was a German pioneer in international adult education.)

In his present work, Henderson undertakes to present a "tentative, searching, incomplete, but hopeful . . . blueprint . . . [of] the educational foundations . . . [for] the rapid establishment of some degree of world order . . . [on which] the survival of the human species depends" (p. 1). Such a plan, he realizes, must be universally valid, even though the actual methods of putting it in operation may be different in the respective geographical areas. Its success depends on whether the consciousness of what is universal in man "can be sufficiently widely and rapidly developed" (p. 13).

Put in other terms, "the supreme purpose of education for world understanding is to enable men to identify and reverence that which today concerns them all ultimately as human beings" (p. 27). The author explores how this can be brought about, beginning with the primary school, where the overwhelming number of the children throughout the world obtain the greater part of their formal education. Logically and psychologically, he proceeds in the development of concepts from the personal to the general and from the national to the international. He stresses the comparative analysis of political and ideological nationalism in contrasting societies, as well as the role of the scholarly teaching of international relations in an interdisciplinary manner in the universities. On the level of adult or further education, the ideals of education for world understanding can best be transmitted through such novels as Robert Musil's *The Man without Qualities*, Thomas Mann's *The Magic Mountain* or *Dr. Faustus*, Boris Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago*, Albert Camus' *The Fall*, E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India*.

To carry out the program of education for world understanding, Henderson envisages the concept of "the terrestrial teacher," an individual who is "firmly rooted in the particular context in which he is operating but capable of uprooting himself and teaching under different circumstances should the opportunity or the need arise" (p. 84). Such a teacher "must be able to manage a double loyalty, to his own local community with its particular needs and beliefs and to that supra local, supra-national, one world, without the orderly functioning of which . . . no local community can any longer survive" (p. 85).

The book is replete with suggestions which should prove helpful for teachers in various countries. For those engaged in higher education, however, its offerings are somewhat oversimplified.

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN, Philadelphia

HOLMES, MAURICE, *The Comprehensive School in Action. Education Today*. London: Longmans, 1967. pp. 87. 10/6.

Maurice Holmes is the headmaster of a comprehensive school in London called the Elliott School. He does not seek to argue that the case for the comprehensive school is an overwhelming one. He leaves that debate to one side, though, of course, by implication his book is a strong argument in favour of the organisation of secondary education on a non-selective basis. Rather, he describes the way in which his own school is organised, though it is a more general description of comprehensive

school organisation in the sense that he draws upon the experience of other schools about which he has read or which he has seen.

He argues first that there should, wherever possible, be some parental choice between comprehensive schools. This is in an urban context and clearly is not practicable in the countryside, but he believes that there should be some degree of commitment by teacher and pupil and parent to the school through positive (and negative) choice.

He then describes the arrangements for admission and the familiarisation of the child with the school. He emphasises the extreme importance of keeping careful records, because the essence of a comprehensive school is the flexibility of its teaching arrangements and of its pastoral care, and therefore the assumption that everything about a child can be stored in the head of a teacher is clearly wrong.

In the comprehensive schools that he describes, the organisation into houses provides the basis for recreation and for pastoral care, and he believes that this institution, which cuts across ability and age ranges, is an important part of the organisation of a comprehensive school.

He describes the way in which the children are put into classes, and argues that so far as possible setting by ability should be confined to the later stages of the school, because attainment in particular subjects at the age of transfer from primary education is by no means a good guide to final attainment in other subjects. He argues for a very strong remedial department, to bring the less able pupils, particularly in the earlier years, up to a more satisfactory level of attainment and to enable them to cope with the complexities of the curriculum.

The curriculum that he describes is based very much upon a modified academic curriculum, and the book concludes with a series of descriptions of non-academic aspects of the school, the relationship with the pupils, the organisation of contact with the parents, and relationships with outside bodies.

All in all, the impression given by this book is that the organisation of the comprehensive school is less complex than it once seemed probable that it would be, but it may well be that this lack of complexity reveals more about the school in question than about the problems of organising comprehensive schools in general. Further, the striking feature of this book is its emphasis on the relationship between the school and the community. This, I think, is something which is important to the comprehensive schools, and which will become of increasing interest to research workers as the number of comprehensive schools increases.

JOHN VAIZEY, London

HUSÉN, TORSTEN (ed.), *International Study of Achievement in Mathematics. A Comparison of Twelve Countries*. Vol. I and II. Stockholm/New York: Wiley/Almqvist and Wiksell, 1967. pp. 304 and 368. Skr. 97. £ 8. *)

The main authors of these volumes, in addition to T. Husén, are C. A. Anderson, B. S. Bloom, A. W. Foshay, M. L. Hartung, R. L. Thorndike and R. M. Wolf (USA); R. F. Goodings, G. F. Peaker, D. A. Pidgeon and D. A. Walker (UK), and T. N. Postlethwaite (IEA). Despite their varying styles and interests, and the even greater diversity of views among the other international participants, the book succeeds in reading as a consistent whole. Moreover there is a remarkable absence of

partiality or national prejudice in the discussion of highly controversial educational issues. T. Husén has certainly done an outstanding job, not only as Chairman and Technical Director of the project, but as editor of an extremely complex mass of material. Apart perhaps from one or two statistical sections, the whole book should be intelligible and of the greatest interest to all educationists and not only to mathematicians or psychologists, though careful concentration is often needed in order to follow the data, arguments and implications. The many tables of results and figures are very well chosen, and clearly presented and annotated. One slight complaint: the index to each volume is quite inadequate for tracing all the references to any one topic which one might wish to look up.

Most readers will be aware by now of the general aims of the International Project for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). The object was not to conduct an international competition to see which country produces the best mathematicians, but to study mathematical achievement in relation not only to such factors as social class, teacher competence, etc. which vary *within* a country, but also with reference to such factors as school organization, different philosophies of education, age of entry to schooling, etc., which are uniform in one country but which vary *between* countries. In comparative educational research it is no longer sufficient to rely on descriptive data and published statistical returns. It is time to make use of the tools that educational psychologists have provided in order to measure the relative productivity of different educational systems, including both the production of attainments and the effects on interests and attitudes, and to make precise measurements of the relevant social, educational and other variables that characterize the different systems. A pilot survey of achievement in a number of school subjects was carried out in 1959-60. The results, edited by A. W. Foshay, appeared in 1962 under the title: *Educational Achievements of Thirteen-Year-Olds in Twelve Countries*. The present writer was frankly disappointed in this study since it was obvious that few of the participating educationists had made any genuine attempt to provide representative samples of all thirteen-year-olds in their own countries. Even Pidgeon's exciting discovery of a wider spread of arithmetical achievement in England than in other countries could have been due largely to the greater representativeness of the English sample (and this is confirmed by the present study, where the English standard deviation, while high, is no greater than that of a country like Japan with a completely comprehensive educational system). Nevertheless the investigation indicated that a more thorough survey might be possible, and revealed many of the difficulties. Extremely detailed planning by local and international committees preceded the present research, and much preliminary work was done in preparing the achievement and other tests, defining the variables to be assessed and formulating clear hypotheses regarding their likely effects. Most of the funds for the international work were granted by the US Office of Education, but each country supplied the necessary local costs and personnel, and the Unesco Institute for Education in Hamburg undertook the general coordination. A good example of the elaborate planning and of the innumerable practical details that had to be attended to is given in a chapter on administration in England. Eventually the following countries agreed to carry out the essential requirements of the international survey: Australia, Belgium, England, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Japan, the Netherlands, Scotland, Sweden and the United States. There were a few omissions or irregularities in the data collection, but it was a tremendous achievement to secure this amount of cooperation. In addition most countries gath-

ered further data related to local problems, and it is hoped that each one will publish a national report on its own experiences and results.

Four main samples were provided by almost every country, the grand total consisting of 132,775 students from 5,348 schools. These were: 1a) A representative age group of 13-years-olds; 1b) Pupils at the grade level typical for 13-year-olds; 3a) Students in their last preuniversity year, taking mathematics as a main course; 3b) Ditto, not taking mathematics as a main course. (While the two latter groups were mostly 18-year-olds, mean ages ranged from 17:6 in Scotland to 19:10 in the Federal Republic of Germany). These groups were selected as far as possible by random sampling of schools, and of students within schools (i.e. not whole classes); hence it is possible to make good estimates of the reliability of the statistical results. A series of one-hour tests was compiled, such that each group took three or four of these at the appropriate level, together with questionnaires and attitude scales. Much additional information on teaching practices, teacher qualifications, etc., was obtained from the class teachers and school principals, or from the central authorities. All the data has been coded, punched and stored on magnetic tape, and is available for further analysis by research workers.

Very wide differences appeared between countries in the mean scores and distributions of all four samples. Indeed the poorest socio-economic groups in some countries had reached higher levels of attainment than the most favoured groups in other countries. However such figures clearly cannot be taken at their face value since (apart from the 1a samples), the groups differed so widely in their selectivity. About 70% of the US population is represented in the 3a and 3b samples, as compared with 8-12% of the English, French, German and Netherland populations. Moreover, mean scores are not necessarily the best index of "productivity"; if instead we consider the production of very high scorers (e.g. the number falling within the top 5 or 10% on international norms), Japan, Sweden, England and Belgium are most successful, Finland, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands least so.

So many and varied are the factors associated with differences between countries or between individuals, and so complex their interactions, that no attempt will be made to summarise the findings here. However it is worth noting that, apart from the degree of opportunity provided by the different curricula to study the topics covered by the test, and apart from measures of interest in maths, high educational aspirations and socio-economic level, most variables yielded very low correlations with achievement, and these differed widely from one country to another. Many of the pet theories of mathematicians or of psychologists were indeed not confirmed. For example it made little difference whether the teachers were university or college trained, whether they had had recent in-service training, whether they felt they had freedom to teach as they thought best or not. Formal approaches to mathematics teaching tended to produce better results than more progressive or "inquiry-centred" approaches, as did also the attitude that mathematics is a closed system and difficult to learn. Even the amount of specialization did not have the expected effect: students in several European countries who continue to study 9 or more subjects up to the terminal secondary year do as well as students in England who only study 3 or 4 subjects. Some of the puzzling inconsistencies are doubtless due to difficulties in arriving at common concepts and suitable measures of these across countries. For example "comprehensive" education undoubtedly means a number of different things in different countries.

An extended review should not only recognise the merits but also draw attention to possible weaknesses in a publication. While it would seem presumptuous to question the methods and conclusions reached by a group of the most able educational research workers in the world, there are a few points on which the present writer is not satisfied. First – just what does the test measure? The authors show the impossibility of making it fit what is taught in every country, especially beyond 13, where courses diverge very widely in different educational systems. Despite the careful surveys of what is taught and the consultations with national committees, the items actually included must inevitably reflect very largely the chief author's views of what constitutes a kind of common core of good mathematics teaching – in this case, apparently, the views of R. L. Thorndike and the Educational Testing Service. One subsidiary enquiry showed a mean correlation of only .65 between achievement test scores and "O" and "A" level results in the English G.C.E. It is a pity that each country did not conduct a similar enquiry. If the figure is typical, one may well ask how far the conclusions based on the test would apply to other people's conceptions of what constitutes mathematical achievement. Again the fact that the test is predominantly multiple-choice obviously makes it atypical of much of what mathematics students in most countries are expected to do; the authors realise this and point out why objective scoring and coding were necessary. Fortunately there is no sign that this format favoured students who are more sophisticated to new-type examinations; but it almost certainly would have a distorting effect on measurements in, say, the social sciences. One other question about the test is, why did it have so little footroom? Nearly one quarter of the US and UK 13-year samples scored 5 or less out of 70.

Secondly one feels doubts over the logical interpretation of correlations (or, equally, group differences) in this type of study. There are three kinds: (1) Correlations between achievements of individual students and some other variable, within one country. The r 's for different countries can be averaged. (2) Between the mean scores of the 12 countries (or fewer when data from some countries are incomplete). (3) Between scores of individuals in all countries. These are less used since they represent an amalgam of (1) and (2). Often the results of (1) and (2) are very different, even pointing in opposite directions. For instance countries where the 13-year students express most liking for school tend to score best ($r = +.57$); yet within the average country, pupils expressing less favourable attitudes score better ($r = -.16$). How is one to reconcile such findings? The authors point out that between-country correlations express the relations obtained within the particular group of countries; they are not generalisable to other samples of similar countries. But there seems to be a considerable temptation in many sections of the book to generalise, i.e. to suggest that factors correlating with country means are causal and applicable to educational systems in general. This certainly does not mean that we are accusing the authors of muddled thinking; far from it – they have sorted out the various relationships – extraordinarily skilfully. Yet such dilemmas still remain.

One of the main foci of interest in the research is the relative merits of selective systems, where only the most able (who are drawn predominantly from the upper socio-economic groups) pursue the study of difficult subjects like maths, as against more comprehensive systems, where as many as possible receive a full secondary education. Many European educationists fear that educating more of the population means lowering of standards of achievement. Here again the arguments and results are set out fully and fairly. But the main evidence on which the authors rely

is that between-country differences in the terminal year are largely levelled up if we consider equal proportions of the population in all countries. For example, in Belgium only 4% of the population reach this stage, whereas in USA 18% are found in group 3a. The American mean is much lower than the Belgian, but when only the best 4% are taken, their mean is about the same as the Belgians'. This we cannot accept, since we have no right to assume that all, or almost all, the most potentially able Belgians were included in their terminal samples. It might have been preferable to estimate the mean scores of "the cream" in each country on the basis of regression on parental occupation and education or other independent variables. We can allow the authors' claim that admitting "more" to higher education does not necessarily mean "worse", and indeed that by having larger intakes, a greater total of high achievers will be produced. But we would contest the conclusion that "the cream of mathematical talent" is distributed evenly between countries. Aptitude – very probably yes; but to say that achievement is evenly distributed is to ignore all the effects of the different teaching practices, educational philosophies and student attitudes, and cannot be justified by the present data.

One other questionable piece of reasoning concerns the effects of having studied "New Mathematics". It was found that students in Samples 1a and 1b whose teachers said they had studied certain items typical of New Mathematics also scored above average on other more traditional-type items. But surely it is more likely that the abler pupils in the better schools would have experienced the new approach, i.e. that some selective factor rather than the teaching of New Maths, was responsible. In other words, the argument is on a par with the hoary arguments in favour of a classical education.

Other readers may, of course, pick other holes, but they detract only to quite a minor extent from the tremendous wealth of unexceptionable findings. And we look forward to the further studies planned by the IEA, which will doubtless achieve even higher standards in the light of the experiences gained in this research.

P. E. VERNON, London

*) This book has already been reviewed by Edmund King, London, in Vol. XIII/1967/3, p. 359.

HUSÉN, TORSTEN; BOALT, GUNNAR, *Bildungsforschung und Schulreform in Schweden*. Übersetzt von H. Heins. *Texte und Dokumente zur Bildungsforschung*, Hrsg. Institut für Bildungsforschung in der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, Berlin. Stuttgart: Klett, 1968. 256 S. DM 23.

Für die Herausgabe einer deutschen Übersetzung (wenn auch in gekürzter und teilweise neu geordneter Form) des im Jahre 1964 bei Almqvist & Wiksell in Stockholm erschienenen Buches *Skolans sociologi* (Soziologie der Schule) der beiden Autoren Boalt und Husén gebührt dem Institut für Bildungsforschung in der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft große Anerkennung.

Von den beiden Verfassern war das Buch in erster Linie gedacht als eine Einführung in die pädagogische Soziologie für Studenten der Pädagogik und der Sozialwissenschaften. Darüber hinaus ist es für die Schweden durch die Aktualität des dort

verarbeiteten empirischen Materials ein wertvoller Beitrag zur wissenschaftlichen Begründung der pädagogischen Reformmaßnahmen in den sechziger Jahren, denn hier sind wichtige Forschungsergebnisse zur Schulreform zusammengetragen. Für den Auslandspädagogen ist dieses Buch ein musterhaftes Beispiel schwedischer Forschungsarbeit auf dem pädagogischen Feld, und den an der empirischen Forschung interessierten Reformpädagogen unserer Gegenwart bietet es neben wichtigen soziologischen und pädagogischen Aspekten unserer Ausbildungsgesellschaft neue methodische Verfahrensweisen an.

Die deutschsprachige Ausgabe enthält insgesamt 8 Kapitel und eine zusätzliche Einleitung von Torsten Husén mit einem Überblick über die Reformgeschichte des schwedischen Bildungswesens seit 1940 und mit einer Deskription des schwedischen Schulsystems der Gegenwart.

Im 1. Kapitel "Die Zielsetzungen der Schule und ihr gesellschaftlicher Hintergrund" wird nach dem Versuch einer Standortbestimmung der Schule in einer sich ständig wandelnden Welt die Doppelaufgabe der Schule, nämlich einerseits den Forderungen der Gesellschaft Rechnung zu tragen und andererseits den Bedürfnissen des Individuums gerecht zu werden, hervorgehoben. Für die im Hinblick auf eine dieser Aufgaben notwendige individualisierende Pädagogik sind die referierten Teilziele der Schulkommission von 1957 von besonderer Bedeutung. Die Forderungen der Gesellschaft versuchte man durch umfangreiche Curriculumforschung zu ermitteln, über die hier auszugsweise dem Leser berichtet wird.

Im Mittelpunkt des 2. Kapitels "Schulorganisation" steht die Differenzierungsfrage. Husén unterscheidet hier u.a. zwischen organisatorischer (struktureller) und pädagogischer Differenzierung, an anderer Stelle zwischen Differenzierung nach Breite, Tiefe und Tempo. Außerdem werden hier die wichtigsten empirischen Untersuchungen zum Differenzierungsproblem dargestellt. Zum Verständnis der spezifisch schwedischen Lösung des Problems müssen insbesondere die von Boalt gewonnenen Daten über selektive Differenzierung in Abhängigkeit vom Sozialstatus erwähnt werden.

Vor allem methodisch interessant sind die von Härnqvist entwickelten und im 3. Kapitel referierten Verfahren zur Ermittlung der Begabungsreserven.

Das Gelingen einer Schulreform ist weitgehend abhängig von den Lehrern, die in der neuen Schule unterrichten. Aufschluß über die Einstellung der Lehrer zur Schulreform, Einblick in ihre Probleme und Schwierigkeiten vermitteln die im 4. Kapitel referierten Untersuchungen. Die hier gewonnenen Ergebnisse können im Prinzip auch wegweisend sein für die Lehrerbildung anderer Länder. Es zeigte sich nämlich eine Korrelation zwischen positiver Einstellung zur Schulreform und der Kenntnis der Motive und Argumente der Reformen.

Das 5. Kapitel berichtet über Untersuchungen in Stockholm und Luleå über Elternhaus und Schule, konkreter über häusliches Erziehungsmilieu und Disziplin in der Schule. Im 6. Kapitel wird der Leser über die soziale Herkunft der Studenten und über Entwicklungstendenzen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt informiert. Das folgende Kapitel "Ausbildung und Mobilität" untersucht die Zusammenhänge zwischen sozialer Schichtzugehörigkeit und Ausbildung. Dabei konnten enge Beziehungen nachgewiesen werden zwischen dem Sozialstatus der Eltern und der Ausbildung der Kinder.

Hochinteressant sind die im letzten Kapitel "Binnenwanderung und Berufswahl" enthaltenen Daten von Neymark über Schulbildung, Berufsbildung, Intelligenz, soziale Herkunft und Zeugnis einerseits und Ortswechsel andererseits. Auffallend

dabei ist, daß der Trend hin zu den Städten von der Höhe der Ausbildung abhängt.

Das vorliegende Buch, das eine Reihe von pädagogischen und soziologischen Untersuchungen zum Problem der Gesamtschule enthält, kann ein wertvoller Diskussionsbeitrag für die gegenwärtigen Reformbestrebungen in der Bundesrepublik werden. Die Bedeutung der Bildungsforschung für das Erkennen pädagogischer und soziologischer Sachverhalte wird hier offenkundig. Gleichzeitig wird aber auch deutlich, wie problematisch bildungspolitische Entscheidungen ohne Grundlagenforschungen sind.

HORST HÖRNER, Heidelberg

IAAM (Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools), *Teaching in Comprehensive Schools: A Second Report*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1967. pp. 174. 17/6. \$ 3.75.

This slim volume, which follows the earlier report of 1960, presents a summary of the experiences of teachers in the developing comprehensive schools of England. Since the working staff, rather than outside experts, was the source of the material for the book, it merits attention and study, not only in England, but also in other countries which are in the process of democratizing their secondary schools. The report does not purport to be a comparison of the emerging comprehensive school and the traditional secondary school but a distillation of the actual experiences of the teachers as they have worked their way toward a solution of the many problems which have confronted the new school.

The data for the report have been abstracted from the returns of a questionnaire which was completed by the members of the reporting association. The findings were extended and clarified during a number of regional conferences. A copy of the questionnaire is not included and hence the reader must infer its content.

After carefully defining and delimiting the purpose of the report, the first third of the book deals with some of the broader aspects of the comprehensive school. These include some of the controversial issues such as streaming, the status levels of various secondary schools, the place and value of the new Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (CSE), provisions for the "high flyer", attitude of parents, etc.

One chapter deals with the bewildering variety of comprehensive schools with respect to origin, age, buildings and locations, as well as size. A final chapter deals with the problem of assuring that each and every child receive individual attention, and details a variety of approaches to provide each child with adequate "pastoral" care.

The middle third of the book concerns the progress of the pupil through the school. Separate chapters deal with the special problems of the first two or foundation years, the third and fourth or middle years, the fifth or external examination year, and finally with the sixth form. In each presentation we find a discussion of adapting the curriculum to fit the needs and goals of pupils, grouping, etc. The discussion of the middle years gives special attention to the needs of the 40 per cent who will not continue in school after completion of the fourth year. The chapter on the fifth year and the sixth form is dominated by that traditional nemesis, the external examination, and contains extensive material indicating the growing success of com-

prehensive school pupils in the examinations. Discussion of the sixth form is of special interest since it concerns the problem of serving older pupils with the wider range of abilities and interests found in the comprehensive school.

The final third of the book deals with out-of-class activities, experimental approaches, and various aspects of the teacher's situation. A final chapter is given over to a consideration of the special situation in Wales. The book is supplied with an index, and a short glossary. The latter is hardly adequate in coverage for the reader who is not familiar with English schools. The foreign reader is also likely to find some of the tabular material confusing and not very helpful.

Any reader who is interested in attempts to reform our schools to meet the needs of youth in today's world will find much of interest in this publication. The discussion of the teacher and of the need for educational leadership is of special interest, as is the consideration given to handicaps such as inappropriate buildings, inadequate equipment and libraries, etc. This reader was impressed by various shortcomings which make difficult the attempt of the teaching staff to reach the implied goals of the comprehensive school. Throughout the report one senses the stubborn pressures of old academic symbols, forms, practices, and traditions against which the comprehensive school has had to struggle. However, the report indicates real progress and we look forward to a third one in the early 70's.

S. E. TORSTEN LUND, Berkeley

KATZ, JOSEPH, *Society, Schools and Progress in Canada*. Oxford: Pergamon, 1969. pp. 148. 30/- \$ 4.75.

This book, by the founding President of the newly-formed Comparative Education Society of Canada, is also the first up-to-date and comprehensive account of education in Canada to appear since the author's previous work, published in 1956. It is one of the rare volumes that one could wish to have been longer, despite the condensed and incisive style in which it is written. The author offers tantalising glimpses of the multifarious educational activities of a nation just come of age. These range from the problems of educating native Canadians - Indians and Eskimos - to those of dealing with the onsurge of immigrants who have to be educated in the Canadian tradition, when that tradition, itself an amalgam of French, English, Scottish and American influences, has as yet scarcely developed an indigenous culture.

Thus, since all too often Canada is assumed to be culturally identical with the United States, the author rightly regards it as his first task to place what he terms "the educational enterprise" in its distinctively Canadian setting. He then deals in succession with the machinery of educational administration, the elementary and secondary schools, the institutions of higher education, teachers, educational technology, the mechanisms of change and reform, and concludes with a chapter on plans and prospects. As educational systems differ markedly in the ten provinces, he also appends useful diagrams of the structure of educational administration and of the educational system in each.

Particularly interesting for the European reader is the account of the process of change, which has been largely effected as a result of recommendations from

Royal Commissions appointed by the provincial governments. (The English reader may well reflect ruefully upon the singular lack of success achieved by similar Commissions in England!) Here the author indicates the dangers of parochialism, which may lead to "conservatism and conformity", and shows how Canada, like its Southern neighbour, is realising that some form of Federal oversight of education, if only to equalise opportunity, is becoming increasingly necessary.

This volume will serve as an indispensable source book for those who wish to keep abreast of educational development in an area where North American and European cross-currents flow strongly together. As such, Canada has a special interest for the comparative educationist.

W. D. HALLS, Oxford

LAUWERYS, JOSEPH A.; SCANLON, DAVID G. (eds.), *The World Year Book of Education 1969. Examinations*. London: Evans Brothers, 1969. pp. 404. 84/-.

On sait que, dans bien des pays, un intérêt considérable s'attache au problème des examens. Souvent, les examens constituent l'un des aspects les plus contestés des institutions universitaires dans les pays où les étudiants ont exprimé des critiques à l'égard de ces institutions. Partout, les examens constituent l'un des modes d'articulation les plus évidents de l'appareil scolaire et de la société au sein de laquelle il fonctionne. C'est dire combien les responsables du *World Year Book of Education* ont eu raison de choisir "Les examens" comme thème de leur volume 1969. Joseph A. Lauwerys et David G. Scanlon ont rédigé l'introduction générale, et Brian Holmes, l'introduction de chacune des huit sections.

Ces huit parties de l'ouvrage traitent respectivement des aspects généraux et historiques; des buts, théories et techniques; de l'efficacité des examens et de leur valeur docimologique; de leur organisation dans les différents pays; de leur rôle dans la sélection en vue d'études ultérieures; de leurs effets sociaux et économiques; de leurs effets sur l'enseignement, les professeurs et les élèves; des tendances actuelles et des perspectives d'avenir.

Le sujet est abordé de façon très large. En effet, le mot "examen" est pris dans son sens le plus général de "méthode d'évaluation," et l'ouvrage traite aussi bien des appréciations des professeurs et des tests que des examens proprement dits. Il présente les textes de quarante-cinq contributeurs appartenant à des pays aussi différents que la Grande Bretagne, la République fédérale d'Allemagne, la France, l'Union soviétique, les Etats-Unis, les Pays Bas, l'Argentine, la République Arabe Unie, le Nigéria, le Brésil, l'Inde, le Japon.

Les problèmes qui sont esquissés dans l'introduction générale et repris dans les différentes contributions sont tous d'un grand intérêt. Les examens externes et anonymes, parfois dénoncés comme des épreuves artificielles et aléatoires constituent cependant aussi une garantie pour l'élève de milieu modeste dépourvu de relations sociales, ou pour l'élève peu conformiste. Cette ambiguïté se retrouve dans la pluralité des fonctions assumées simultanément par les examens: évaluation des connaissances ou de la formation, sélection, incitation à l'effort.

La nécessité sociale d'un choix des personnes auxquelles certaines responsabilités sont confiées ne peut guère être sérieusement mise en doute. Mais il est beaucoup

moins sûr que toutes les formes d'examen actuellement pratiquées soient de bons instruments de cette sélection. De plus, les examens ont des effets sur le plan pédagogique; ils tendent à orienter l'enseignement, à rendre ambigu le rôle du maître qui est appelé alternativement à aider et à sanctionner. L'équivalence internationale des diplômes est un des problèmes qui met bien en évidence la multiplicité des questions posées par les examens, et la multiplicité des réponses qui leur sont offertes.

Le grand mérite de cet ouvrage est d'apporter un faisceau d'informations précises et de réflexions sereines sur l'un des problèmes les plus complexes de nos systèmes éducatifs et sociaux, l'un de ceux qui sont rarement abordés sans préjugé.

MAURICE REUCHLIN, Paris

LAWSON, TERENCE (ed.), *Education for International Understanding*. A survey of twelve seminars organised jointly by the Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg, UNESCO Paris, and the National Commissions for Unesco of the host countries. Hamburg: Unesco Institute for Education, 1969. pp. 92. DM 10.

During the last decade of research in didactics the rather vague discussion about curriculum planning has settled down into a firm effort to describe the curriculum process.

The most fruitful way of assessing the present book is to regard it as a contribution to the curriculum process. It attempts to concretize the very abstract objective of education for international understanding by making definite demands on teachers and suggesting specific objectives and examples of teaching units in geography, history, literature, social science, religion, arts. It describes certain conditions in society which can promote or retard the accomplishment of this objective, which has been politically accepted.

This book extracts material relevant to the educational debate from reports on twelve international seminars, organised by the Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg, with the support of National Commissions for Unesco in different countries, over the period 1955-1966 - a very useful piece of work, for such material is difficult to procure and certainly contains valuable points of view.

The first three chapters give examples of how syllabuses and out-of-school activities can contribute to international understanding. The editor stresses the desirability of developing a critical attitude in both pupils and teachers, while noting how helpless the individual really is when confronted with differing opinions. The following chapters deal with differences between eastern and western cultural values, national and international life, political ideologies, prejudice against individuals or minorities, and tensions in society.

The evident necessity for treating this subject in groups of representatives from many nations means that this small book is of practical use. The weak point in the book - for which the editor is not to blame - is that the separate subject matters are only touched upon and not studied in detail.

The value of the seminars reviewed lies in the fact that their theoretical and philosophical foundations were formed at the beginning and were regularly re-examined during the whole period. Moreover, as there are only a few examples in

educational literature of truly international discussions of aims in education, this book deserves a place in the study of curriculum process. It reports progressive work and is edited by a leading pioneer in the field of education for international understanding.

KAMMA STRUWE, Copenhagen

LAYARD, RICHARD; KING, JOHN; MOSER, CLAUS, *The Impact of Robbins: Expansion in Higher Education*. Penguin Education Special. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969. pp. 153. 6/-. \$ 1.25.

When the famous Robbins Report on higher education in Britain was published in 1963 many people asserted that it contained no surprises, no recommendations which were not already in the air. There was truth in this assertion; but there was one fundamental difference between what was in the air and what was in the Report: the one was conjecture and speculation; the other was deduction based on the most comprehensive statistics ever assembled about British higher education. These statistics were prepared under the direction of Claus Moser. Now, with five years of opportunity for hindsight, Moser and two of his associates have produced this brief book on one topic of the Robbins Report, namely the increase in size of the system of higher education in Britain.

It is an important book, indeed an indispensable one for those who wish to understand the present state of higher education in Britain. It contains 96 pages of essay, fully supported by graphs and tables, and another 54 pages of notes and appendices. The essay begins with a vivid sketch of the overall view: "Apart from electronics and natural gas, higher education has grown faster than any major national enterprise in the 1960s." The growth has been greater than the Report predicted, but the Report deliberately based its prediction "on assumptions so modest that no reasonable man could reject them." In 1967-68, there were 376,000 students in higher education, compared with a population predicted by the Robbins Report of 328,000. The difference is due to an unexpected increase in the proportion of the age group which qualifies for higher education and chooses to have it; and of course to the fact that the government has put enough money into the system to enable places to be provided. This policy of expansion has not gone unchallenged; some people (including those who inspire editorials for the *London Times*) take the view that expansion will mean deterioration in quality, that "more means worse". In five pages of lucid summary the authors dispose courteously but with crushing effect of this criticism.

The book then discusses one of the more serious deviations from the planned expansion advocated in the Robbins Report, namely the "swing from science" which has caused an excess pressure on places for arts and social science subjects, coupled, in some universities, with vacant places in science and technology. One reason for this, as the authors point out, is reluctance on the part of universities to postpone specialisation and to offer a broader spectrum of courses for first degrees: a mixture, for example, of science and social science. This deviation from the planned expansion may well influence the whole pattern of higher education in Britain, for qualified students who wish to study arts or social sciences are applying to colleges of further

education (i.e. colleges in the so-called "public sector") for tuition in these subjects; and further education colleges are only too willing to provide courses. So a group of colleges is developing which emulate rather than complement the universities and there may well arise in Britain two rival systems of degree-granting institutions: the universities on the one hand and the colleges which are recognised by the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) on the other. The distribution of students between these two systems in the 1970s is likely to become an educational problem coloured by politics, and it will be a difficult problem to solve.

The hard facts for solving the problem, so far as we know them at all, are in this little book. The book ends with a chapter on the future, with projections of the student population which Britain may have in 1980. The reader of the book is left with three impressions: the very impressive *quantitative* achievement of the higher education system in Britain, in adapting itself to the needs of the late 1960s; the great importance of statistical studies such as Moser and his colleagues are doing; and the beautiful clarity of presentation.

ERIC ASHBY, Cambridge

Manpower Aspects of Educational Planning. Problems for the Future.
Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP),
1968. \$ 3.50. 21/— FF 12.50.

Dieses Buch berichtet über ein Symposium von Bildungsökonomern des der UNESCO angeschlossenen *International Institute for Educational Planning* vom 23. bis 25. Mai 1966 in Paris. Die Bedeutung dieses Symposiums liegt darin, daß bildungspolitische Probleme von Entwicklungsländern sowohl aufgrund abstrakter ökonomischer Überlegungen wie konkreter Erfahrung diskutiert werden. Es kommen sowohl Planungsprobleme gesamtwirtschaftlicher wie bildungs- und arbeitsmarktspezifischer Natur zur Sprache. Nach einer Phase, in welcher Bildungsplanung immer weitere Anwendung fand, – man denke insbesondere an das von der OECD durchgeführte *Mediterranean Regional Project* – folgt nun eine Phase der Ernüchterung. Wie der Untertitel zum Ausdruck bringt, werden im Symposium des IIEP eine Reihe in Zukunft noch zu lösender Probleme vorgelegt, die durch die Anwendung des *manpower approach* (Arbeitskräftebedarfschätzung aufgrund der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung) vernachlässigt oder sogar hervorgerufen wurden.

Diese Probleme bestimmen denn auch die einzelnen Themenkreise, nach denen das Symposium aufgebaut wurde, wobei die Referenten ihre Darstellung meist anhand von Länderstudien (Indien und Afrika) entwickelten.

Wo noch Experimentierraum für die Arbeitskräftebedarfsforschung besteht, zeigt F. Harbison in seinem Überblick über die Probleme der Arbeitskräftebedarfsplanung: In Entwicklungsländern herrschen 1. starkes Bevölkerungswachstum, 2. steigende Arbeitslosigkeit, 3. Knappheit an Arbeitskräften, die eine den Bedürfnissen der nationalen Entwicklung entsprechende Ausbildung besitzen, 4. ungeeignete Organisationen zur Förderung der notwendigen menschlichen Anstrengungen, und 5. Mangel an Anreizen für Leute, Tätigkeiten auszuüben, welche für die nationale Entwicklung relevant sind. Diese Probleme werden am Beispiel Nigeria verdeutlicht. Zur Korrektur der nicht adäquaten Ausbildung müßte das Bildungssystem am nationalen Arbeitskräftebedarf ausgerichtet werden. Was die Arbeitslosigkeit betrifft,

so muß festgehalten werden, daß das Wachstum z.B. des nigerianischen Sozialproduktes kurzfristig nicht mit dem Ziel der Vollbeschäftigung konsistent zu sein braucht.

Die herkömmlichen bildungspolitischen Rezepte für Entwicklungsländer sind nicht ohne weiteres anwendbar. Vermehrte Anstrengungen im Bildungssektor können für Entwicklungsländer u.U. nicht gerechtfertigt sein, weil die Förderung einer falschen Ausbildungsrichtung wachstumshemmend sein kann und andere Investitionen zu höherer Produktivität führen können. Ob die Planung der Entwicklung menschlicher Ressourcen einer wirtschaftlichen Gesamtplanung unterstellt werden soll, ist ebenfalls fragwürdig, denn es könnte genau so logisch sein, einer Strategie zur Nutzung menschlicher Arbeitskraft die Planung der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung unterzuordnen. Schließlich kann auch wohlmeinende ausländische Entwicklungshilfe, etwa für die Hochschulausbildung, ein falsches Rezept sein, wenn sie ein Entwicklungsland zu Bildungsprogrammen zwingt, die es sich eigentlich nicht leisten kann, oder wenn Stipendien und Studentenaustausch einen *brain drain* zu entwickeln den Ländern nach sich ziehen.

Das Beschäftigungsproblem wird von G. Skorov, V.K.R.V. Rao und A. Callaway angegangen. In Entwicklungsländern besteht ein Mißverhältnis zwischen der Ausbildung qualifizierter Arbeitskräfte und der Unfähigkeit, ihnen neue Beschäftigungsmöglichkeiten zu schaffen, wie etwa der Fall Tansania demonstriert. Diese "Arbeitslosigkeit der Gebildeten" hat verschiedene Gründe: 1. Bevölkerungsexplosion, 2. Störung der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung oder ungenügendes Wirtschaftswachstum, 3. Einführung kapitalintensiver Produktionstechniken, die zwar die Arbeitsproduktivität steigern, zugleich aber arbeitssparenden technischen Fortschritt bedeuten, 4. massiver Zustrom zu den Bildungsanstalten in der Erwartung, durch mehr Ausbildung ein höheres Einkommen zu erzielen, 5. negative Einstellung gegenüber landwirtschaftlicher Tätigkeit und 6. die Auffassung, die Grundschulausbildung (*primary education*) sei "nur" Sprungbrett zur Weiterausbildung, nicht aber Berufsvorbereitung. Das Problem wird in den Städten durch den Zustrom von landwirtschaftlichen Arbeitskräften noch verschärft.

So wird denn einem weiteren Problemkreis, der Entwicklung und Modernisierung der Landwirtschaft, durch Beiträge von G. Hunter und R. Dumont Beachtung geschenkt. Das Zurückbleiben der Nahrungsmittelproduktion hinter der Bevölkerungsentwicklung und die oben angeführten Beschäftigungsprobleme bedingen die Notwendigkeit der Modernisierung und allgemeinen Förderung der Landwirtschaft und der ländlichen Regionen. Damit wird der Sektor Landwirtschaft wieder in den Vordergrund der Entwicklungsprobleme gerückt. Die Durchführung bildungspolitischer Programme ist Grundlage eines letzten Problemkomplexes, dem sich die Referate von R. L. Thomas und A. R. Jolly widmen. Die Schwierigkeiten reichen in diesem Kontext von politischen Hindernissen über institutionell-administrative Engpässe bis zum *feed-back*-Problem der *manpower*-Forschung. Zu den Verbesserungsvorschlägen zählen sowohl solche für die organisatorischen Gegebenheiten wie Fiskalmaßnahmen zur Verhinderung eines *brain drain* und Aufklärung der bildungspolitischen Entscheidungsträger.

G. Skorov hat die einzelnen Themenkreise in der Einleitung synthetisiert und kommentiert. Zugleich gibt er ein umfassendes Meinungsbild der Teilnehmer des Symposiums wieder.

Zwar sind die im Symposium geäußerten Vorschläge z.T. unorthodox, doch sprengen sie nie den Rahmen der herkömmlichen Arbeitskräfteplanung, die teilweise

gerade für die diskutierten Probleme verantwortlich ist. So kann etwa von diesem Symposium auch methodisch nichts Neues erwartet werden. Wo man von der Problematik des *manpower approach* wegkommen sollte, da kehrt man zum gleichen methodischen Vorgehen zurück, nur ist es diesmal an einem vielleicht vernachlässigten Sektor orientiert, der Landwirtschaft. Und dort, wo beispielsweise von "nationaler Entwicklung" gesprochen wird, wird nichts Genaueres über deren Indikatoren ausgesagt. Auch fehlen etwa Konzepte zur Politikberatung, obwohl diese eine zentrale Rolle in der Bildungsplanung spielt. Und schließlich muß bemerkt werden, daß das Ausgerichtetsein der Argumentation an Problemen der (sektoralen) Entwicklung oder der (sektoralen) Vollbeschäftigung zu sehr die Problematik des (regionalen) Rechts auf Bildung bzw. dessen sozialpolitische Implikationen übersieht.

Trotz dieser Kritik können aber aus der Wiedergabe dieses Symposiums alle jene einen Nutzen ziehen, die sich einen Überblick über die Probleme der Bildungsplanung oder des Arbeitsmarktes in Entwicklungsländern verschaffen möchten.

PETER R. STRAUMANN, Regensburg

NISBET, JOHN (ed.), assisted by KIRK, GORDON, *Scottish Education Looks Ahead*. Edinburgh: Chambers, 1969. pp. 233. 10/6.

Der Titel des umfangreichen Taschenbuches ist symptomatisch für ein Phänomen, das inzwischen auch den sich häufig am langsamsten entwickelnden Bereich einer Gesellschaft bestimmt, das Erziehungssystem: der Übergang von relativ seltenen, einmaligen Reformen zu permanenten und alle Bereiche gleichermaßen betreffenden Veränderungen. Ständige Veränderungen im Erziehungswesen hat es immer gegeben, selbst in Zeiten relativer Stagnation; doch im Vergleich mit dem rapiden Wandel der Anforderungen an die moderne Bildung, wie er in den letzten Jahren bewußt geworden ist, mag das Bildungswesen vergangener Jahrzehnte wie eine Oase der ungestörten Vorbereitung auf das "Leben" wirken. Technologische Entwicklung, Massenkommunikationsmittel, soziale Veränderungen üben einen Druck auf alle Erziehungsinstitutionen aus, dem nicht mehr durch Einzelreformen beizukommen ist. Entsprechend richtet sich das Interesse weniger auf den Gehalt einzelner Veränderungen als auf den Prozeß des Wandels und den Mechanismus der Planung künftiger Entwicklungen.

Scottish Education Looks Ahead ist ein Beispiel für die Vielfalt der Aspekte und die Komplexität der Zusammenhänge, mit denen moderne Reformer konfrontiert werden. In 20 Einzelbeiträgen werden Veränderungen beschrieben, die vor allem in den letzten 10 Jahren das schottische Erziehungssystem bestimmt haben, und Tendenzen und Probleme künftiger Entwicklungen dargestellt. Daß trotz der Fülle der dargestellten Aspekte die Herausgeber die Auswahl als ihre schwierigste Aufgabe ansehen, ist ebenfalls ein Symptom dafür, in welchem Ausmaß Reformen auf einem Gebiet Veränderungen in anderen Bereichen voraussetzen oder nach sich ziehen.

Die behandelten Probleme sind von internationaler Relevanz: Veränderungen der Orientierung der Primarschulerziehung, deren Hauptaufgabe nicht mehr allein in der Einübung in die traditionellen Kulturtechniken besteht, sondern die die Lernfähigkeit und Motivationen aufbauen, individuell fördern, Leistungsschwächen ausgleichen soll; der Wandel der Sekundarschule von einer Ausbildungsstätte für wenige

zu einer Schule für alle Jugendlichen erfordert eine völlige Neuorganisation der Kurse, der Struktur und Funktion von Examina. Der endgültige Übergang 1965 zu einem Gesamtschulsystem, das schon vorher in Schottland weit verbreitet war, hat gegenüber der langen Präokkupation mit Strukturfragen das Problem eines gemeinsamen Grundcurriculum und allmählich differenzierender Ausbildungsgänge in den Vordergrund rücken lassen. Die beispielhafte Beschreibung neuer Ansätze in der Curriculumentwicklung und -planung ist daher auch das Hauptthema mehrerer Beiträge dieses Bandes. Dabei stellt sich als eine zentrale Barriere für Veränderungen die traditionelle Ausbildung der Lehrer für besondere Schülergruppen heraus. Ebenso wie es hier um eine neue Orientierung der Lehrerbildung angesichts der Aufgabe geht, die gesamte Gruppe der Jugendlichen in einer Schule zu unterrichten und zu erziehen, stellt sich das Problem für die Universitätsstufe, dem Ansturm der Bewerber unterschiedlicher Interessen vielfältige Ausbildungsmöglichkeiten zu bieten.

Weitere Kapitel befassen sich mit der Einbeziehung neuer Aufgaben in die Institution Schule, die die traditionelle Trennung zwischen formaler und informaler Erziehung verwischen und eine stärkere Kooperation zwischen Schule und Elternhaus, Erziehungseinrichtungen und anderen sozialen Institutionen erfordern; mit dem Einsatz technischer Medien im Unterricht, mit Versuchen, den Übergang zwischen Schule und Beruf vorzubereiten, und schließlich mit der wachsenden Bedeutung der Bildungsforschung, die in Schottland auf eine lange Tradition zurückblicken kann und weit über die Landesgrenzen hinaus Einfluß genommen hat.

Interessant sind die geschilderten Ansätze zu eigenständigen Lösungen etwa im Vergleich mit ähnlichen Problemen des Nachbarlandes England. In dieser Hinsicht bietet die Darstellung gerade für den an vergleichender Betrachtung interessierten Leser eine Fülle von aufschlußreichen Beobachtungen, wenngleich die Beiträge nicht als wissenschaftlich-systematische Einführung in den Prozeß des Wandels gedacht sind. Die Verfasser – Lehrer, Professoren, Verwaltungsbeamte, die alle an irgendeiner Stelle im Prozeß der Planung, Vorbereitung und Durchführung von Veränderungen aktiv beteiligt sind – wollen eher einen impressionistischen Einblick in die Vielfalt und Notwendigkeit von Veränderungen geben, Verständnis bei den von Reformen Betroffenen wecken und um die Bereitschaft zur Mitarbeit bei allen direkt und indirekt im Erziehungswesen beteiligten Gruppen werben. Dabei ist ihnen zugleich gelungen, einen lebendigen Einblick in die Probleme eines sich wandelnden Erziehungswesens zu vermitteln.

HELGA THOMAS, Berlin

PAULSTON, ROLLAND G., *Educational Change in Sweden: Planning and Accepting the Comprehensive School Reforms*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1968. pp. 193. \$ 7.50.

Der Verfasser – Professor an der Universität Pittsburgh, USA – hatte zwischen 1962 und 1965 an der Universität Stockholm gearbeitet und während dieser Zeit das Material aus über 100 Jahren schwedischer Schulgeschichte zusammengetragen und ausgewertet, das jetzt die Grundlage für diese Veröffentlichung darstellt. Paulstons Buch ist keineswegs die erste Publikation, auch nicht die erste in englischer Sprache, in der die Vorgeschichte der jetzt in Schweden erfolgten grundlegenden Schulrefor-

men dargestellt wird. Wohl aber dürfte es sich dabei um die gründlichste und detailierteste Darstellung handeln, für die alle überhaupt verfügbaren Quellen herangezogen wurden, und besonders auf diese Tatsache weist auch Torsten Husén in seinem Vorwort zu diesem Buch nachdrücklich hin. Wie gründlich Paulston bei seinem Quellenstudium vorgegangen ist, geht u.a. daraus hervor, daß er auf 146 Textseiten 450 Fußnoten mit Quellenhinweisen eingearbeitet hat.

Untergliedert wird die Veröffentlichung von Paulston in sechs Abschnitte, worin jeweils über bestimmte Perioden der schwedischen Schulentwicklung (1842–1918, 1918–1927, 1927–1940, 1940–1946, 1946–1950 und Grundsatzbeschuß zur Einführung der neunjährigen obligatorischen Grundschule in Schweden 1950) berichtet wird. Besonders herausgestellt werden dabei die Personen und Gruppen in der schwedischen Schulgeschichte, die zum Teil schon lange vor dem ersten Weltkrieg für ein Gesamtschulsystem eingetreten waren. Detailliert angegeben sind auch jeweils Stellungnahmen einzelner Parteien, Verbände und Interessengruppen zu schulorganisatorischen Reformmaßnahmen bis 1950. Angefügt ist ein weiterer (7.) Abschnitt mit einer kurzen Zusammenfassung und einigen Schlußbemerkungen, und es folgen dann noch im Anhang eine annotierte Bibliographie mit rund 90 Buchtiteln, in der alle wesentlichen Publikationen über die weitere Schulentwicklung in Schweden zwischen 1950 und 1968 verzeichnet sind, sowie einige graphische Darstellungen und ein Glossar. Dem Verfasser ist es gelungen, in leicht lesbarer Form über ein Jahrhundert schwedischer Schulgeschichte auf knappem Raum darzustellen. Völlig ausgeklammert bleiben bei dieser Darstellung jedoch die didaktischen Reformen, die mit den strukturellen Reformen in Schweden teilweise Hand in Hand gingen, zu einem großen Teil ihnen nun aber – besonders in den Jahren seit 1962 – gefolgt sind. Im Textteil überhaupt nicht erwähnt sind die strukturellen Reformen der "oberen Sekundarstufe" – der Schulstufe für die 16- bis 19jährigen –, die in Schweden zur Zeit erfolgen und die in anderen europäischen Ländern jetzt mit besonderem Interesse verfolgt werden. Paulston schließt seine Darstellung der schwedischen Schulentwicklung im wesentlichen mit dem Stand von 1950 ab und beschränkt sich dabei auf die ersten neun – jetzt obligatorischen – Schuljahre.

Erziehungswissenschaftlern und Schulpolitikern, die an den Hintergründen der schwedischen Schulreformen interessiert sind und danach fragen, warum sich in Schweden etwas hat realisieren lassen, was in den Ländern Kontinentaleuropas zur Zeit noch kaum möglich erscheint, kann dieses Buch zur Lektüre empfohlen werden. Diesem Personenkreis wird, abgesehen von den Fußnoten und der annotierten Bibliographie, auch noch die eigentliche Bibliographie des Werkes (50 Primär- und weitere 132 Sekundärquellen) nützlich sein, besonders wenn aus dem Schwedischen übersetzt werden kann.

Nicht alle Erwartungen wird dieses Buch jedoch bei dem Leserkreis erfüllen, der allein wegen des Umschlagtitels *Educational Change in Sweden* nach ihm greift und damit rechnet, besonders über die Schulentwicklung der letzten beiden Jahrzehnte und die bevorstehenden weiteren Veränderungen im Rahmen der "rollenden" dynamischen Reform informiert zu werden. Genau zu dem Zeitpunkt, als diese neuen Reformen einsetzten, hört die Darstellung von Paulston auf.

HORST MAGDEBURG, Berlin

PEACOCK, ALAN; GLENNERSTER, HOWARD; LAVERS, ROBERT, *Educational Finance: Its Sources and Uses in the United Kingdom*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1968. pp. 86.

Diese Untersuchung über die Finanzierung des Bildungssystems im Vereinigten Königreich ist die fünfte Studie der Forschungsgruppe für ökonomische und statistische Studien im Hochschulbereich der *London School of Economics and Political Science*. Die Studie schließt sich vortrefflich an die beachtenswerten Studien der genannten Serie an. Die Autoren – unter ihnen der international bekannte Wissenschaftler Alan Peacock – versuchen in ihrer Arbeit erstmalig eine vollständige Darstellung der Finanzprobleme des Bildungssystems in Form einer volkswirtschaftlichen Gesamtrechnung.

Die Arbeit versucht, eine Kombination zusätzlicher Datenbeschaffung mit der Entwicklung eines neuen Kontenschemas zu verwenden. Dabei greifen die Autoren auf methodologische Überlegungen von Alan Peacock zurück, die er sowohl im *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* als auch im Rahmen der Arbeiten der OECD veröffentlicht hat.

In Kapitel 2 werden diese Modellkonten, wie sie für die OECD entwickelt worden sind, dargestellt, ebenso wie die Quellen der Information. In Kapitel 3 werden die Ausgaben für jeden einzelnen Sektor des Bildungssystems untersucht, während Kapitel 4 die Finanzquellen für jeden Bildungssektor darstellt. In Kapitel 5 werden die Schwächen existierender öffentlicher Statistiken dargestellt und Verbesserungen vorgeschlagen.

Der Hauptgewinn des Buches liegt in dem Versuch, die Modellkontenrechnung Peacocks auf einen bestimmten Prozeß der Bildungsfinanzierung in England anzuwenden. Es dürfte schwierig sein, die komplizierten englischen Verhältnisse auf andere Länder zu übertragen. Entsprechend bleibt die internationale Vergleichbarkeit der Untersuchung gering und auf die methodische Seite der Arbeit beschränkt. Gerade hier aber ist bisher im Bereich der Bildungsökonomie außerordentlich wenig gearbeitet worden, und so ist die Untersuchung von Peacock und anderen als ein wichtiger und konstruktiver Beitrag zu betrachten.

Die Arbeit gehört in die Hand jedes Bildungsökonomen und dürfte später als eine der Pionierarbeiten auf dem Gebiet der "Bildungsbuchführung" gelten.

HANS PETER WIDMAIER, Regensburg

RAMANATHAN, G., *The Quest for General Education. Reflections on the Harvard Report*. London: Asia Publishing House, 1968. pp. 237. 50/—.

There are some things of which we should all know something, and other things (different for different people) of which we need to know more. Most people would call the first general, and the second specialist education. But G. Ramanathan does not use general education in this sense. He notes the last words in the title of the famous Harvard Report, *General Education in a Free Society* (1946), and takes general education to be the process whereby the generality of people acquires the modalities of civilised citizenship. On this basis he develops his theory of general education.

Education now is in principle universal, not for a leisured few. So what is learned

in school must be related meaningfully to life in the adult community. The "movement" for general education has come from this necessity. It can be seen at work in countries as different as the Soviet Union and the United States. From his general definition G. Ramanathan deduces "laws" of general education and elaborates "principles" of the curriculum in primary schools, secondary schools and universities.

All this is cast as generally applicable, with due allowances for differences of time and place. And one begins to protest. Ramanathan has his shrewd points (such as his insistence that an assemblage of superficial specialisms in an "elective" curriculum is not the same as general education) but it all seems rather rigid. The truth is that the book comes very much out of Indian experience and makes sense only if read in that way. As the recent Education Commission pointed out, education in India is most dangerously detached from the social life and needs of the country. There is indeed a case for saying that every student should have some experience that helps him to enter into living contact with the community while he is at school or college and to modify the historic caste-based reluctance to do many kinds of physical work. But this is a necessary corrective to an education that from British days has been too much a matter of memorising statements in books, and to a society that for millenia has been divided according to a prestige scale of callings. As a general theory it is less attractive. In the United States, for instance, students work at all sorts of things and feel no such caste inhibitions; and criticism of educational methods in that country would be of a different kind.

Even in Indian terms some of G. Ramanathan's recommendations seem open to question. There is chronic under-employment, for the one thing of which India has a surplus is manpower. In this situation will anybody thank educationists who say that work must be found for students in the fields, in the post offices, in traffic control, and so on, as Ramanathan does? The way to relate education to Indian life is through what is done *in* the schools, rather than by just abandoning school work for a while and adding the young to the labour force.

It is when the author elaborates his views on "Basic Education" that he is most clearly writing for India. Nobody else has this mystique about spinning. Mahatma Gandhi was right to say that the head, the hand and the heart need to be educated together. But this is very general. Spinning, which he chiefly advocated for the education of the hand, is far from being the most rewarding craft educationally, or even the healthiest. (Is it really even a craft?) Ramanathan still puts his emphasis on spinning, followed by weaving; and he says that this craft work must be the central thing in school education round which all else is built. But "Basic Education" has not worked, as Indian educationists, in spite of their natural loyalty to the great name of Gandhi, are beginning to admit. The late Hamayum Kabir said that it was very difficult to teach quadratic equations through spinning. It is. Mahatma Gandhi in his time wanted to revive the neglected Indian village, with its traditional crafts. However, an India depending for its future on a modernised agriculture, a science-based industry, and a population that thinks for practical purposes in terms of cause and effect, needs education of a radically different, and certainly non-mediaeval, kind. There should of course be craft work in schools (and weaving has much to be said for it), but better forget the spinning wheels, give every child mechanical and electrical toys to play with in school (since he can't afford them at home), and build a Five-Year-Plan education on that. How long must India wait before there is a steady look at "Basic Education" to see whether it gives India what it needs now?

RICHTER, WILHELM, *Didaktik als Aufgabe der Universität*. Gutachten und Studien der Bildungskommission des Deutschen Bildungsrates. Bd. 8. Stuttgart: Klett, 1969. 50 S. DM 5.

Mit dieser Broschüre von 32 Textseiten (davon 8 Seiten Anmerkungen, die mit ihren bibliographischen Hinweisen für manchen Leser den Hauptnutzen darstellen dürften) hat der Bildungsrat sich und der Öffentlichkeit keinen guten Dienst erwiesen. In derselben Reihe erschien ein halbes Jahr vorher der Band 4, *Begabung und Lernen*, mit knapp 600 Seiten, und setzte einen Maßstab: ein Kompendium (des neuesten wissenschaftlichen Standes) von aufeinander bezogenen Einzelgutachten, zusammengestellt von einem Expertenteam – eine ausgezeichnete Grundlage für die Diskussion in der Öffentlichkeit und im Bildungsrat.

Vom Thema – *Didaktik als Aufgabe der Universität* – und seiner Bedeutung her konnte man eine ähnlich umfangreiche und gewichtige Arbeit erwarten. Das ist nicht eingetreten, so daß man in Versuchung gerät, den vorgelegten Beitrag als Maßstab für die Geringschätzung der Didaktik im Bildungsrat selber zu nehmen. Denn genau das scheint das Problem zu sein, und Richter bringt dafür eine treffende Formulierung: Didaktik gilt noch weitgehend als ein bloßes "Statuszeichen" des Volksschullehrers, d.h. des nicht-wissenschaftlichen, nur-handwerklichen Lehrers. Statt dessen müssen wir in einer Gesellschaft, die auf vielfältiges Lernen angewiesen ist und vor Lern- und Lehrproblemen in allen Bereichen steht, Didaktik begreifen als Wissenschaft vom Unterricht oder vom Lehren und Lernen, wobei die Forderung nach Wissenschaft hier nicht Aufwertungsanspruch eines ehemaligen Nur-Handwerks ist, sondern – wie es vor allem Hartmut von Hentig immer wieder artikuliert hat – das wissenschaftlich-rationalkritische Vorgehen in einem Bereich meint, der die Wissensinhalte, die Lernprozesse und die Lehr- und Lernformen in gleicher Weise umfaßt.

Welch ein Thema also für Öffentlichkeit und Bildungsrat! Daran gemessen ist der Beitrag ein Ärgernis, und dieses Ärgernis beginnt mit dem Titel. Didaktik im eben definierten Sinne – und genau so versteht Wilhelm Richter Didaktik – intendiert "als Aufgabe der Universität" dreierlei:

- im Sinne einer Wissenschaftsdidaktik die Reflexion jeder Wissenschaft über Zielsetzung, Vorgehen und strukturelle Darstellung;
- im Sinne einer Hochschuldidaktik die Verantwortung für die Curricula, die Analyse der Lernprozesse und das Entwickeln von diesen Prozessen adäquaten Lehr- und Lernformen im Bereich der Hochschulen;
- im Sinne einer Didaktik des Schul- und Erziehungsbereiches das Studium einer solchen Didaktik innerhalb der Lehrerbildung.

Zu dieser breiten Fragestellung regt der Titel an, obwohl der Beitrag sich allein mit dem dritten Komplex beschäftigt: den didaktischen Studien der Lehrerstudenden. Auch das ist – für sich allein genommen – ein dringend zu erörterndes Thema, angesichts des Durcheinanders von Studieninhalten und -institutionen innerhalb der Lehrerbildung in der Bundesrepublik. Es ist dies andererseits ein so differenziertes Thema, daß sich eine Darstellung in dieser Kürze verbietet und wohl auch durch eine einzelne Feder nicht erreichen läßt.

Dabei nennt das Vorwort der Herausgeber bereits die Leitlinien einer solchen Darstellung:

- "Überblick über die didaktischen Forderungen, die sich aus der Bildungsfunktion

der Schule ergeben" – schon das wäre ein weites Feld, da wir von neuen Bildungsfunktionen ausgehen müssen, auf Grund einer veränderten Stellung der Schule in einer demokratischen Gesellschaft und auf Grund von neuen Einsichten, die uns die Studie *Begabung und Lernen* gibt.

- "Überblick über das didaktische Angebot der Universität" – hier wären gründlich zu erörtern die Inhalte eines Studiums der Didaktik der Schule und Erziehung (als allgemeine Didaktik, z. B. Fragen der Lernformen, -abläufe und -hilfen; als Fachdidaktik, z.B. Fragen der Lehrplanaufstellung und der Erprobung von technischen Lernmitteln) und die Studienformen (wie sie sich vor allem aus dem Theorie-Praxis-Verhältnis ergeben, dem Grundproblem einer sich wissenschaftlich-kontrollierbar verstehenden Didaktik).
- "Überblick über den Stand der wissenschaftlichen Kontroverse" – darunter müßten ausgebreitet und kritisch untersucht werden die Positionen der Bildungs- und Lerndidaktik, der Fachdidaktik und allgemeinen Didaktik. Und das alles müßte letztlich zu brauchbaren Modellen für ein koordiniertes und in sich differenziertes Studium der zukünftigen Lehrer und Erzieher entwickelt werden.

Alles das gilt es gründlich zu untersuchen und zu erörtern; hier wird es kaum angedeutet und bleibt notwendigerweise oberflächlich. Schade um das Thema! Richters Beitrag kann nur schmerzlich die Lücken bewußt machen: Wir brauchen eine umfassende Auseinandersetzung mit der "Didaktik als Aufgabe der Forschung und Lehre".

HARM PRIOR, Hamburg

ROTH, HEINRICH (Hrsg.), *Begabung und Lernen. Ergebnisse und Folgerungen neuer Forschungen*. Gutachten und Studien der Bildungskommission des Deutschen Bildungsrates. Bd. 4. Stuttgart: Klett, 1969. 594 S. DM 29.

Pädagogen waren schon immer *ex professo* Optimisten. Grundsätzlich mußten sie jeden Schüler für belehrbar halten, wollten sie ihn nicht aus dem Unterrichtsgeschehen ausschließen. Durch die moderne Lernforschung erhält dieser pädagogische Glaube eine wissenschaftliche Grundlage. Nach Auffassung der Wissenschaft ist der Begriff "Begabung" völlig ungeeignet zur Kennzeichnung der Bedingungen, unter denen Lernleistungen zustande kommen. Als Bedingungsfaktoren von Lernleistungen kommen nämlich vor allem die Variablen der sozio-kulturellen Umwelt in Betracht, während man herkömmlich unter "Begabung" primär eine biogenetische Größe verstand.

Welche Variablen der Persönlichkeit und der Umwelt sind für das Zustandekommen von Lernleistungen verantwortlich? Diese Frage findet in dem Gutachtenband *Begabung und Lernen* die nach dem gegenwärtigen Forschungsstand umfassendste Antwort. Unter Leitung des Herausgebers H. Roth nimmt ein repräsentativer Kreis von Wissenschaftlern verschiedener Fachrichtungen zum Thema Stellung. Mit aller Deutlichkeit wird von den Gutachtern vor allem auf die Konsequenzen hingewiesen, die sich aus den neuen Erkenntnissen für den Gesamtbereich der Bildung – vom Kindergarten bis zur Hochschule – ergeben. Dadurch erhält der Band den Charakter einer Herausforderung, die zu ignorieren sich weder Pädagogen noch Bildungsplaner leisten dürften.

Zunächst kommen die Genetiker zu Wort. Ritter und Engel betonen, daß sich Intelligenz- bzw. Begabungsunterschiede nicht auf Unterschiede der genetischen Information zurückführen lassen. Sie gelangen zu dem Ergebnis, "daß die genetische Varianz auch heute noch größer sein muß, als die Erziehungs- und kulturelle Umwelt abfordert" (S. 119). H. Aebli räumt in seinem Gutachten auf mit der alten Auffassung einer von endogenen Reifeprozessen gesteuerten Lern- und Leistungsbeurteilung. Die neue Entwicklungspsychologie hat demgegenüber zu zeigen vermocht, "daß vermeintlich reine Reifungsprozesse der Entwicklung wesentlich durch Lernen bedingt sind" (S. 164). Dem Begriff der Reifung ergeht es ähnlich wie dem der Begabung; er eignet sich nicht mehr zur Beschreibung von Entwicklungsvorgängen. Anlage- und Reifungsfaktoren ist danach "die bloße Funktion zuzuschreiben, Verhaltensmöglichkeiten zu eröffnen, welche durch Lernen und Erfahrung verwirklicht werden müssen" (S. 182).

H. Heckhausen untersucht die Bedingungen zur "Förderung der Lernmotivierung und der intellektuellen Tüchtigkeiten". Die wichtigsten Variablen der Lernmotivierung sind die Leistungsmotivation und ihre Anregungsvariablen. Eine optimale Anregungswirkung besteht bei einer dosierten mittleren Diskrepanz zwischen dem Umweltangebot und dem erreichten "sachstrukturellen Entwicklungsstand" (vorhandene Kenntnisse und Fertigkeiten des Schülers). Heckhausen macht insbesondere auf die Variablen des Elternhauses aufmerksam: frühzeitiges Drängen der Mutter auf Selbstständigkeit, Anregung des Kindes, Fragen zu stellen, Bestehen auf richtigem Sprechen u.a.m. Mit B. Bloom gelangt er zu einer weitreichenden Schlußfolgerung: "Der Einfluß der Umweltanregung auf die Höhe des am Ende der Jugendzeit erreichten sachstrukturellen Entwicklungsstandes ist in jenen Jahren am größten, in denen das Entwicklungstempo am stärksten beschleunigt ist", das ist "zwischen drei und acht Jahren" (S. 201). Der in diesen entscheidenden Lernjahren eingetretene Entwicklungsvorsprung ist bei gleichbleibender weiterer Anregung nicht mehr rückgängig zu machen; umgekehrt hat ein einmal eingetretener Rückstand beim Durchlaufen der Schule "einen kumulativ ungünstigen Effekt" (S. 202). Von hier aus ergibt sich die Forderung nach einer "Vorschule als Anregungsinstitution", um das Anregungspotential der Elternhäuser zu ergänzen. Zur gleichen Forderung gelangen zwei weitere Gutachter: K. Mollenhauer und U. Oevermann betrachten das Begabungs- und Lernproblem aus soziologischer Sicht. Mollenhauer, in "Sozialisation und Schulerfolg", weist hin auf die Relevanz der sozio-ökonomischen Bedingungen, der gruppenspezifischen Wertorientierungen und Erziehungspraktiken für die Lernfähigkeit des Kindes. Er hebt die restriktive Funktion der schichtenspezifischen Sozialisationsvariablen hervor. "Das soziale Bezugssystem, im Hinblick auf das die Sozialisationsprozesse der unteren sozialen Schichten funktional sind, ... ist der Schule, ihren Werten, Leistungs- und Lern-Standards nicht kongruent" (S. 292). Unter seinen Vorschlägen zur Verbesserung der Sozialisationsbedingungen stehen institutionalisierte Beratungen der Mütter und die Einrichtung von Kindergärten als "nebenfamiliärem Lernfeld" im Vordergrund. Oevermanns Beitrag "Schichtenspezifische Formen des Sprachverhaltens und ihr Einfluß auf die kognitiven Prozesse" zeigt, welche Rolle das Sprachverhalten für Schulleistung und Intelligenzentwicklung spielt. Die aus spracharmem Milieu stammenden Kinder werden gegenüber den Mittelstandskindern in unseren Schulen außerordentlich benachteiligt. Eine Modifikation der schulischen Leistungskriterien (vgl. das Gutachten von Ingenkamp: "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des Lehrerurteils und der Schultests") hält Oevermann für notwendig. Das Ziel einer kompensatorischen

Spracherziehung ist seines Erachtens nur über eine systematische Vorschulerziehung unter aktiver Beteiligung der Eltern zu erreichen.

Adressiert sind die Gutachten – die hier erwähnten Arbeiten beanspruchen nur den halben Umfang des rund 600 Seiten starken Bandes – an die Mitglieder der Bildungskommission. Sie werden vor allem an den von den einzelnen Gutachtern gezogenen Folgerungen interessiert sein, die H. Skowronek am Schlusse des Bandes in einer Synopse zusammenfaßt. Darüber hinaus dürfen alle, die in Bildungs- und Schulfragen gründlich und aktuell informiert sein wollen, die Mühe eingehender Lektüre nicht scheuen. Die Revision des Begabungsbegriffs – Begabung ist nicht Voraussetzung, sondern Ergebnis des Lernens – und die damit verbundene Erkenntnis, „daß 'Bildung' eine dynamische Bedeutung hat“, also als „Besitz von Verhaltensweisen, welche etwas zu leisten, Veränderungen herbeizuführen vermögen“ (Aebli, S. 153) aufgefaßt werden muß, zwingt zur Aufgabe althergebrachter bildungsrelevanter Vorstellungen. Mit Recht bemerkt H. Roth (S. 23), daß mit der vorliegenden Arbeit „ein Kompendium zu den wichtigsten Fragen der Begabung und der Aufschließbarkeit von Begabungen in unserer Zeit geschaffen“ wurde.

FRIEDRICH SCHEIDT, München

SCHEUERL, HANS, *Die Gliederung des deutschen Schulwesens*. Bd. 2. 173 S. DM 12.50.

ROBINSONH, SAUL B.; THOMAS, HELGA, *Differenzierung im Sekundarschulwesen*. Bd. 3. 113 S. DM 9.50.

Gutachten und Studien der Bildungskommission des Deutschen Bildungsrates. Stuttgart: Klett, 1968.

Der Deutsche Bildungsrat wurde 1965 auf gemeinsame Initiative von Bund und Ländern mit dem Ziel gegründet, Bedarfs-, Struktur- und Entwicklungspläne für das deutsche Bildungswesen zu erarbeiten. Er hat seinen Strukturplan Mitte 1970 der Öffentlichkeit vorgelegt. Dieser Plan wurde durch Gutachten der Bildungskommission vorbereitet, die sich vor allem auf Fragen des Sekundarschulwesens, der Berufsbildung und Bildungsausgaben konzentrierten. Probleme der Vor- und Primarschulen finden vergleichsweise wenig Aufmerksamkeit und Lernziele sind nur für die Gesamtschule skizziert.¹⁾

Obwohl alle Gutachten inhaltlich nur von den Autoren vertreten werden und „in keinem Fall 'Empfehlungen' der Bildungskommission“ präjudizieren (Impressum), hat die Reihenfolge ihrer Veröffentlichung Vermutungen ausgelöst über die Bewußtseinsbildung der Bildungskommission. Die Gutachtenserie begann mit Darstellungen über Bildungsausgaben, die föderative „Gliederung des deutschen Schulwesens“ und einem internationalen Vergleich zur Differenzierung im Sekundarschulwesen. Erst gegen Ende der Beratungszeit ist der Versuch einer Lernzielbestimmung vorgelegt worden. Die Vermutung mußte also aufkommen, daß die Bildungskommission weder von den Problemen der Vor- und Primarschule ausgegangen ist, noch mit dem Versuch begann, den Bildungsauftrag (Lernziele) des Schulwesens zu überdenken, sondern daß die Kommission mit Beratungen über die Struktur des gegenwärtigen Bildungswesens – und hier speziell über die Organisation des Sekundarschulwesens – begann.²⁾ So problematisch der Strukturplan des Bildungsrats wäre, wenn er

das Bildungswesen vom Schulende und nur von Organisationsmodellen aus zu verändern suchte, so unerläßlich ist es zugleich, daß er sich zur "Gliederung des deutschen Schulwesens" im Licht internationaler Erfahrungen äußert. Von daher kommt den Gutachten von Scheuerl und Robinsohn/Thomas Bedeutung zu. Scheuerl geht in seiner Darstellung pragmatisch von den "geltenden Bestimmungen des Hamburger Abkommens"³⁾ aus. Im Anschluß an diesen umfangreichen Teil weist er auf schulpolitische "Tendenzen" hin und kommt zu einer "Theorie der Schulgliederung" Aus ihr werden "Folgerungen für die weitere Planung" entwickelt.

Mit diesem Gutachten liegt erstmals eine differenzierte Bestandsaufnahme der bestehenden Divergenzen im deutschen Bildungsföderalismus vor. Diese schulorganisatorischen Divergenzen – sei es im Sprachgebrauch, zwischen gesetzlichen Bestimmungen oder unter den Schulversuchen – führen die Schwierigkeiten einer vereinheitlichenden Bildungsplanung vor Augen. Schnelle und grundlegende Angleichungen scheinen danach kaum wahrscheinlich, obwohl dringend geboten. – Nachdem im Stil des *pointillism* diese bestehenden Verhältnisse dargestellt sind, regt Scheuerl eine "Theorie der Schulgliederung" an. Zunächst versucht er mit einem historischen Exkurs anzudeuten, "daß viele der großen theoretischen Systementwürfe aus der pädagogischen Ideengeschichte keineswegs an ein gegabeltes oder differenzierend verzweigtes Schulwesen gedacht haben, sondern gestufte Einheits- oder Gesamtschulmodelle im Sinne hatten" (S. 94), und daß die Trias von Volks-, Mittel- und höherer Schule weniger schichtspezifisch konzipiert als "aus der machtmäßigen Schlichtung eines auswuchernden Konkurrenzkampfes" (Erlasse 1882/1900/1901) entstanden ist (S. 100). Seine Abwehr einer vereinfachenden Zuordnung des heute dreigliedrigen Schulsystems zu einer dreigliedrig gedachten Gesellschaft soll die soziologischen und ideologischen Vorwürfe gegenüber dem dreigliedrigen Schulwesen relativieren. Sie überzeugt in der Kürze nicht so recht, erklärt aber, weshalb Scheuerl eine Weiterentwicklung des bestehenden Schulsystems nicht grundsätzlich für problematisch hält. – Seine Reformüberlegungen beginnt er mit der Frage, wie die Schule "als 'Stätte der Vorwegnahme' wie als 'Stätte der Aufklärung des schon gelebten Lebens'... den Bildungsschicksalen ihrer unterschiedlichen Besucher gerecht werden" kann (S. 104). Und zwar geht er davon aus, daß vertikale und horizontale Gliederungen nicht notwendige Gegensätze sind, sondern eine Durchgitterung möglich und sinnvoll ist, daß ferner das Prinzip der Chancengleichheit eine soziale Subjekthaftigkeit berücksichtigen und zulassen müsse oder aber in die pädagogische Provinz führe. Die "Gleichheit" sollte man deshalb – wenn eine Bildungsgesellschaft angestrebt wird – nicht dadurch herzustellen suchen, "daß man den bildungsmotivierten Eltern das Bestimmungsrecht und die pädagogischen Hilfsmöglichkeiten einschränkt, sondern allein dadurch, daß man die Motivation dort, wo sie mangelt, zu steigern sucht" (S. 115). Damit die verschiedenen Motivierungen und Begabungsentwicklungen gleichwertig gefördert werden können, empfiehlt der Autor eine Schulorganisation, die "nach einer Art ... 'Treppenschema' die Unentschiedenen und Unentscheidbaren von Stufe zu Stufe schrittweise unter möglichst langer Offenhaltung der Entscheidung voranbringt, ... zugleich aber auch den Entschiedenen und Befähigten von früh an zu wiederholten Malen den Übergang in langfristige, zielgerichtete, zügige Bildungswege eröffnet" (S. 146). Verwirklicht werden könne dies Ziel in gesamtschulartigen Schulzentren (obgleich sich Scheuerl energisch gegen eine schematisierende Vereinheitlichung sträubt). Er plädiert seinerseits jedoch für einen Mindestbestand an differenzierten Stufenschu-

len neben denen eine gewisse Zahl von 7- und 9jährigen Gymnasien fortbestehen soll. Für jeden Schüler würde so jedes Bildungsangebot erreichbar werden.

Robinsohn/Thomas kommen in ihrer internationalen Vergleichsstudie zu anderen Schlußfolgerungen. Ihr Gutachten beginnt mit einer Kurzinformation über "internationale Tendenzen in der Entwicklung des Sekundarschulwesens"; es folgte eine "strukturelle Analyse" der Sekundarschulorganisationen in westlichen und östlichen Industrieländern, an die sich eine "funktionale Analyse" verschiedener Differenzierungsformen (Selektion, Elektion, Differenzierung) anschließt. Aus den internationalen "Erfahrungen" werden "Prinzipien" entwickelt und konkrete Vorschläge für eine Neugestaltung des deutschen Schulwesens abgeleitet. Insgesamt werden also auf 80 Seiten Schulstrukturen analysiert (gute Schaubilder im Anhang), Forschungsergebnisse zum Problem der Begabung und Differenzierung zusammengefaßt und Vorschläge für eine langfristige Neuordnung entwickelt.

Zur strukturellen Analyse wurden Länder herangezogen, die eine "vergleichbare" Wirtschaftsstruktur besitzen und die vor "ähnlichen" ökonomischen und gesellschaftspolitischen Problemen stehen (Schweden, England, Frankreich; UdSSR, DDR; USA; BRD). Die Strukturen dieser Schulsysteme werden dabei recht formal kontrastiert. Historisch-ideologische Voraussetzungen bleiben unberührt (z. B. die Voraussetzungen für die Entstehung der amerikanischen, sowjetischen und schwedischen Gesamtschule), Regionaldifferenzen innerhalb von Gesamtschulsystemen werden nicht erfaßt und unter dem Zwang zur schematisierenden Gliederung bleiben auch größere Faktoren (im amerikanischen Bildungswesen z. B. der Privatschulsektor) unerwähnt. Dennoch wird aus dem Ländervergleich gut sichtbar, wie man sich gegenwärtig in vertikal strukturierten Schulsystemen um eine Erweiterung der Bildungschancen und in gesamtschulartigen Systemen um eine Förderung spezifischer Begabungen bemüht (Hinausschieben der Differenzierung in bisher frühzeitig differenzierenden Systemen, Vorverlegen der Differenzierung in bisher spät differenzierenden). Insofern zeigen die Schulreformen der verschiedenen Länder "einen Trend zur Angleichung der Schulsysteme" (S. 42). – Auf diesen Ländervergleich folgt eine funktionale Analyse der Differenzierungsformen in den verschiedenen Schulsystemen. Anhand von Forschungsergebnissen wird gezeigt, daß die Konzeption der Begabungstypologien nicht haltbar ist, der Zeitpunkt der Auslese pädagogisch nicht begründbar ist, und daß in England zwar hervorragende Validitäten bei der prognostischen "Intelligenz"-Auslese aber eben "nur" im Hinblick auf Schulabschlüsse erzielt wurden. Insgesamt entwickeln Robinsohn/Thomas aufgrund ihrer Einsicht in den "Zusammenhang zwischen sozio-kulturellem Milieu und ... Schulziel, zwischen Schulziel und Schulleistung" (S. 56) und aus der Kenntnis verschiedener Differenzierungsmethoden Kriterien für eine Neugestaltung des deutschen Schulsystems. Diese Kriterien der "Gleichheit", "Leistungsfähigkeit" und "Billigkeit" bleiben jedoch recht unscharf und ohne genauere Zuordnung. Immerhin ist das Gesamtziel eine optimale Ausstattung aller Schüler, so daß sie den wirtschaftlichen, politischen und geistigen Anforderungen genügen. – Als Maßnahmen werden vorgeschlagen: eine kompensatorische Vorschulerziehung, eine Entwicklung intraschulischer statt interschulischer Differenzierung (jedoch ohne Aufhebung der Jahrgangsklasse) und in Verbindung damit eine Curriculumrevision und zehnjährige Schulpflicht. Organisatorisch wollen die Autoren an die gemeinsame Primarschul-erziehung eine "gemeinsame Mittelstufe" anschließen, "an deren Ende erst vorberufliche Entscheidungen getroffen und unterschiedliche Bildungswege beschrit-

ten werden". Die Mittelstufe selbst soll zunehmend differenziert werden und sie führt zu ersten Abschlüssen (S. 77).

Beide Gutachten gehen also von bestehenden Verhältnissen aus, deuten Trends an und entwickeln Vorschläge für eine mögliche Reform. In beiden Studien entspricht die abgeleitete Folgerung (Empfehlung) einstellungsmäßigen Vorentscheidungen, auf die besser hingewiesen wäre. Sie arbeiten mit verschiedenen Methoden: Scheuerl mit einer Darstellung der "gelebten Vielfalt", an die er den Leser zuweilen so nah heranführt, daß die Perspektive fast verloren geht; Robinsohn und Thomas bemühen sich dagegen so stark um komprimierte Übersichtlichkeit, daß sich die Gliederungsprinzipien zuweilen zu verselbständigen drohen. Kurzfristig wird man wahrscheinlich mit einem Stufensystem beginnen müssen, langfristig sollte dagegen (schon heute) ein differenziertes Gesamtschulsystem intendiert werden. Insgesamt neigt man gegenwärtig wohl zu einer Überschätzung der organisatorischen Maßnahmen und verkennet, daß die motivierende Kraft des Lehrers neben den Differenzierungsformen nicht ganz unbedeutend ist.⁴⁾

KLAUS SCHLEICHER, Hamburg

1) *Gutachten und Studien der Bildungskommission*: L. SCHENK-DANZIGER: *Schul-eintritt, Schulfähigkeit und Lernreife*. Bd. 7; *Lernziele der Gesamtschule*. Bd. 12. Stuttgart: Klett, 1969.

2) *Empfehlungen der Bildungskommission*: "Einrichtung von Schulversuchen mit Gesamtschulen", "Einrichtung von Schulversuchen mit Ganztagschulen", "Zur Neugestaltung der Abschlüsse im Sekundarschulwesen", 1969.

3) Neufassung des Abkommens zwischen den Ländern der Bundesrepublik zur Vereinheitlichung auf dem Gebiet des Schulwesens vom 28.10.1964.

4) J. C. BARKER: *Streaming in the Primary School*. Slough: National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales, 1970.

SPRINGER, URSULA K. (ed.), *Western European Education. A Quarterly Journal of Translations*. Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 1969. New York: Int. Arts and Sciences Press, 1969. pp. 142.

A hearty welcome should be given to this new quarterly. It fills a very large gap by presenting in English a number of official statements and well-informed commentaries which have hitherto been inaccessible to those who do not easily read foreign languages. Moreover, it performs the additional service of collecting important articles from a wide field of scrutiny, and interpreting them modestly here and there with helpful footnotes, glossaries, and introductory paragraphs.

The readership envisaged is primarily American. That accounts for the inclusion in this first issue of two fairly long but very interesting articles from England. It also helps to account for a rather high subscription rate: \$40 a year for institutions, or \$10 for individuals who belong to subscribing institutions but need an additional copy for personal use. There is no doubt that the service offered is well worth the price for any institution which can afford it, especially if subsequent issues follow the lead of this first one in dealing with particular topics. The book-like format and length (142 pages in this case) will certainly make for ready reference on a library shelf.

Ursula Springer's expressed intention of collecting data, indicating trends, and

correlating perspectives on the basis of detailed international comparisons is well borne out by the first issue. The theme is "Curriculum Design". We start with an article by Urban Dahllöf of Sweden on "The Need for Models in Curriculum Planning." Then follows an article by Saul B. Robinsohn on "Educational Reform through Curriculum Revision". P. H. Hirst contributes an article on "The Curriculum" analysed conceptually, but with a healthy, matter-of-fact look at what actually happens and some practical pitfalls.

P. Deheuvels (Headmaster of the *Cité Scolaire* of Amiens) writes on "The Aims and Development of Secondary Education", offering not only short-term experimental possibilities, but an outline of long-term reform. Then follows, in slightly abridged form, an official decree of the Italian Government in 1967 on "The New Programmes for Religious Instruction in Upper Secondary Schools", which was published in a periodical in the same year. From Italy also we have an article by Camillo Tamborlini, Director of the *Centro Didattico* for the Middle School on "Introduction to Technical Education". This article too appears in a condensed translation.

From England there comes a reprint of part of a 1965 paper on *Raising the School-leaving Age*. This was an official publication of the Schools Council, established in 1964 as a body strongly representing teachers, local education officers, and others involved in the practice of education. Thus the theme of the paper chosen, on "Developing New Curricula", tempers its general recommendations with reference to practice and actual needs. Wolfgang Klafki writes on "Pedagogical and Didactic Aspects of the New *Hauptschule*" (the least academic of the three main types of secondary school in West Germany, enrolling about 60% of the age group). This article is also well oriented towards actual or feasible practice. Finally, there is a grade-by-grade curricular outline for "Social Living" in Sweden from the fourth year to the end of compulsory schooling. It too is matter-of-fact in referring to readily available resources and the contemporary interests of young people.

The editors of *Western European Education* have done an excellent job of sampling, and seem likely to provide a well-coordinated information service. In this they are helped by a distinguished advisory board and a number of contributing editors in European countries. Reliance on original sources has the advantage of remaining faithful to the context in which educational discussion is taking place. In other words, we peep into each country's domestic scene, with its living concerns and ambiguities. The editor's helpful notes and brief comments set the scene, give useful references, and sometimes point to further considerations.

To sum up, *Western European Education* will perform an outstanding service in providing indigenous material for subsequent discussion and analysis by teachers and students of comparative education.

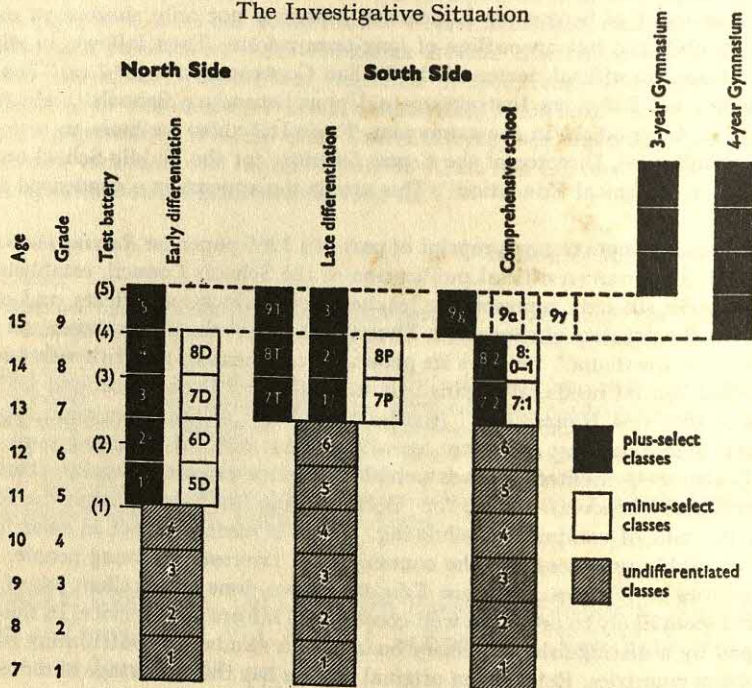
EDMUND J. KING, London

SVENSSON, NILS ERIC, *Ability Grouping and Scholastic Achievement*. Report on a five-year follow-study in Stockholm. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1962. pp. 236. Hfl. 21.35.

During the 1950's there were three different types of school system in Stockholm. (1) In the northern parts of the city, differentiation of the best pupils was done after Grade 4. They were streamed into an academic course (plus-select) in the 5-year

realskola. The others (minus-select) continued in their same school for another three years. In the southern parts of the city, the best achieving pupils were either (2) streamed into a 3-year *realskola* after Grade 6 or (3) an academic course after Grade 8. This latter type of school is now the prevalent form, the comprehensive school (*grundskola*). The types of school are illustrated in the Figure.

FIGURE
The Investigative Situation



The purpose of Svensson's investigation was to compare the scholastic achievement of pupils in Grades 6, 7, 8 and 9 in these different school systems.

The categories of pupils differed, of course, as regards study conditions and intellectual potential, since the system of social stratification in Stockholm's northern areas is rather different from that in the southern areas. In order to control for this variation, two procedures were followed: (1) The pupils were divided into three groups according to the social class of their parents and comparisons of the different school forms were made within each group. (2) A predictor variable was constructed from IQ and achievement tests in Grade 4, and this predictor was held constant by means of analysis of covariance of the various criteria of success in school for later years in successive grades.

All the children (about 11,000) were tested in Grade 4. Because of economic and other reasons, the investigations done in subsequent years were limited to a sample of about one-third of the total number of children. No tests were done the next year in Grade 5. Measurements with intelligence tests and tests of reading, writing and arithmetic were performed in Grade 6.

The same skills were measured in Grades 7 and 8, as well as achievements in English. In Grade 9, the tests consisted of an intelligence test, achievement tests in basic skills and final written exams for the *realskola* in Mathematics, Chemistry, English, German, History and Social Science. For Grade 9, comparisons could be made only between the "academic" courses since the "non-academic" department existed only in the comprehensive school. (See Figure).

The sample for Grade 9, however, was biased. Although Svensson did not notice this, it is quite clear from the available data. The pupils from 5⁵, who were compared with the other categories – 3-year *realskola* (3³ and 9 T) and comprehensive school – actually formed a left-over group since the best pupils from 4⁵ had already gone over to the 4-year *gymnasium*. Since Svensson's method of analysis requires that the pupils who went to the 4-year *gymnasium* are in no way different from those who continued in 5⁵, his conclusions regarding this grade are unreliable. No serious objections can however be made as regards the samples in the lower grades.

The results of this very careful study are summarized by Svensson thus: In Grade 6, the achievements are best in 2⁵ and in most cases better in the undifferentiated school than among minus-select pupils. In Grades 7 and 8, there are no differences between the early and late differentiated classes either in the "academic" or the "non-academic" milieu. On the other hand, the results in English and Composition seem to be better if the teacher has a background of university training. As regards Grade 9, Svensson thinks that the late differentiated classes achieve the best results. Due to the questionable sample, this last conclusion is unreliable.

In a special analysis of the differences in achievement between homogeneous and heterogeneous divisions in Grades 8 and 9, Svensson showed that achievement was independent of class homogeneity. Although Svensson's investigation is one of the best *ex-post facto* projects done in this area of research, serious objections can nonetheless be made to the conclusions drawn.

1. *Method of Analysis*: No attention was paid to the fact that the differences in the individual tests could be relatively small numerically, but consistent to the advantage of a certain differentiation group. In theory, it is conceivable that the 5-year *realskola*, for instance, is only a little better than the other school types in most of the tests included in the battery for a given grade, but that the sum of the results in all tests is considerably greater in the 5-year *realskola* than in the other school systems. Take, for instance, the "academic" groups in Grade 7. From his analysis of test results, Svensson draws the previously mentioned conclusion that there are no differences between the groups. This conclusion is based only on the few cases where one of the groups is *significantly* superior or inferior to the other groups. By registering in *every* case how a certain group, say 3⁵, ranks with respect to the adjusted mean score in relation to each of the others within the same social class, we can observe small but consistent differences between the groups, as shown in the Table.

TABLE

	Rank			
	1	2	3	4
3 ⁵	12	10	4	1
1 ³	7	12	4	4
7T	5	3	12	7
7:2	3	2	7	15

In 12 of the 27 comparisons in Grade 7, 3⁵ is best and in only one case worst. On the other hand, the undifferentiated comprehensive school (7:2) is best in only three cases and worst in 15 cases. The table reveals without any doubt that the groups for that grade can be ranked in the following order 3⁵, 1³, 7T ("realskola" without final exams) and 7:2. (Of course there is no possibility for doing a test of significance on the data presented since the achievement tests are positively correlated with one another.) If similar tables are made for the results of the "academic" groups in Grades 6 and 8 and for the "non-academic" groups in all grades, we find that Svensson's conclusions can definitely be questioned. The results from Grade 8 are certainly not as distinct as those of Grade 7, but even there the groups can be arranged in exactly the same order. The results thus seem to indicate a certain superiority for the early differentiated groups.

In other words, a more comprehensible and accurate picture of the outcome may have been achieved if the separate tests had been weighted into a composite score in one or two criteria of scholastic achievement.

2. *The Dependent Variable*: The criteria utilized were standardized achievement tests. It has been shown by Urban Dahllöf (*Skoldifferentiering och undervisningsförlopp*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1967) that most skills measured by these tests are in fact taught in grades 3–5. In other words, the children are compared to a large extent in skills taught *before* any differentiation existed.

3. *The Independent Variable*: In spite of attempts at control, non-controllable factors may cause systematic errors in all *ex-post facto* research. As Svensson indicated, but was unable to eliminate, there were differences between the school types in the north and in the south in the number of hours of lecturing per week in Mathematics and Swedish (more hours in the south). On the other hand, qualifications of teachers were comparatively better in the north than in the south. The size of classes also varied among the school types. It is presumably of importance that stability in class membership is considerably lower in the early differentiated classes, a factor that also cannot be eliminated from the analyses done on the results. As Svensson has pointed out, it is possible that these factors balance one another but it is equally possible that they have influenced the outcome.

The above mentioned objections to the research project (which is nonetheless exemplary in many aspects) indicate that the effect of the time of differentiation must be tackled experimentally, so that the distribution of subjects for different conditions is done according to established experimental procedures, and where conceivable sources of error are eliminated in advance. Instruments of measurement have to be especially constructed to match the instruction given. Finally, strict control must ensure that the conditions are not successively changed during the course of the experiment. Obviously such an experiment would be rather difficult to perform.

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS – DIE AUTOREN INDEX DES COLLABORATEURS

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EDUCATIONAL TRENDS IN SOME DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

TENDENZEN DES BILDUNGSWESENS
IN EINIGEN ENTWICKLUNGSLÄNDERNTENDANCES PEDAGOGIQUES
DANS QUELQUES PAYS EN VOIE DE DEVELOPPEMENT

Edited by C. E. BEEBY and L. J. LEWIS

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FORTHCOMING ISSUE

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R. H. P. KRAFT, Tallahassee	Technological Change and Educational Obsolescence: Challenges to Administrators as Managers of Change
P. M. REGUZZONI, Milan	Enseignants italiens: Attitudes relatives à leur positions et à la reforme de l'école moyenne
T. A. ILINA and V. I. MICHINE, Moscow	Teacher Training in the USSR
I. J. WINN, Los Angeles	Education Sector Building in the Developing Nations
F. MILLER, Corvallis, Oregon	University Expansion in Peru
V. LENHART, Heidelberg	Das Counterpartprogramm – Lehrer-ausbildung für berufliche Schulen der Entwicklungsländer im Rahmen der deutschen Bildungshilfe

INTRODUCTION

The contributions to this Special Number cover countries ranging from the sub-continent of India with its more than 550 million inhabitants to the tiny atolls of the Tokelaus which between them muster 1860 souls. Yet the reader cannot fail to be struck by the number of educational problems most of them have in common. To be sure, there are inevitable differences resulting from their size, their historical origins as free nations, their stage of economic development, and the degree of political stability they have achieved, but the recurrence of well-worn themes becomes almost monotonous until one realizes that the repetition in itself is an indication that, somewhere behind the medley of specific problems, there may be a common pattern. To the administrator in the field this may offer little more than the consolation that colleagues in other countries are sharing his woes, but to the educational theorist it brings the hope that, by analysing these similarities amidst diversity, he might eventually come to a better understanding of the persistent difficulties that have bedevilled the work of educationists in developing countries over the past two decades.

The theorist would be unwise to leap to the conclusion that he might come up with a common body of solutions that, once found, could be universally applied; experience has already taught us that will not work. It is even too much, perhaps, to take for granted that there are common causes for the educational ills that are so widespread, but at least one is driven to look for them. Some such causes are already obvious. It is not surprising, for example, that shortage of money should restrict educational reformers in every country mentioned in this volume; almost by definition, developing countries, with the exception of a few oil-rich states, are short of money for everything. It was also foreseeable that newly independent countries should lack educated manpower, but no one, as far as we are aware, predicted that in a few years they would nearly all be facing, or fearing, a crop of unemployed intellectuals. It is easy to explain this by pointing out that, once the first block of job openings are filled, the rate of production of an education system in a poor country soon outstrips the growth of the secondary industries and the services that are to make use of educated workers, but this is still a superficial analysis. Was the discrepancy inevitable? Did the education system do the right thing at the wrong speed, or were its objectives mistaken from the start? Did the economic plans, as some economists now suspect, press capital-intensive industries too hard at the expense of those that would have absorbed more labour, and should they have taken greater account of the tendency of schools simply to turn out more of the product they have always delivered

and their incapacity to change at short notice their type of product? Do planners, in fact, know enough about the natural life-history of an education system in a developing country to be able to match its growth to the only marginally more predictable growth of the economy? For that matter, is the pattern of growth of an educational system similar enough in different countries to enable predictions to be made about those still in the early stages of development?

It cannot be entirely accidental that practically every developing country in the world suffers from excessive numbers of dropouts and repeaters in its schools, or that, as writers in this issue show, India, Indonesia and the Arab states should all be finding the same difficulty in persuading young people to take up technical studies instead of the often barren but prestigious academic courses. This reluctance could be explained by reference to the remnants of the caste system or to the traditional Moslem reverence for verbal, Koranic education were it not that exactly the same thing is found in black Africa and the islands of the Pacific. And what developing country has yet found a method of preventing youths, once they have received a modicum of education in the village school, from drifting off to probable unemployment in the towns rather than endure what Kajubi calls the "one-hoe-one-acre" economy of the village? Should we look for specific reasons for these phenomena in each country, or are there causal strands running through them all? If there are, from where do they spring, and how does one go about changing them? Is it just that teachers are inefficient, curricula out-dated, and administrators lacking in imagination, or is it the parents and pupils whose expectations bear little relation to present realities? Or are even illiterate parents shrewder than we think, and is the choice that appears right to the educational planner often the wrong one for the individual, because it is the country's incomes policy that is out of date? Is it even possible there is a deeper and fatal flaw in the whole business of modelling the economic and educational plans of a developing country on the experience of countries so far ahead in economic development, which are, moreover, themselves just beginning to doubt if they are on the right track?

It was with something of this doubt that many of the new countries began their free life ten to twenty years ago. They undoubtedly wanted for all their people a standard of material welfare far better than they had known, but they had no wish to copy in entirety the economy and the culture of the "advanced" countries whose failings they had had ample time to study under colonial rule. With the idealism of the newly independent, the best of their leaders did not want the stratification by birth and family that was part of their own tradition nor the economic strati-

fication of the industrialized countries, and, as the belated concept of human equality spread through the mass of the people, it eroded the resigned acceptance of living in that state in which it had pleased God they should be born. There were dreams of a fairer society in which all men – and even women – should have equal opportunity, and to which education was the key. The struggle for freedom had itself made the new nations more conscious of their own system of values – moral, religious, social, aesthetic – which they now hoped to see fused into a new sense of nationhood. The new terms they invented, now familiar and at times a little sad, are witness of their striving for some different way of life and for the education to make it a reality: *négritude*, *pantjasila*, Indianization, Africanization, Arab Nationalism. Echoes from this period are found in the articles in this issue, in Kirpal's words, for example: "With the right kind of education a developing society can attain the satisfaction, harmony and comprehension that may elude a more prosperous society".

Given time and imagination, the stage seemed set for a hundred bold new experiments in education. It seemed inconceivable that the stereotype of forty children shut in a room with a teacher, a blackboard, and forty textbooks should be the answer to all these clamant new demands. But, of course, there *was* no time, and there was a continuing conflict between the desire to establish a new identity and the ambition to catch up with the richer countries on the well-travelled road, a conflict too often glossed over by the deceptively easy doctrine of "taking the best from both worlds." The "attempt to establish Arab educational identity and to universalize education," which Akrawi and El-Koussy see as the double post-war task of educationists in Arab countries typifies the problems of all developing countries over the period. How far was it possible, in the short time they allowed themselves, to perform this dual task of vastly extending the school system and at the same time moulding it intimately to the needs and the hopes of a new nation? Their economies faced the same kind of problem. Whatever dreams the developing countries hoped to realize, they needed more money, and the most obvious means of getting that was to follow the lead of the industrialized countries, even if that might mean – as in the end it did – a dislocation of the delicate balance between the city and the country where most of the people lived. Similarly, the simplest way of extending education was to give the people more of the kind of schools they already had, patterned on the schools set up or supervised by the colonial powers, with minor variations that were at first little more than a gesture towards the new national ideals. All too often, as Hayden quotes, they prepared their pupils "for certificates but not for life."

As laymen, we do not know whether the economic policies the developing countries adopted were inevitable in the circumstances, or whether wiser plans might have produced more individual satisfaction at the cost of a slightly slower growth rate. However, having been associated with UNESCO over most of this period, we have some appreciation of the strength of the forces that drove many of them, as the writers of these articles show, to concentrate on quantity in their educational policies rather than on making sweeping qualitative changes. As parents began to see education as the one hope their children had of breaking away from the grinding wheel of poverty, political pressure for more schools mounted, and was further intensified by the population explosion. To the illiterate parent a school was a school, quality had little meaning, and a place for his child was of more importance than the adjustment of the curriculum to national needs and purposes.

Quite apart from such popular pressures, the sheer technical problems of creating a new education for a new nation were overwhelming. What language should be used: that of the colonial power with its rich literature and its international value, or the local language with its deep personal significance and no books? (Here, as Elvin shows in his review of Kirpal's book on India, politics swept back in full force.) But, language apart, one could not "Africanize" education without books on African history, geography, society, flora and fauna, and these were, in any scholarly sense, a decade or more away. Failing them, teachers could only teach what was in their heads and in the thin traditional texts, and the trainers of a new generation of teachers themselves found it hard to break away from the old habits and skills of their trade. Even those of us who came as advisers from the developed countries were trapped intellectually in the systems we knew, and were not of much use in suggesting bold new ventures in schooling based on assumptions different from our own.

It soon became obvious that the tailoring of education to national aspirations was going to be a long and highly skilled job, and in the meantime pressure for schools of any kind was mounting. So there began that remarkable growth in the school systems of developing countries that has been one of the outstanding achievements of the post-war world. It would be unfair to infer that it was a mere response to blind pressures; it sprang rather from a faith in the efficacy of education that was profoundly moving in its simplicity. Some of us who have grown old in the game may feel at times like the Sorcerer's Apprentice and wish we could stem for a moment the flood we have helped to loose in order to see where it is sweeping us, but, whatever the final balance of good or ill from the regional conferences of Addis Ababa, Karachi and Santiago de Chile, one cannot but admire the courage and sacrifices of a generation in developing countries that

has spent so much of its hard-won earnings on the education of its children. As the articles indicate, some countries have come to spend as much as a third of their national budgets on education.

The publications of UNESCO over the years have fully told the story of this expansion, and there would be no point in repeating the figures here. Besides, the attention of educational planners has already moved to the qualitative problems revealed by the quantitative growth. It was natural that the chroniclers of educational trends in developing countries should first devote their attention to the quantitative changes where the dramatic action was, and where, moreover, the facts lay ready to be collected in clean and customary graphs and tables. The moment one turned to changes in the quality of education one found oneself in a messy world where no one could agree on the definition of terms, and where every instrument of measurement was suspect to someone. So the chronicler stood aside until the philosopher and the educational theorist should have clarified the concept of quality and should have devised acceptable means of measuring it. But the theorists, for the most part, lacked first-hand knowledge of the developing world, and perhaps even suspected that their theories might not stand up to the strange new conditions of poverty-stricken countries trying to pick themselves up by their educational bootstraps. It is not surprising, therefore, that the literature on qualitative changes in education in developing countries should be so scarce and so scrappy.

So it seemed to the guest editors of this Special Number of the *Review* that, if it concentrated on the qualitative trends in the educational systems of developing countries over the past decade or two, it could offer an excellent opportunity for a few scholars with first-hand experience to pool their knowledge on a subject that is still important to many countries facing the most intractable problems in education. The editors were only too aware of the elusive nature of the very concept of "quality" and of the difficulty of distinguishing quality from quantity as soon as one digs below the surface. So they suggested to the contributors a working definition of qualitative change in education that is broader than the narrowest of the concepts but more restricted than the widest: *a qualitative change in education is one that alters the manner or the content of learning or of teaching.*

The pages that follow show how the various authors interpreted this definition and how they see the move towards qualitative improvement in the countries of which they write. Although they do not cover, except by implication, all the developing countries of the world, there is sufficient evidence to show that, even in the rush to provide more schools, the need

to improve quality was never entirely forgotten and that it stands to-day more evident than ever before. The record of successes and failures is mixed, but not discouraging to anyone who appreciates the magnitude of the problem.

It is not the business of an Introduction to summarize the articles it covers, but one general observation might be permitted. The writers very properly adopt, within the same article, two different sets of criteria for quality in education, one that might be termed *internal*, and the other *external*. The internal criteria are the easier to formulate because they are essentially professional. They measure the extent to which a school achieves the purposes it sets out to achieve, and could be applied as easily to a school system following the colonial pattern as to one hammered out in response to national needs. In this category of problem are the concern of Akrawi and El-Koussy for the "lowering of educational standards" in some Arab countries, Kajubi's complaints about the low academic status of primary school teachers, Hayden's plea in the Pacific for a concept of "international standards" that is "related to time and place," and the almost universal criticism of rote memorizing in the schools. So also, on the positive side, are Grace Williams' account of the heroic attempt to introduce the Entebbe Mathematics Series in Africa, Nicol's study of the success of the West African Examinations Council in holding and improving standards in four countries, and Chang's survey of the wide range of efforts, both national and regional, in South-East Asia to improve such things as teaching methods, textbooks, supervision, the use of mass media, and the training of teachers.

These problems of internal quality have proved more difficult to solve than the quantitative ones of the preceding phase, but they involve no real break with accepted patterns of thought; they are concerned with more efficient means of reaching old goals rather than with the infinitely harder task of defining new educational objectives for a new kind of society. In this second phase, experienced educators from other countries can still feel they have a contribution to make.

But through most of the articles in this issue runs the deeper theme of the external criteria of quality, measurements of the fitness of an educational system to meet the needs and purposes of the countries and peoples it serves. Here the concern is with ends as well as means, and the whole process becomes correspondingly more complex. The "purposes" of a newly independent country are rarely expressed in terms specific enough to provide a basis for radical educational reform, and educationists grope tentatively for changes in the structure and content of their systems that might express the national will. The authors' interest in the external

criteria of quality shows itself most clearly in the search for a *relevant curriculum*. Hayden, Kajubi, Kirpal, Chang, all are concerned with the relevance of what is taught to the needs of both the pupil and the country, and Akrawi and El-Koussy pursue the search across national boundaries to find a content for education that will strengthen the sense of unity throughout a whole area. The process, they all realize, must go on against a background of unprecedented change that calls for a continuing reassessment of what is meant by quality in education. An education that is truly relevant to modern needs cannot stop short when it has caught up with the computer and its brood of new technologies; it must also, in Kirpal's words, "do far more in enriching the quality of life for the poor as well as for the rich."

It is when this striving for a new quality in life is uppermost that the model the advanced countries offer to the developing ones is least satisfactory. It is no coincidence that, while the new countries are seeking relevance in their curricula, students in the most economically advanced countries are rebelling against the irrelevance of much of what they are being taught. If this robs the educationists in the developing countries of a ready-made target at which they can aim, it at least has the virtue of driving them back on their own inner resources, where their salvation finally lies. And it has the added advantage of making us all, whatever our country and the state of its economy, realize that, here at least, we are not advisers and advised, developed or undeveloped, but simply colleagues with a common problem, however diverse may be the solutions we eventually find for it.

What we now lack is a body of educational theory that takes account of all that has happened in education throughout the world in the last couple of decades, during which educational events have far outstripped our capacity to think about them. Often in the history of education, practice has lagged a generation behind theory; we have just lived through a period when exactly the opposite has happened, and we are already suffering from the imbalance. In the 1970's the men who make the greatest contribution to educational practice may turn out to be the theorists who help us to understand what we have been doing in the 1960's, and they are as likely to come from the poor countries as from the rich.

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Editors

MODERNIZATION OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH ASIA: THE SEARCH FOR QUALITY

by PREM KIRPAL, New Delhi

The modernizing of education in South Asia started after the end of the Second World War in 1945 and has continued over the last two decades. The process is far from complete. A certain measure of success has been achieved in the formulation of national objectives, the evolution of broad national plans for educational development, the quantitative expansion of facilities, and some striking gains in improving the quality of education. On the other hand, formulation of specific plans has been slow and defective, the gulf between thought and action widens, and programmes for qualitative improvement tend to be sacrificed under the irresistible pressure of exploding numbers and rising expectations. The general picture is of continuing gloom and frustration among parents and young people and of loud criticisms by politicians who treat education as a scapegoat for their own failure to modernize society; in the prevailing dissatisfaction some solid achievements in education are often forgotten and a correct and balanced appraisal of the existing position becomes difficult.

There is an important difference between the modernization of education and the modernization of society as it is commonly understood. The modernizing process is usually linked with the break from tradition, the application of science and technology to meet increasing needs and desires and the attainment of high standards of living; the visible expressions of a modern society are large cities and urban areas, accumulations of capital and wealth, the ever-increasing mechanization of modes of living and the spread of material comfort, reason and enlightenment among the masses of people. On the whole, modern society is attractive and progressive; and modernization is universally coveted by the so-called developing countries, which place great emphasis on education as an important instrument of change and development.

Education, however, has larger ends than modernization of society, and the modernizing of education is still a need in all countries, developed and developing, rich and poor. While scientific research, technological education and mass literacy progressed rapidly in the Western world, these materially advanced countries did not achieve the same success in modernizing education. Systems of education remain traditional all over the world, altering slowly, responding inadequately to rapid change in the life of man and of society. Consequently, the material opulence of contemporary society is not matched by the quality of life, and the contrast between

external affluence and the values of the mind and the spirit grows everywhere. This is the crisis of education in our times and it is a crisis shared by all. The quest for the quality of life which is the essence of modern education offers new hope and opportunity to poor and materially deprived societies. With the right type of education a developing society can attain the satisfaction, harmony and comprehension that may elude a more prosperous community. Education could, indeed, be the most potent factor in eventually reducing the gap between affluence and poverty which is widening so alarmingly in terms of per capita income. Though education cannot do much in equalizing money incomes in the short run, it can certainly do far more in enriching the quality of life for the poor as well as the rich. The dazzling achievements of man in outer space have to be matched by an educational revolution affecting his inner space also; a new union of science and spirituality is the main challenge posed to those who seek a renewal of education.

The modernization of education can be based on three general premises which need to be defined in detail for each society:

1. Education must be related closely and meaningfully to the life, needs and aspirations of contemporary man living in a rapidly changing society. This is a prodigious task. It is evident that the traditional systems prevalent everywhere have little relation to modern life and even less to the needs and aspirations of young people. The systems must be transformed from within by new methods, more relevant and meaningful programmes, and dynamic institutions capable of wise and concerted action.

2. The concept of education should be widened to life-long education. The different levels of education need to be integrated more closely. The school, the university and the institutions of higher education and research form a related whole and should grow together. Formal education must be integrated with informal education and leisure time activities. The rapidity of change and the revolutionary developments in communication make life-long integrated education both necessary and feasible.

3. Educational change must be planned in close relation to the overall plan of social and economic development. The scientific planning of education and efficient implementation of plans by more effective management, research and evaluation are essential for modernization.

Consciously or unconsciously these traits of modern education have been accepted in all countries of South Asia and they play an important role in defining objectives, evolving programmes and shaping the instruments of action. The quality of education lies at the heart of educational change, for only a good education can both serve as an effective instrument of economic and social development and enrich the quality of life by inte-

grating society and giving more scope and freedom to the individual. Because the nations of South Asia share this conviction the quest for quality of education is common to them all. Basically there is no opposition between quality and quantity, standards of attainment and extension of facilities. The spread of education among all sections of the population is a part of the quality of education; what is to be deplored is the waste, stagnation and maladjustment that take place often on a staggering scale, resulting in the loss of precious human effort and scarce material resources. The problems met in the search for quality of education in South Asia may be illustrated from the experience of India, the largest country in the region, where the process of modernizing society as well as education has proceeded with varying measures of success and failure. The experience of India is broadly relevant to all countries of South Asia, which are facing similar problems and attempting the same types of solution.

Independence brought new problems and formidable tasks, among which education figured prominently. The dissatisfaction with the system inherited from the past was universal, and in the first flush of triumphant nationalism even the few gains from past experience were rejected. Undoubtedly the educational system planted by British rule was inappropriate and outdated, based as it was on the narrow objectives of maintaining the raj through an adequate supply of English-speaking clerical and subordinate administrative personnel and catering to the needs of upper class Indians from urban areas and the landed gentry whose loyalty to the empire could be expected. Dominated by cramming, external examination, and over-academic curricula, and seriously handicapped by inadequately trained and poorly paid teachers, outmoded supervision and meagre physical amenities, the educational system on the eve of Independence was condemned by all sections of opinion. Apart from its irrelevance to new conditions and objectives, it had not achieved sufficient quantitative expansion or any appreciable equality of educational opportunity, and the wastage and stagnation at all levels was colossal. It was evident that a drastic reconstruction of the entire system was necessary if education was to contribute effectively to the achievement of the goals of national development embodied in the Constitution of free India proclaimed in 1950.

The Constitution adopted a democratic form of government and adult franchise necessitating mass education and the liquidation of illiteracy; one article required the provision, by 1960, of free and compulsory education to all until the age of fourteen. The objectives of equality and social justice were emphasized, along with special care for weaker sections of the population, notably women and the backward castes and tribes. The overriding goal of better standards of living implied modernization of agri-

culture and rapid industrialization, the linking of education with productivity, the need for science, vocational and professional education, and the nurturing of talent at all levels. The launching of a secular democracy based on the protection of the rights of minorities and the acceptance of a composite culture highlighted the importance of social and national integration, to which education was expected to make a major contribution. The adoption of Hindi as the official language of the Union by 1965, and the identification of fourteen national languages in the Constitution, placed on education the responsibility of enriching and propagating Indian languages as media of instruction and as instruments for uniting the intelligentsia with the masses. It was evident that the objectives of democracy, national unity, and economic and social progress enshrined in the Constitution could not be advanced without renewing and transforming education and improving its quality. These new objectives of national development and the radical reconstruction of education were common to all countries of South Asia seeking modernization after the end of the Second World War.

The concept of national planning was accepted everywhere, but within its predominantly economic role, borrowed largely from Western thought and practices, educational planning took some time to establish itself as a normal, continuing activity. India's first attempts at the planning of education were sporadic and inadequate. Some notable efforts, made during the war by governmental authorities as well as the Nationalists, aroused interest in educational reform, but did not influence events after Independence. The University Education Commission (1948-49) and the Secondary Education Commission (1952-53) were important landmarks, and several committees and working groups studied specific problems. From 1951 India had a National Planning Commission, and five-year plans were launched in which education figured as an important national activity. During the course of the three Five-Year Plans (1951-65) considerable progress was made, but educational planning suffered from the fact that there was no long-term comprehensive plan integrated into an overall national plan. Planning was largely confined to financial and quantitative projections.

A new era in educational planning started with the appointment of the Indian Education Commission, which was set up to examine all levels and aspects of education and to recommend suitable measures for a long-term national policy in the field of education.

The Commission made an unprecedented attempt to mobilize international thinking and experience for the planning of a national system; its sixteen members included five distinguished educationists from the United

Kingdom, Japan, the United States, the USSR, and France, whose services were made available by UNESCO. In addition, numerous leaders in different fields of education from many other countries, regions and cultures collaborated with the Commission as consultants. The report of the Commission turned out to be a comprehensive document dealing with problems of educational planning and development relevant to all developing countries, and especially to the countries of South Asia whose specialists were associated with its work. The recommendations of the Commission were discussed widely in India and received the attention of educational planners in other developing countries. Resulting from discussions at State and Union levels a Resolution on National Policy on Education was formally issued by the Government of India in 1968. The Resolution states seventeen principles that should guide the development of education in the years ahead. These principles on which educational planning is now based in India sum up the important trends towards a qualitative improvement of education in the South Asian region:

1) *Free and Compulsory Education*. Free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14 should be provided by the earliest possible date and suitable programmes should be developed to reduce the prevailing wastage and stagnation in schools.

2) *Status, Emoluments and Education of Teachers*. Teacher education, particularly in-service education, should receive high priority. Teachers must be accorded an honoured place in society, their emoluments and other service conditions should be adequate, and their academic freedom should be guaranteed.

3) *Development of Languages*. "The energetic development of Indian languages and literature is a *sine qua non* for educational and cultural development. Unless this is done, the creative energies of the people will not be released, standards of education will not improve, knowledge will not spread to the people, and the gulf between the intelligentsia and the masses will remain, if not widen further." The regional languages, already used as media of education at the primary and secondary stages, should be urgently adopted at the university stage. At the secondary stage every child should learn three languages: the language of his region, Hindi (or another Indian language if the language of his region is Hindi), and English. Hindi should become the link language, a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India. For its cultural value the study of Sanskrit should be specially encouraged. "Special emphasis needs to be laid on the study of English and other international languages. World knowledge is growing at a tremendous pace, especially in science and tech-

nology. India must not only keep up this growth but should also make her own significant contribution to it."

4) *Equalization of Educational Opportunity*. Regional imbalances should be corrected and good educational facilities should be provided in rural and other backward areas. To promote social cohesion and national integration a common school system should be adopted; this should not, however, affect the minority rights guaranteed by the Constitution. The education of girls should receive emphasis, as should education among the backward classes.

5) *Identification of Talent*. "For the cultivation of excellence, it is necessary that talent in diverse fields should be identified at as early an age as possible, and every stimulus and opportunity given for its full development."

6) *Work-Experience and National Service*. "The school and the community should be brought closer through suitable programmes of mutual service and support. Work-experience and national service including participation in meaningful and challenging programmes of community service and national reconstruction should accordingly become an integral part of education."

7) *Science Education and Research*. These should receive high priority, and science and mathematics should be an integral part of general education till the end of the school stage.

8) *Education for Agriculture and Industry*. This requires special emphasis. There should be at least one agricultural university in every state and at other universities selected departments may be strengthened for the study of one or more aspects of agriculture. Technical education and research should be related closely to industry. There should be a continuous review of the agricultural, industrial, and other technical manpower needs and a proper balance should be maintained between the output of the educational institutions and employment opportunities.

9) *Production of Books*. The quality of books should be improved and immediate steps should be taken for the production of high quality textbooks for schools and universities. Efforts should be made to have a few basic textbooks throughout the country. Special attention should be given to books for children and to university level books in Indian languages.

10) *Examinations*. A major goal of examination reform should be to improve the reliability and validity of examinations and to make evaluation a continuous process.

11) *Secondary Education*. Facilities for secondary education should be extended expeditiously to areas and classes which have been denied these in the past. Facilities for technical and vocational education need to be

increased, diversified and related closely to employment opportunities.

12) *University Education.* (a) "The number of whole-time students admitted to a college or university department should be determined with reference to the laboratory, library and other facilities and to the strength of the staff." (b) New universities should be established only in case of proved necessity after adequate provision of funds and with due care for ensuring proper standards. (c) The organisation of post-graduate courses and their standards of training and research need to be improved. (d) "Centres of advanced study should be strengthened and a small number of 'clusters of centres' aiming at the highest possible standards in research and training should be established." (e) Research in universities requires increased support, and the research institutions should, as far as possible, function within the fold of universities or in intimate association with them.

13) *Part-time Education and Correspondence Courses.* These should be developed on a large scale at the university stage, and also provided for secondary school students, teachers, and agricultural, industrial, and other workers.

14) *Spread of Literacy and Adult Education.* (a) "The liquidation of mass illiteracy is necessary not only for promoting participation in the working of democratic institutions and for accelerating programmes of production, especially in agriculture, but for quickening the tempo of national development in general. Employees in large commercial, industrial and other concerns should be made functionally literate as early as possible... Teachers and students should be actively involved in organising literacy campaigns, especially as part of the Social and National Service Programme." (b) The education of young farmers and the training of youth for self-employment should have high priority.

15) *Games and Sports.* Playing fields and other facilities for developing a nationwide programme of physical education should be provided on a priority basis.

16) *Education of Minorities.* Every effort should be made not only to protect the rights of minorities but actively to promote their educational interests.

17) *The Educational Structure.* A broadly uniform educational structure of ten years' general education in schools, followed by two years of higher secondary stage and three years' course for the first degree should be adopted in all parts of the country.

This statement of the seventeen principles for planning education was accompanied by an important declaration of policy. "The reconstruction of education on these lines will need additional outlay. The aim should be gradually to increase the investment in education so as to reach a level

of expenditure of six percent of the national income as early as possible." This will require a doubling of the roughly three percent of national income now devoted to education, a rather ambitious target in the light of the past, when education was always starved of even minimum resources and the increase of educational expenditure failed to keep pace with mounting enrolments, resulting inevitably in the dilution of standards and the unfortunate shelving of programmes of qualitative improvement. India's resolve to raise substantially the expenditure on education for improving its quality is shared by all countries of South Asia.

The statement on national educational policy in response to the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission reflects the Government's desire to transform Indian education and relate it to the needs and aspirations of the people. The broad principles offer useful guidelines to planners and administrators. There are, however, some important lacunae in the enumeration of priorities and in laying down conditions to ensure that the plans will, in fact, be implemented.

For example, the policy statement does not recognize adequately the importance of life-long integrated education, supported by national planning involving the localities and the communities and drawing upon the resources and potentialities of different sectors of the national economy. Developing countries have to tap all possible resources of money, materials and voluntary service in fields such as agriculture, industry, health, social welfare and information, to strengthen the educational process, especially amongst adults. Research and management are of paramount importance for introducing innovations and there is no mention of these in the list of Indian priorities. Institutional structures need to be altered radically and the organization and management of institutions of higher education have to conform to present-day requirements and especially to the needs and aspirations of the young people. The traditional university structure is not capable of launching the innovations which are needed for the improvement of higher education. The teacher no longer has to be the main source of information, for students can be reached increasingly through new materials and technologies. Educational television through satellite communication is under study in India and the experimental projects in this field could lead to the wider exploitation of a medium with fascinating possibilities for education. But the administrative machinery continues to be of the traditional type, leaving the planning and management of education to generalists without deep professional commitment or any specialized training and knowledge of new technologies. Choices among competing priorities are not made with clarity and determination and there is a tendency to avoid difficult and controversial

decisions. Should the major share of resources continue to be expended on the production of an élite in higher education, or should there be a shift in favour of mass education and the functional training of adults? Existing practices and pressures are allowed to decide this important issue, which thus remains in a state of drift; in all countries of South Asia the share of total educational expenditure devoted to higher education continues to be excessive. Large sums of money are spent on producing graduates in the liberal arts, most of whom face unemployment at the end of courses of shockingly low quality. Between 1951 and 1965 in India, direct and indirect expenditure on higher education grew from 24.5 to 32.6 percent of total educational expenditure, which is the highest proportion in the world. This excessive allocation left correspondingly small amounts for mass education and little was attempted for the education and training of adults, which is crucial to economic and social development.

Another essential choice is that between a selective approach in the upgrading of institutions, providing high quality facilities to the talented students and a strict adherence to the principle of equality of opportunity, establishing a common and uniform network of institutions for all sections of the population. The selective approach was followed to some extent at the level of higher education but was discouraged at the secondary level, leaving "public schools" (in the English sense of the term) to cater in practice to the needs of the rich, while the schools maintained or aided by the state remained ill-equipped and sub-standard.

The national policy statement is silent on curriculum reform. Ultimately the content of education and the effectiveness of teaching and learning methods determine the quality of education; in these aspects Indian education remains traditional, in spite of some promising efforts made by the National Council of Educational Research and Training and the Technical Committees set up by the University Grants Commission. Similar attempts have been made in other countries of the region and assistance from UNESCO and other external sources has been useful; however, by and large the problems of curriculum reform and the improvement of teaching methods remain to be tackled.

India's efforts to effect qualitative improvements have been thwarted by the failure to implement excellent recommendations. There is no dearth of good solutions to all the problems; indeed, plans for reform and renewal of education abound and multiply. The tragic failing is the lack of will and capacity to convert thought into action. In planning and policy-making national consensus is easily achieved; in implementation, however, there are wide variations of opinion, the efforts are often half-hearted and feeble, and the results generally unsatisfactory. The gulf between thought and

action is less glaring in other South Asian countries, but the problem of introducing innovations and effecting internal transformation of the systems remains unsolved everywhere in the region.

In spite of these difficulties and depressing features the search for quality in education continues, and there are some bright signs on the horizon. The modernization of education is ahead of the modernization of society and the advances in education have outstripped the achievements of the economy. The promising trends of recent years can be supported and strengthened by organizing suitable regional activities, developing international cooperation, and linking education with the community.

Some regional activities have been developed with the assistance of UNESCO, particularly in educational planning, the production of reading materials, and the proportion of science education and scientific research. These efforts are, however, too small and too thinly dispersed for the needs of a vast and thickly populated region. Too often promising initiatives and worthwhile projects get bogged down in the slow and cumbersome United Nations bureaucracy or lost in the increasing confusion and duplication that accompanies the expansion of activities of the UN and its specialised agencies, commissions and bodies of diverse nature. Instead of setting up new institutions for regional cooperation, which are often inadequately staffed and financed, UNESCO should develop existing facilities and utilise these for regional needs, especially in such crucial fields as curriculum reform, teacher education, curriculum materials, management practices and educational research. The great poverty of the region and the low rates of economic growth make it difficult for each country to develop itself a full infra-structure at the highest and most sophisticated levels of planning, research, experimentation and training. It becomes necessary to use regional resources for promoting development. The many historic ties that bind together different parts of the region in a common culture, and the prevalence of the English language as a medium of communication at the higher levels of knowledge can facilitate regional cooperation if UNESCO displays greater initiative and ingenuity in forging links between institutions and specialists and applies appreciable resources for these purposes.

International cooperation, both multilateral and bilateral, can play an important role in the search for quality in education. The concept of external aid to developing countries has remained largely hollow, and the experience of the First Development Decade of the United Nations is as dismal as the prospects of the Second Decade appear to be in the prevailing race for armaments and defence spending. If material aid in any appreciable measure looks unlikely, there is no reason why mutual cooperation

in the fields of education, science, culture and communication should not be mobilised for the good of all who participate in it. Even the most affluent society can profit significantly from international cooperation in modernising its own education and helping others in the process. In the quest for good education, for knowledge of man and nature, and for the human value and visions that bind us together, the policies of isolation lead to stagnation and sickness of soul, while cooperative ventures in thinking and working together can bring all countries nearer to the goal of modernising education, which is the need of all. The catalytic value of such cooperative programmes has already been proved and established; it is hoped that the plans for the Second Development Decade will build adequately on these experiences and in so doing create that ethical and moral climate for development which is far more valuable than the sparse doles of money and materials given so reluctantly in the form of aid.

Regional activities and international cooperation can, indeed, provide a most valuable stimulus to innovations that are vital to the quest for quality. However, the success of the great enterprise of modernising education depends finally on a national society's own efforts, on its own faith and determination, on its will to transform words into deeds, plans into action, and cherished values into concrete realities. The countries of South Asia are rightly proud of the richness and quality of their traditional cultures and wish ardently to preserve and adapt their cultural values to the requirements of modern society. The modernisation of education offers a chance to achieve this objective. In Asia as in other parts of the world, the challenge is the creation of nothing short of a newly meaningful integration of education and culture, and it is in such an integration that the hope for the quality of life lies for the future. To meet this challenge successfully by mobilising the vast human resources of the region it is necessary to create efficient and relevant institutions, more dynamic managerial structures, and above all, a new faith in the strength and destiny of man. The task is beyond the capacity, and even the awareness, of the ruling bureaucracies and traditional institutions, derived from the colonial past and devoid of the boldness, imagination and wisdom which are sorely needed to impart to old cultures the new elements of youth and freedom.

MODERNISIERUNG DES BILDUNGSWESENS IN SÜDASIEN: AUF DER SUCHE NACH HÖHERER QUALITÄT

VON PREM KIRPAL, Neu-Delhi

Der Verfasser behandelt die wichtigsten Entwicklungstendenzen des indischen Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens, die zugleich die allgemeine Situation des Wandels im Bildungswesen Südasiens widerspiegeln. Der Modernisierungsprozeß im Bildungs-

wesen muß in enger und sinnvoller Beziehung zum Leben, zu den Bedürfnissen und Erwartungen des heutigen Menschen in einer Gesellschaft stehen, die sich in der jüngsten Vergangenheit radikal verändert hat, und die sich für die junge Generation, die heute Schule und Universität besucht, in Zukunft noch rascher wandeln wird. Darüber hinaus muß der Begriff der Bildung im Sinne eines lebenslangen Lernens erweitert werden, wobei die verschiedenen Stufen dieses Prozesses stärker zu integrieren sind. Schließlich müssen Reformpläne im Erziehungswesen sorgfältig vorbereitet und in einen Gesamtplan einbezogen werden, der die soziale und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung umfaßt.

Im Rahmen dieses Modernisierungsprozesses kommt dem qualitativen Aspekt der Erziehung entscheidende Bedeutung zu. Die Problematik des Strebens nach Qualitätsverbesserung im Bildungswesen Südasiens wird am Beispiel der Erfahrungen Indiens verdeutlicht, wo mit der Unabhängigkeit neue Probleme und große Entwicklungsaufgaben entstanden. Der Verfasser erläutert die Entwicklungsziele der indischen Gesellschaft nach der Unabhängigkeit und ihre Bedeutung für das Erziehungswesen. Er behandelt die Erfahrungen mit der Bildungsplanung in Indien und die große Leistung der von 1964 bis 1966 amtierenden indischen Erziehungskommission. Der Bericht dieser Kommission beruht auf Untersuchungen, die von Wissenschaftlern aus allen Teilen der Welt in Zusammenarbeit mit indischen Wissenschaftlern durchgeführt wurden. Aus diesem Bericht führt der Verfasser 17 Grundsätze für die künftige Entwicklung des indischen Bildungswesens an. Sie betreffen unter anderem die Verlängerung und Verbesserung der unentgeltlichen Pflichtschulausbildung, Status, Bezüge und Ausbildung der Lehrer sowie die Planung, Verwaltung und Reform der Sekundarschul- und Universitätserziehung. Die wünschenswerten Veränderungen in Quantität und Qualität des Bildungswesens Indiens und anderer Staaten Südasiens können nach Auffassung des Verfassers innerhalb verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit erreicht werden, wenn ein Minimum an Hilfsmitteln, bessere Planung und Verwaltung sowie die Mitarbeit der Gemeinschaft gewährleistet sind. In diesem Entwicklungsprozeß kommt der internationalen Zusammenarbeit besondere Bedeutung zu.

MODERNISATION DE L'EDUCATION EN ASIE DU SUD: A LA RECHERCHE D'UNE AMELIORATION

par PREM KIRPAL, New Delhi

L'auteur examine les tendances principales du développement de l'éducation en Inde. Ces tendances reflètent en même temps la situation générale de la transformation de l'éducation dans l'Asie du Sud. Le processus de modernisation, en éducation, doit partir des trois conditions suivantes: l'éducation doit se trouver en relation profonde et étroite avec la vie, les besoins et les espérances des membres actuels d'une société, qui au cours des récentes années, s'est radicalement transformée et qui se transformera encore plus vite durant la vie de la jeune génération qui aujourd'hui fréquente l'école et l'université. Deuxièmement, il convient d'étendre la notion de formation dans le sens d'une éducation permanente et d'intégrer plus fermement les différentes phases de ce processus. Enfin, les réformes pédagogiques doivent être soigneusement planifiées et introduites dans un plan général qui englobe le développement social et économique de la société.

Dans le cadre de ce processus de modernisation, l'aspect qualitatif de l'éducation revêt une importance décisive. Les efforts vers une amélioration de la qualité de l'éducation en Asie du Sud apparaissent clairement, si l'on prend l'exemple des expériences de l'Inde, où la déclaration d'indépendance a occasionné de nouveaux problèmes et provoqué de grands travaux de développement. L'auteur explique les buts du développement en Inde après l'indépendance et leur signification pour l'éducation. Il analyse les expériences de la planification de l'éducation, et les grands résultats obtenus par la Commission d'Education en fonction de 1964 à 1966. Le rapport de cette commission s'est basé sur des enquêtes faites en collaboration d'experts du monde entier et de ceux de l'Inde. De ce rapport, l'auteur cite dix-sept principes comprenant, entre autres, la prolongation et l'amélioration de la formation scolaire obligatoire et gratuite, le statut, les revenus et la formation des maîtres ainsi que la planification, l'administration et la réforme de l'éducation secondaire et universitaire. Les modifications souhaitées en quantité et qualité pour l'éducation en Inde et dans les autres pays d'Asie du Sud peuvent, selon l'auteur, être réalisées relativement vite, si l'on garantit un minimum de ressources, une meilleure planification et administration, et la participation de la communauté. Dans ce processus de développement, la coopération internationale revêt une importance particulière.

EDUCATIONAL TRENDS IN SOUTH EAST ASIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PROBLEMS OF IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION

by PAUL CHANG, Penang

Introduction

In common with developing countries elsewhere, the countries of South East Asia (Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Viet-Nam) have been directing a great deal of their efforts since the end of the Second World War to the development of education. The rate of progress and the degree of emphasis on development vary from country to country, depending upon the national resources available. However, a feature common to all the countries in the region is the rapid increase in school enrolment, particularly at the primary level. This rapid quantitative expansion has often been achieved at the expense of quality. The Tokyo Meeting of Ministers of Education adopted a resolution urging all Asian member states of UNESCO to take immediate steps to bolster declining standards and to improve the quality of education along with quantitative expansion.

Teacher Training

The quality of education is determined largely by the quality of teacher

training. Adam Curle in his *Educational Strategy for Developing Societies* rightly maintains that teacher education is one of the nerve centres of the education system, and that through it more can be done (and at less cost) to raise standards of education than through any other activity.¹⁾ The problems facing teacher training in South East Asia, perhaps with the exception of the Philippines, are depressingly formidable.

The quality of teacher training depends essentially on the quality of both the teacher educators and the students. Ideally speaking, all teacher educators should have high academic and professional qualifications reinforced by rich teaching experience and maturity of mind. Unfortunately, an adequate supply of such talents is hard to come by in the region. It is therefore not surprising that many training colleges for primary teachers are staffed with nongraduate lecturers, some of whom have not even had teaching experience in primary schools. Students for training should be selected from among the best who have completed the full cycle of secondary education. Yet because of the large number of teachers required to cope with the huge increase in school enrolment, strict selection has often become practically impossible. Many students who under normal circumstances would not have been considered fit for training as teachers are now accepted.

The next serious problem concerns the content of training courses and the methods and techniques of training. Because of the poor academic background of many of the students, a great deal of time frequently has to be devoted to upgrading their academic knowledge at the cost of the professional aspect of the course. Since many of the teacher educators themselves have had no specialised training to cope with their functions, chalk and talk remains the general method of teaching. Certain new teaching techniques may be mentioned, such as the use of group methods, team teaching and programmed learning, but little or no attempt is made to demonstrate how these techniques can be applied successfully in real classroom situations.

Another pressing problem is the general failure to recognize the change in the social composition of the student body brought about by an overwhelming increase in enrolment. In the past, when education was restricted to the children from more privileged homes, teaching was comparatively easy and undemanding. With the introduction of universally free primary education the rise in enrolment has brought with it a corresponding increase in the range of abilities and aptitudes. Teachers not equipped to deal with a less homogeneous class often pay more attention to the brighter pupils, especially when these pupils have to sit an external examination to gain promotion to a secondary school; the slower pupils are neglected

and considered "unteachable." Failure to understand and meet the needs of under-privileged children partly accounts for the high rate of repeating and drop-out. Furthermore, there is little research as yet on the problems of teaching children in a South East Asian environment. Therefore, in all the training colleges there is an irresistible tendency on the part of teachers and students to lean heavily on theories and practices outlined in Western books on education. An unimaginative adoption of such practices often leads to disastrous results in the classrooms.

Perhaps the most challenging problem of all is the training of teachers for rural schools. In South East Asia, with the exception of Singapore, more than 60 per cent of the people live in rural areas and depend chiefly upon agriculture for a living. It is in these areas that education has been neglected in the past. Now that primary education is free, an increasing number of rural parents are sending their children to school. But since in many areas villages are scattered, schools tend to be small in size and multiple class teaching becomes a necessity. Yet in many of the training colleges students are not trained for this. Furthermore, most students are also reluctant to accept posting to rural areas which, in many cases, are not accessible by the normal means of transport and are without the normal urban amenities of electric light, piped water supply and modern sanitation. Since most training colleges are located in urban centres, very often the teacher educators themselves are not familiar with the conditions under which their students posted to rural areas have to work.

Teaching practice and supervision also present an intractable problem. Owing to the distances involved, the shortage of staff and the lack of funds for travelling, it is often not possible to post students to rural schools for teaching practice. As a result the teaching problems encountered by students are generally those of urban areas, unrelated to the realities of rural schools.

Solutions to these various problems are not easy to devise. UNESCO has produced *An Asian Model of Educational Development*²⁾ to serve as a guide and a tool for educational planning and development by the Asian member states. Most of the recommendations are sound, but effective implementation remains a persistent problem. Few South East Asian countries have mapped out a long term plan to upgrade the quality of teacher training. In 1962, UNESCO established a Regional Centre in Quezon City for training primary teacher educators. The primary function of the Centre is to provide leadership training in the field, to identify and plan research on pressing problems at the primary school level and to help Asian countries to establish their own national centres. The extent to which it has achieved these objectives has yet to be evaluated. At the same time,

with the backing of UNESCO's technical advice and UNICEF's material assistance, a number of imaginative projects are proceeding within the region:

There is the TURTEP project in Thailand, which focuses the entire teacher education programme on the needs of the rural areas where most of the schools are located; the Teacher Education Project in Indonesia, with its emphasis on establishing model teacher training schools in urban and rural areas, study and revision of curriculum, diffusion of new techniques to primary schools, and organisation of emergency teacher training programmes to meet immediate needs; the action taken in Cambodia to improve training facilities at both pre-service and in-service levels, with the student teacher curriculum slanted towards practical aspects of daily life; the Viet-Nameese project for preparing community teachers to meet the needs of community-centred primary education; and the organization of in-service and pre-service training programmes at the University of Mindanao (Philippines).³⁾

All these national projects sound exciting enough, but the findings and results have yet to be evaluated. Where evaluation has been accomplished conclusions have still to be co-ordinated and disseminated to the countries within the region. Perhaps the Unesco Regional Centre at Quezon City should be assigned the further function of serving as a clearing house for such reports.

In most of the countries in South East Asia there is little co-ordination between the training of teachers for the primary level, which generally takes place in training colleges, and for the secondary level, which is mainly the responsibility of the universities. If the quality of teacher training in the region is to be raised, it is essential that universities should provide effective leadership, as is recommended by the report on *Higher Education and Development in South East Asia*.⁴⁾

Obviously, the many and varied problems related to teacher training can hardly be successfully dealt with by an individual country without external aid. The need for a regional approach to pool limited resources, share experiences and compare findings is fully realised. UNESCO's efforts are reinforced by those of the South East Asian Ministers of Education Organisation, which is a regional initiative supported by generous financial assistance from the United States of America and is committed to the promotion of regional co-operation in education. Of its many projects, the Regional English Language Centre (Singapore) and the Regional Centre for Education in Science and Mathematics (Penang, Malaysia) are designed primarily to improve the quality of teaching in the three basic subjects of the school curriculum.

Supervision and Inspection

The need for qualitative improvement in the education system invests the role of inspectors and supervisors with special significance. The Karachi Plan sets out a supervisor-pupil ratio of 1:5,000 as the goal for Asia. Present standards in South East Asia fall far short of this:

Malaysia has a ratio of 1:50,000. Cambodia has but one supervisor-inspector for each province. Laos has twelve for the entire country. The Philippines has a ratio of one supervisor to ninety teachers, a ratio which has dropped steadily from pre-war days, and is not increasing the appointment of supervisors in proportion to the rate of increase of teachers. In Indonesia, there is one supervisor for thirty schools, but in effect supervision is much hampered by lack of travel funds. Singapore alone has a better supervisor-pupil ratio than that recommended by the Karachi Plan, 1:4,600.⁵)

The functions and duties of inspectors and supervisors vary from country to country. In Malaysia the Inspectorate is free from all administrative functions. Its power is merely advisory, as inspectors are restricted by law from issuing directions to any teacher or member of a school board of management. However, in all the other South East Asian countries, inspectors are vested with both inspectoral and administrative powers. In Cambodia, for example, inspectors are responsible for the appointment and promotion of teachers. There is a view that in a developing country where teachers are poorly educated and trained, strict supervision of their work is necessary in order to establish standards and raise the level of teaching. The implication of such a view is that the teaching profession in a developing country can be educated to a higher level of educational responsibility only if inspectors emphasize their authority and demand unqualified obedience and respect. To assume that this is the necessary path of development would surely be to deny all that has been discovered about education in recent years. It is to be stressed that just as there are individual differences among pupils, there are also different levels of abilities among teachers. The corollary to this is that some teachers require more help than others, and help is best given through persuasion and example.

School inspection in most of the countries of the region is generally hampered by an acute shortage of staff and lack of funds for travelling. To overcome this twin problem, it is reported that the "sampling approach" has been tried out in Malaysia. Teams of inspectors totalling about thirty in number visit an area for about a week and inspect a cross section of schools for the purpose of assessing standards and identifying problems. At the end, the inspectors meet to compare their findings and sort out the common problems. A one or two day meeting with principals and staff of

all the schools in the area is arranged at which the problems are freely discussed, and both principals and teachers are encouraged to suggest solutions. It has been found that, once the measures to cope with the problems are agreed upon, the principals and staff of each school feel committed to their implementation. A record of the discussion is kept, copies of which are sent to schools and to the administrative officer of the area. Subsequently, follow-up visits are made by the administrative officer to ensure that measures to remedy weaknesses are effectively carried out. It is claimed that this procedure in which inspectors give advice while principals and administrative officers are responsible for implementation has helped to foster a still better relationship and understanding among all those involved.

One of the main functions of inspectors in a developing country is to help to plan, organise and conduct in-service courses for teachers. In most countries in South East Asia, training colleges are often charged with the responsibility of running in-service courses. While it is true that training colleges generally have the manpower to do the teaching, it is questionable if they know enough of the requirements of the teachers, for the simple reason that they do not have sufficient opportunities to observe trained teachers in action. Inspectors are in a better position to identify the weaknesses of teachers because observing teaching is one of their primary functions. Upgrading the quality of teaching should therefore be the joint function of the Inspectorate and institutions responsible for teacher training – the university and training colleges – with the former being responsible for identifying problems and then, jointly with the latter, for determining the priority of action. The Inspectorate should also associate itself closely with universities in carrying out research of the operational type to work out solutions for identified problems.

The concept of pre-service and in-service training of teachers as a continuous process is now firmly established. Its implementation, however, calls for the closest co-operation and partnership among inspectors, teacher educators and administrative officers to ensure the best use of limited resources. The trend in South East Asia is that the Inspectorate is rapidly shifting its emphasis from authoritarian control to professional guidance and educational leadership. The separation of inspection from administration with each to be undertaken by a separate category of officers, is also gaining acceptance by an increasing number of countries in the region.

Curriculum Reform and Development

Second only to the paramount need to improve the quality of the teacher is that of reforming the curriculum. This stems from a number of changes

which have been taking place in society since the end of the Second World War. These include the upsurge of nationalism, especially in countries which were formerly under foreign rule, the growth of democracy, the explosion of scientific knowledge, industrialisation, and the development of psychological research in advanced countries.

To give direction to curriculum reform, a number of questions have to be answered, such as those raised in the following quote from the working paper submitted for study by the Meeting of Curriculum Experts in primary education at Bangkok convened by the Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asia in 1966:

What is the minimum content of education which would make children permanently and functionally literate and would prepare them to be efficient and worthy citizens of their country? What is the minimum period of education necessary for these objectives to be achieved? How may the autonomy of the primary school be maintained whilst providing it with a curriculum that suits the stages of growth of children of primary school age and does not make it purely a curriculum which prepares for the secondary school age? How can balance be maintained between the tool subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic and the content subjects of elementary science, history, geography and the social studies as well as artistic expression and physical education?⁶⁾

For the secondary schools the problem concerns mainly the extent to which the curriculum should be widened and diversified to include a reasonable range of practical subjects, such as Industrial Arts, Agricultural Science, Commerce and Home Science. There is also the need to strike a balance between general subjects and technical subjects, resisting the pressure exerted on secondary schools to train pupils to acquire skills to meet manpower requirements.

In spite of a general awareness of the need for curriculum reform, an examination of educational practices in the region shows that

some countries are still adhering to the traditional concept of curriculum as a list of subjects, set out in greater or less detail, which are to be studied by pupils under the guidance of teachers. The environment and atmosphere of the school, the so-called extra-curricular activities and even the methods of teaching are recognized as important factors contributing to the education of the child, but they are considered distinct from the curriculum. The curriculum in this conception becomes merely an element in the process of education. The modern and broader conception, on the other hand, defines curriculum as all the experiences of pupils which are planned and directed by the school and the teacher to attain the objectives of education. It would include not only the studies of pupils in the classroom but all the other activities in and outside the classroom organised under the guidance of the teacher, including the educational climate and environment deliberately set up in the school and the methods used.⁷⁾

The present tendency throughout South East Asia is to shift the emphasis from the traditional to the broader and more modern conception of curriculum in both the primary and secondary schools. Some countries have already been experimenting with new approaches to curriculum reconstruction:

Indonesia, for instance is experimenting with a curriculum centred round family life, with emphasis on its manifold aspects. Viet-Nam, in its programme of community primary education, likewise relates pupil learning to the immediate environment. In Cambodia, improvement of the content of primary education is sought by slanting it towards practical aspects of daily life and the introduction of such subjects as home economics for girls and agriculture and manual arts for boys.⁸⁾

With the introduction of nine years of continuous comprehensive education in Malaysia, the curriculum from the 7th to the 9th year has been widened and diversified to include such pre-vocational subjects as industrial arts, commerce, home economics and agricultural science. Efforts are also being made to restructure the syllabuses for science and mathematics at both the primary and secondary school level.

Instructional Materials and Media

Any strategy formulated to improve the quality of education would be incomplete unless supported by an adequate supply of instructional materials, for these are essential to successful implementation of curricular changes.

The extent to which different instructional materials are put to use depends largely upon the amount of funds available for educational development in each country. Generally speaking, the region suffers from a shortage of instructional materials. Of the teaching aids available, textbooks are the most commonly used by both teachers and pupils. However, the production of a supply of textbooks and related reading materials adequate to meet increasing demands continues to be a serious problem in most of the countries. This problem becomes still more critical when the medium of instruction is the national language. With the exception of Thailand and Indonesia, both of which have had reasonable experience in the production of books in Thai and Bahasa Indonesia, most of the other countries are still handicapped by a shortage of experienced textbook writers and lack of the technical know-how in book production.

Supporting reading materials covering a wide range of topics are essential if quality education is to be achieved. At the moment teachers tend to rely too heavily on textbooks alone for support. As a result, pupils are often

not sufficiently stimulated to read widely and to work on their own with reference books to find answers to the many problems posed to them. An adequate provision of school libraries is therefore essential if both teachers and pupils are to be freed from the excessive domination of textbooks and to acquire a more liberal approach to education.

Besides library facilities, there are other instructional resources which teachers can exploit more fully. Pictures from periodicals, brochures from travel agents, labels from canned food and a host of other materials can be obtained at no cost and pupils should be encouraged to collect them as part of their work assignments.

Another instructional medium which has not been fully exploited is the radio. There is hardly a country in South East Asia which is not served by radio or television. Television sets may still be very expensive but transistor radios are now available at reasonably low cost. In Malaysia it has been found that the cost of a transistor radio is less than half the monthly salary of a teacher. Plans are being formulated to raise the standards of education in rural areas by a wider use of the school broadcast service. With carefully structured broadcast school programmes covering all the basic subjects of the school curriculum, it is possible to achieve the twofold objective of upgrading the quality of teaching and improving the standards of learning. Under-qualified teachers using the radio lessons keep themselves up-to-date with developments in both the content and techniques of teaching and are thereby re-trained indirectly without additional cost. At the same time pupils listening in to radio lessons receive good teaching from experts who have at their disposal in the studio resources far beyond the reach of teachers in rural schools.

Educational television has already been introduced on a nationwide scale in Singapore and it is also being tried out in many schools in Manila, and Bangkok. Two pilot projects were carried out in Malaysia in 1966 and 1967 for the teaching of science, and plans have been finalised to make it a regular feature of the school broadcast service. With the reduction of cost of both radio and television sets and with the experience gained in Singapore and the Philippines, it is likely that increasing use will be made of the two mass media by other countries in South East Asia to overcome the shortage of specialist teachers and to improve the quality of teaching.

The development of a more diversified secondary curriculum to meet manpower requirements and the shift of emphasis on the teaching of science has created a need for science laboratories, industrial arts workshops, and home science and other specialist rooms, equipped with instruments and machinery. The financial implications of providing such facilities present a serious problem to all countries committed to the de-

velopment of technical and vocational education. Some assistance is obtainable from UNESCO and UNICEF and loans are also available from the World Bank. To accelerate development, the South East Asia Ministers of Education Organisation has established a Regional Centre for Education in Science and Mathematics in Penang and a Centre for Educational Innovation and Technology in Saigon.

Examinations and Evaluation

According to the findings of a survey carried out by the Unesco Regional Centre for Education in Asia, examination practices are among the most serious obstacles to quality improvement, because

existing arrangements have so pervaded the entire atmosphere of school life. As a result, examinations have become the main motivating force in all education effort. The unnatural emphasis placed on examinations has a strangulating effect on teaching and learning. They dictate the curriculum instead of following it, prevent any experimentation and proper treatment of subjects and create wrong values of education in the minds of teachers and pupils. Since examination results are used to measure educational standards and the teacher's efficiency, the education process has largely been reduced to a mechanised routine of imparting and memorising facts.⁹⁾

To remedy the situation, the Meeting of Experts in Manila convened by UNESCO in 1964 to consider means of improving the quality of education in Asia suggested

improving existing examination procedures rather than abolishing them, as it was held that examinations, properly conducted, could give useful information for the guidance of pupils, teachers, headmaster, parents and others and play a vital role in evaluating the pupils' success and hence also the instructional programme.¹⁰⁾

Modern concepts of evaluation of pupil achievement involve three well defined processes: the formulation of specified objectives of teaching and their translation in terms of desired changes to be brought about in the child; the planning and provision of learning experiences appropriate to the objectives and the contemplated behavioural changes; and the construction of evaluation tools that provide the most complete possible evidence of how far the contemplated changes actually take place in the child. Examination reform in South East Asia needs to be directed towards these ends.

That some South East Asian countries are aware of the problem and of the need for reform is already apparent. The Philippines, for instance, is

programming a system of evaluation more or less on the above pattern. In 1965, Malaysia adopted a system of automatic promotion whereby no pupil spends more than a year in the same class. The progress of pupils is assessed internally by regular tests. At the same time standardised tests are being constructed by the Educational Planning and Research Division of the Ministry of Education for use in schools in order to maintain national standards. Objective testing, introduced in 1967, has also been computerised for pupils who have to sit the Lower Certificate of Education at the end of the ninth year of schooling. With the acceptance of curricular changes it is likely that all countries in South East Asia will pay increasing attention to examination reform in order to ensure that the progress of education can be measured with as high a degree of reliability as possible.

Education for Adult Literacy

Related to the development of formal education are the campaigns launched in every country to combat illiteracy among adults, in order to transform their attitudes and aspirations and to increase their capacities for productivity. While achievements in eradicating illiteracy are uneven throughout the region, the general progress made is commendable. "In the Philippines between 1948 and 1963 illiteracy had been reduced from 35.9 per cent to 26 per cent for men and from 43.8 per cent to 30 per cent for women. In Thailand, comparable figures in 1947 were 31.4 per cent for men and 64.4 per cent for women, dropping to 21 per cent for the former and 44 per cent for the latter."¹¹) The results achieved by Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia are no less impressive.

However, in spite of the general progress, all countries in the region are still faced with the very serious problem of preventing the new literates from relapsing into illiteracy. The answer lies in provision of cheap and appropriate reading material, establishment of community and mobile libraries, greater use of the mass media and organisation of further education classes.

Educational Planning and Research

Problems involved in teacher training, curriculum renewal, examination reform, development of instructional materials and functional literacy do not exist in isolation but are related to one another as parts of a total system. To find solutions to these problems is the primary function of educational planning and research. To help to strengthen the educational planning of the different countries in the region, UNESCO established in 1962 a Regional Institute for Educational Planning and Administration in New Delhi to promote research and to provide training for all member

States in Asia. No effective planning is possible without adequate support from research agencies to provide the necessary data such as population and enrolment projections, educational costs, drop-out rates and examination failures, and so on.

Development in education research in South East Asia, however, varies from country to country depending on the national situation – the climate for research, the support of the Government and the general administrative structure. In spite of the differences in stages of development, three common problems can be identified. The first is the shortage of qualified research workers. The second concerns the lack of training facilities. The third relates to the retention of the services of the trained personnel, who because of the limited prospects for promotion in the highly specialised field often look for better prospects elsewhere, in industry and other private enterprises.

Impetus for the promotion of research has been provided by UNESCO over the past few years. Following the Conference of Representatives of UNESCO Member States at Karachi (1960) and the Conference of Asian Ministers of Education at Tokyo (1962), a number of regional institutes were set up to conduct training and research in their specialised areas. Examples such as the Asian Institute for Teacher Educators in Quezon City and the Asian Institute of Educational Planning and Administration in New Delhi have already been cited. Mention must now be made of the Asian Regional Institute for School Building Research. Originally established in Bandung in 1962, and since 1966 located in Colombo, it is primarily a research centre which carries out studies through its own staff or in co-operation with other regional institutions on the function, design, construction, materials, maintenance and cost of educational buildings at all levels.

In 1961, a study was initiated on the role of higher education in the development of countries in South East Asia under the joint UNESCO/International Association of Universities Research Programme in Higher Education, and with the co-operation of the Ford Foundation. The study was completed in 1965 and the reports were published during the course of 1967, embodying the results of the extensive enquiries that were made into the actual and potential contribution of higher education to the social, economic and cultural development of the region.

A new type of regional project was introduced by UNESCO in 1965 in the form of a pilot project for Chemistry Teaching located in Bangkok. It combines the elements of research and development into a project demonstration of how new science materials can be developed through team work between scientists and practising teachers. Another regional

programme specifically concerned with educational research and the training of research workers has also recently been established by UNESCO in collaboration with the Japanese National Commission and the National Institute for Educational Research of Japan.

To co-ordinate all the regional programmes, a Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asia was established in Bangkok in 1962, as an integral part of the UNESCO Secretariat. In addition to its main function of co-ordination, the office carries out surveys and analytical studies of the educational situation in Asia and acts as a clearing house for educational information.

Reinforcing the effort of UNESCO are the regional programmes of the South East Asian Ministers of Education Organisation, which has been set up with financial assistance from the Government of the United States of America to deal with the more specific educational problems common to the countries within the region. Projects of the Organisation which were either in operation or in an advanced stage of planning up to December 1968 include: the Regional English Language Centre (Singapore); the Regional Centre for Education in Science and Mathematics (Penang); the Central Co-ordinating Board for Tropical Medicine (Bangkok); the Regional Centre for Graduate Study and Research in Agriculture (Los Banos); the Regional Centre for Training, Research and Post-graduate Study in Tropical Biology (Bogor); and the Regional Centre for Educational Innovation and Technology (Republic of Viet-Nam). Other projects proposed include a Regional Merchant Academy (Singapore) and a Regional Centre for Books, Educational Radio and Television.

Conclusion

If the nineteen-fifties in South East Asia were known as the decade of educational expansion mainly in terms of enrolments, the sixties may be described as the period during which greater emphasis was placed on the improvement in the quality of education through reforms in curriculum, examination procedures, teacher training and educational administration. To cope with the complex and varied problems encountered, the need for systematic education planning and research is increasingly recognised. In view of the scarcity of national resources a regional approach to educational development is gaining fuller support and with concerted action it is hoped that the immense gap which presently exists between policy formulation and implementation will, in due course, be successfully bridged.

NOTES

- 1) Adam CURLE, *Educational Strategy for Developing Societies*. London: Tavistock, 1963, p. 147.
- 2) UNESCO, *An Asian Model for Educational Development: Perspectives for 1965-80*. Paris: UNESCO, 1965.
- 3) UNESCO, "Improving the Quality of Education in Asia." *Asian Education: A Quarterly Review of Progress in the Region*, 1, 1964, 1. Bangkok: Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asia, pp. 8-9.
- 4) Howard HAYDEN, *Higher Education and Development in South-East Asia*. Vol. I: *Director's Report*. Vol. II: *Country Profiles*. Paris: UNESCO/International Association of Universities, 1967. (See the review in this number.)
- 5) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 51.
- 6) UNESCO, *Curriculum, Methods of Teaching, Evaluation and Textbooks in Primary Schools in Asia*. Report of a Working Group, Bangkok, 19-23 April, 1965. Bangkok: Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asia, p. 10.
- 7) *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
- 8) UNESCO, "Improving the Quality of Education in Asia," p. 10.
- 9) *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 10) *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 11) T. W. C. MILLER (ed.), *Education in South-East Asia*. Sydney: Ian Novak, 1968, p. 32.

TENDENZEN IM ERZIEHUNGS- UND BILDUNGSWESEN SÜDOSTASIENS UNTER BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER PROBLEME EINER QUALITATIVEN VERBESSERUNG

VON PAUL CHANG, Penang

Dieser Artikel behandelt die Bemühungen, die wichtigsten Probleme einer qualitativen Verbesserung auf dem Gebiet der Erziehung und Bildung in Südostasien auf nationaler und regionaler Ebene zu bewältigen. Zu diesen Problemen gehören: die Anhebung des Niveaus der Lehrerbildung; Lehrplanreformen, um den neuen Forderungen und Bedürfnissen zu begegnen, die sich aus den politischen, wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Umweltveränderungen ergeben; Prüfungsreformen, um neue Lernziele einzuführen und die Einstellung zum Lernprozeß zu verändern; funktionale Alphabetisierung von Erwachsenen, um die Produktivitätskapazität zu steigern; Bildungsplanung und -forschung zur Erhaltung des Gleichgewichts zwischen quantitativer Expansion und qualitativer Verbesserung des Bildungswesens. Der jeweils erreichte Grad des Fortschrittes ist von Land zu Land verschieden und hängt weitgehend von den verfügbaren finanziellen Mitteln ab. Haupthindernisse für alle Länder sind: Begrenztheit der finanziellen Mittel, Mangel an qualifiziertem Personal und Fachkräften und fehlende Ausbildungsstätten. Man ist sich der Notwendigkeit regionaler Zusammenarbeit und der Hilfe Dritter, um die dringendsten Probleme auf dem Erziehungs- und Bildungssektor zu bewältigen, voll bewußt. Bei der Gründung einer Reihe regionaler Zentren – wie des asiatischen Instituts für Lehrerausbilder (Quezon City), des asiatischen Instituts für Bildungsplanung und Verwaltung (Neu Delhi) und des asiatischen Zentrums für Schulbauforschung (seit 1966 in Colombo) – hat die UNESCO ihre Hilfe zur Verfügung gestellt, um die Forschung zu fördern und Untersuchungen auf verschiedenen speziellen Gebieten durchzuführen. Die UNICEF hilft mit Ausrüstungen und Unterrichtsmaterial. Die Bemühungen dieser beiden internationalen Organisationen werden durch die Organisation der ostasiatischen Erziehungsminister noch verstärkt, das sich mit den spezifischen Problemen des Erziehungswesens dieser Region befaßt.

Der Hauptzug der Entwicklung auf dem Bildungssektor im südostasiatischen Bereich wird somit deutlich: Wenn man die fünfziger Jahre als Periode der Expansion im Erziehungswesen mit steigenden Schüler- und Studentenzahlen bezeichnet, so können die sechziger Jahre als ein Zeitraum beschrieben werden, in dem in zunehmendem Maße die Betonung auf eine qualitative Verbesserung durch Reformen auf allen Gebieten des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens und durch regionale Zusammenarbeit bei der Bewältigung gemeinsamer Probleme gelegt wird.

TENDANCES PEDAGOGIQUES EN ASIE DU SUD EST EN SOULIGNANT SURTOUT LES PROBLEMES RELATIFS A L'AMELIORATION DE LA QUALITE DE L'EDUCATION

par PAUL CHANG, Penang

L'auteur de cet article analyse les tendances qui montrent les efforts faits aux niveaux national et régional pour traiter les problèmes principaux relatifs à l'amélioration de la qualité de l'éducation en Asie du Sud Est. Parmi les problèmes identifiés, figurent l'augmentation des niveaux dans la formation d'enseignants, la révision des programmes d'étude pour faire face aux nouveaux besoins et exigences qui proviennent des changements dans les conditions politiques, économiques et sociales en mutation, des réformes d'examen pour modifier les attitudes face à l'étude, du matériel scolaire comprenant les mass media pour augmenter l'efficacité de l'enseignement et de l'étude, l'alphabétisation fonctionnelle des adultes pour augmenter les capacités de productivité et la planification et la recherche pédagogiques pour conserver un équilibre entre le développement quantitatif et l'amélioration de la qualité. Les progrès réalisés varient de pays à pays et dépendent surtout des ressources nationales. Ces progrès sont entravés par la limitation des fonds, la pénurie de main-d'oeuvre qualifiée, et le manque d'instituts de formation. On a grand besoin d'aide externe et de coopération régionale pour faire face aux problèmes urgents qui entravent le développement pédagogique. L'UNESCO donne le ton en aidant à créer un nombre de centre régionaux tels que: l'Institut asiatique pour les formateurs d'enseignants à Quezon City, l'Institut asiatique pour la planification et l'administration pédagogiques à la Nouvelle Delhi et le Centre régional asiatique pour la Recherche relative à la construction scolaire (transféré depuis 1966 à Colombo) pour promouvoir la recherche et faire des études dans les différents domaines spécialisés. L'UNICEF accorde son appui dans l'approvisionnement d'équipement et de manuels pédagogiques. En plus des efforts de ces deux organisations internationales, les programmes de l'Organisation des Ministres de l'Education d'Asie du Sud Est traitent les problèmes pédagogiques plus spécifiques de la région.

La principale tendance pédagogique est claire. Si les années cinquante sont connues comme la décennie du développement pédagogique en termes de l'augmentation des effectifs, les années soixante peuvent être correctement décrites comme la période durant laquelle on souligne de plus en plus l'amélioration de la qualité de l'éducation au moyen de réformes dans tous les aspects du système pédagogique et au moyen de coopération régionale pour chercher des solutions aux problèmes communs.

ON THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

by HOWARD HAYDEN, Sydney

The problem of reforming education is far from being merely a quantitative one of providing more schools; it is as much or more a problem of eliminating mis-education and large-scale waste of educational resources. What is needed is not simply an expansion of educational facilities and re-apportioning to serve the various age-groups, both sexes and all social classes, but a more purposive selection of the knowledge and skills taught, the attitudes implanted, and the learning methods employed.¹⁾

With the possible exception of C. E. Beeby's study on the quality of education,²⁾ conceived in Samoa but born in Harvard after a long period of gestation in Paris, the international exploration of educational development has by-passed the South Pacific. There is no Addis Ababa Plan or Asian Model for the South Seas, no Mediterranean Project. Philip Coombs surveyed the World Educational Crisis with never a passing reference to Oceania, whose educational statistics lie uninterpreted and undisturbed in the *World Survey of Education* and UNESCO's *Statistical Yearbooks*.³⁾

This neglect is undeserved. The South Pacific is a region of well over six million square miles, most of them, it is true, of ocean. But within that vast and ill-named waste are scattered in casual patterns ten thousand islands and the people of three racial groups – Micronesians, Melanesians and Polynesians, together with Asian and western minorities. The territories exhibit the full gamut of constitutional development. Tonga is an ancient Kingdom, whose royal house traces its unbroken descent through more than a thousand years; Western Samoa attained its independence in 1962, Fiji in 1970. The Solomon Islands are still a protectorate, the Tokelaus and Niue are New Zealand territory. There is even a condominium, the New Hebrides. The total population, omitting Hawaii to the far north (a constituent state of a federal metropolitan power) and Papua/New Guinea (in most respects a mainland territory) is some 1,325,000. Suva is a city with a university and a flourishing commercial and tourist centre, and a population of more than 50,000, while the largest of the Tokelau atolls, Fukafo, has a population of 733, with communications rather cautiously described as "trading visits made at fairly regular intervals by a chartered vessel."⁴⁾

In common are dependence on world market prices for primary products, copra, sugar, bananas, citrus fruit and timber, and some dubious prospects for the extraction of ores, though Fiji exports a considerable amount of

gold. The change from a subsistence to a cash economy is still in process. The pressures of social change and protest against traditional societies and culture patterns have been severe, though varying in intensity. Problems of urbanisation, migration and re-settlement arising from quickening rates of population increase have added to the disruptions of change, as has emergence from political adolescence, stimulated by World War II, fostered by the spread of the mass communication media and infected by the virus of the tourist industry.

Here are many of the classical indications of under-development, but the symptoms have not always revealed themselves. Village agriculture and fishing have supported a subsistence standard of living on all but the smallest atolls; some plantation sectors have developed to meet export markets. The full incidence of tropical anaemias suggested by local diets has not in fact been felt. Administrations may have been feeble, but they have not been corrupt.

Early in the long procession of invaders who have swept through the islands – navigators, scientists, administrators, service personnel and atomic physicists – came the missionaries. Armed with Bibles, tools, and frequently a printing press, they devised orthographies, produced grammars and dictionaries and fashioned education as a tool of evangelisation. The process started in what remains its most vital area, the training of pastor-teachers. Village schools teaching in the vernacular grew up around the mission compounds. From these simple beginnings there slowly developed a scattering of primary schools, a few intermediate schools, some of which blossomed into full secondary courses, here and there technical classes at artisan level, possibly a farm school, and in most cases one central teacher training establishment with a strong religious flavour. Later, secular groups – local committees, Indian social and religious communities in Fiji, townships, and a few major commercial enterprises – followed a similar pattern.

Governments entered into the field late, grudgingly and with extreme caution – a predictable attitude – and in the early stages limited their activities to *per capita* or other forms of grants-in-aid. In later years the process has entailed an ever extending control by Governments, either by the establishment of Government schools, by the take-over of voluntary schools where resources had become exhausted, or, more wisely and economically, by comprehensive systems of grants-in-aid to meet recurrent expenditure, including teachers' salaries. In return, the registration of schools, the certification of teachers, and the prescription of curricula and attainment standards were required and the process of inspection was instituted. Thus in Fiji in 1966, of 601 registered schools, 474 were managed

and the buildings owned by local committees, 76 by 8 missions, 11 by various private or public bodies; only 40 were Government schools. The main effect of this policy was not so much to spread education – more schools entailed an everlasting commitment to more recurrent expenditure – but rather to give some coherence to a system with wild fluctuations of standard. The certification and inspection of teachers and the formalisation of what they were to teach, even though this involved little more than drilling in the tool-subjects, provided at least a basis for qualitative advance within the expansion of education, which, as in all developing regions, was to mark the years after 1950.

Education in the tertiary sector (teacher training being carried out at the secondary level), with the exception of valuable but unpublicized in-service technical courses given by Government Departments, was practically non-existent until after World War II, save through bursary grants to metropolitan institutions, but great and honourable exception must be made in the case of the Suva Medical School, which, springing from the training of a group of vaccinators in 1878, emerged in 1961 as the Fiji School of Medicine, teaching students from all Anglophone countries in the region to a standard acceptable for registration in medicine and dentistry in Government employment.

By this process of absorption or supplementation, three patterns of educational organization may be seen to have emerged, tailored to the practice familiar to the parent governments and to their colonial administrators. In Guam (6-3-3), the Trust Territories of the Marshalls, the Carolines and the Marianas (8-4) and American Samoa (8-4), the systems are based upon American practice, leading to the ultimate goal of college courses at Agana (Guam), Honolulu (Hawaii) or the mainland universities. In French Polynesia, New Caledonia and the French sector of the New Hebrides, all instruction is given in French and the system is identical with the traditional pattern of metropolitan France before the introduction there of reforms based upon the Langevin-Wallon Plan. Tonga, Western Samoa, the Cook Islands, Niue and the Tokelaus are anchored firmly to the requirements of the New Zealand School Certificate and University Entrance Examinations. Fiji and the Western Pacific High Commission Territories have, in the past, split their allegiance between the examinations of the Cambridge Syndicate and New Zealand.

The picture bears some resemblance to the region itself – a great sea of primary education from which emerge scattered summits of secondary establishments, whence may be sighted the volcanic cones of Guam and Suva. Far away on the horizon stretch the tertiary ranges of the mainlands, almost invisible.

TABLE: *Statistics on Primary and Secondary Education*

	(1) Popu- lation	(2) Primary Secondary and Teacher Training Enrolments	(3) 2 as % of 1	(4) Primary En- rolments	(5) Secondary En- rolments
American Samoa	26 000	8 799	34	6 684	2 086
British Solomon Islands Protectorate ¹⁾	145 000	23 799	16	23 241	430
Cook Islands ¹⁾	19 250	5 770	29	5 027	639
Fiji ⁴⁾	476 730	107 884	22	99 138	8 466 ²⁾
French Polynesia ⁵⁾	84 550	29 114	30	25 029	4 085
Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony ⁶⁾	48 784	12 931	26	12 489	442
Guam ⁷⁾	90 000	24 031	27	14 415	9 616
Nauru ¹⁾	6 056	1 628	27	1 298	17
New Caledonia	92 085	25 756	28	22 466	3 290
New Hebrides	75 420	—	20	—	—
a) French Service	—	5 691	—	n.a.	n.a.
b) British Service	—	9 195	—	9 163	60
Niue	5 200	1 638	31	1 246	358
Tokelau Islands	1 860	600	32	600	—
Tonga	81 000	22 411	27	16 173	6 172 ⁹⁾
Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands	104 000	29 299	28	26 069	3 230
Wallis and Futuna	8 240	2 503	30	2 470	33 ¹²⁾
Western Samoa	131 552	25 542	19	26 134	8 188 ¹³⁾

Source: This Table has been compiled from a paper, "Summary of Education in South Pacific Territories," prepared by Kevin Flynn, (Education Officer South Pacific Commission), for a technical meeting on Selection and Assessment of Pupils for Promotion and Guidance, Goroka, 1967. Noumea: South Pacific Commission. Figures in brackets [] have been taken from UNESCO, *Statistical Year Book*, 1966. For more recent data (received too late for inclusion here), see the Commission's Information Document No. 22 (1970), *Directory of Education Authorities and Summaries of Education in South Pacific Territories*.

Notes: n.a. = not available

¹⁾ Figures for 1966.

²⁾ There are also 732 full-time enrolments in technical and vocational schools.

³⁾ There are also 1-year specialist courses for teachers of hand craft and house craft. There were 8 graduates in 1966.

and Teacher Training in the South Pacific, 1967

(6) Teacher Training Enrolments	(7) Total Number of Teachers	(8) Un- Trained Teachers	(9) Minimum Qualifications for Entry to Teacher Training	(10) Length of Training Course
29	340	n.a.	12 years schooling	2
108	910	680	7 years primary education	2
104	396	n.a.	12 years schooling	3
280	3 366	779	N.Z. School Certificate	2 ³⁾
[39]	813	n.a.	10 years (incl. 2 secondary)	1
89	560	424	10 years schooling <i>Brevet élémentaire</i>	2
n.a.	893	234	11 years schooling (incl. 2 secondary)	Univ. course
13	122	14	12 grades completed	2+1
[35]	[216]	n.a.	11 years schooling	n.a.
—	—	—	n.a.	—
n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	8 years schooling	2
72	411	342	<i>Cert. d'Etudes primaires</i>	3
34	109 ⁸⁾	n.a.	8 years schooling	2
—	[17]	—	11 years schooling	2
66	416 ¹⁰⁾	121 ¹⁰⁾	11 years schooling	Univ. course
60	1 293 ¹¹⁾	947	12 grades schooling	n.a.
n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3
220	1 154	99	13 years schooling (incl. 3 years secondary)	

⁴⁾ Corpus Christi College (R.C.) provides a 3-year course for entrants with School Certificates. There were 7 graduates in 1966.

⁵⁾ Figures for 1962.

⁶⁾ Figures for 1964.

⁷⁾ Including military personnel.

⁸⁾ In 1966 a further 22 teachers were on leave or in training overseas.

⁹⁾ Intermediate enrolment (grade 7) 1861, secondary enrolment (grade 11) 4311.

¹⁰⁾ In Government Schools only (45% of enrolment).

¹¹⁾ 231 Peace Corps Volunteers were also teaching in the Trust Territories.

¹²⁾ In addition, 27 secondary pupils held scholarships in New Caledonia.

¹³⁾ Intermediate enrolment (grade 8) 5315, secondary enrolment (grade 11) 2873.

The over-all quantitative scale of educational provision at the first and second levels throughout the region is set out in the Table.

The problems of the situation are familiar and inescapable. On the one hand the systems are geared to contents and standards which are metropolitan in origin. On the other hand is the necessity, whether based on social demand or a belief in human rights, for initiating the vast majority of young islanders into societies which, through force of topographical and economic circumstances, will be only gently fanned by the winds of change roaring across the great continents.

At this point it may be useful to compare two statements on education in the islands: one attempts to recreate the provision of education before the first missionaries arrived in Fiji from Tonga in 1835; the other, the writing of which was described by its author as a "cathartic experience," is an examination of the educational process in Tonga in 1965.

In a preface contributed to the present writer's study of a pilot project in community development on the island of Moturiki the late Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna, then Secretary for Fijian Affairs, a pupil of Wanganui in New Zealand, a product of Oxford and a Member of the Inns of Court, a man of supreme distinction in the cultures both of the South Pacific and the West, wrote, not without an ironic undertone:

Children received no special training. In company with their parents they would first see and learn how the ground was prepared for the yam crop, how dalo beds should be cleared, the ground turned over and where necessary irrigation planned, how holes should be constructed to take dalo tops as seed. In association with the lads of the village, they would watch and eventually take part in native games. In the *veibici*, a fast game played on sand or mud flats, they learnt how to run and gather speed, dodge and swerve. Strength and dexterity were developed in the game known as *veitiqa*. The eyesight was trained by spearing fish, throwing stones or spears at trees and by fancy shots with rocks round the back. The girls were taught domestic duties, which included basket and net and mat making, by their mothers and friends; how to make cords for fishing nets; how to use the net; where to find fish and prawns, and the stages of the day when they are likely to appear. From childhood girls saw their elders doing the *meke* and in their teens soon became proficient.⁷⁾

In this "happy and free setting, and with the conservative outlook of native peoples" there are elements familiar to the modern educationist – practical agricultural education, activity methods, physical education and organised games, handicraft and home economics, training directly related to the children's environment. Visual aids, of course, were missing: the whole process was visual. The only examination was acceptance by your elders and your peers. Of course, you could neither read nor write – but neither could anyone else. Communication was by speech and symbol.

And today? A Principal of the Teachers' Training College, Tonga, seeking an educational philosophy, saw the task of his teachers as: "To prepare their children for the sort of life that they must lead in a small island group which has a low national income based on copra and bananas, but which is totally lacking in minerals and other industrial wealth."⁸) (This was before the advent in the Pacific of off-shore drilling and the still implausible vision of the emergence of island "Kuwaits.")

Of the past he writes: "I find our predecessors, in their wisdom and enthusiasm, have burdened us with a system of certificates and public examinations that have received recognition in the business world to the extent that, for parents and teachers alike, they have become the end of education. Education for the sake of education does not exist. Remove the certificates and the pupils leave school."⁹)

Then follows the reflection that in 1963, of 614 candidates successful in the local Higher Leaving Certificate examination, some sixty were likely to obtain posts in Government service, in teaching or in the private sector. "For the rest, the certificate is lodged in the family Bible, or tacked on to the wall to become fodder for silverfish and cockroaches. For them, education is complete. They have attended a school which has prepared them for certificates but not for life."¹⁰) It is sadly concluded that the basis of the existing system, and indeed of all systems in the region, the education of an élite, "the preparation of a selected few for further scholarship abroad, so that eventually there will be a group of well-qualified people to replace the expatriate staff," must be maintained, and that the major problem is to find the most satisfying form of education for the many.

Such a policy may still be conceivable in the rigorously stratified social organisation of the peoples of the South Pacific; it is doubtful how long it will continue to be acceptable in a region where constitutional change and the concept of the common roll are features of the political scene, but where independence is not necessarily equated with democratization. Nevertheless, even within the rigid structure of Western Samoa change is at work. In 1944 the proposal in Legislative Council to adopt a scholarship scheme to send both boys and girls for secondary education in New Zealand was met with "I stand firm in the opinion of the Samoans. It was discussed thoroughly in the *Fono* and we don't want girls to go overseas." The *Fono* subsequently reiterated, "No girls will be selected, only boys."¹¹) Today the first Samoan Director of Education, Master of Arts of Victoria University of Wellington, Doctor of Philosophy of London University, is a woman, Fanaafi Ma'ia'i.

If the necessity of producing an "élite" is inevitable, two problems emerge. The first is the adoption of machinery capable of selecting those

most able to profit from further education by their potential, rather than by chance and privilege. The absence of such machinery, of course, has not passed unremarked; its devising is a matter of considerable difficulty. In a paper on educational evaluation prepared as long ago as 1954, J. C. Nield wrote,

It would seem – to hazard a general conclusion – that if evaluation is to go forward in the Pacific area, there will first be a stage of cultural value-setting, as a preliminary to either measurement or general evaluation. An individual territory, or several territories, will examine the current aims of its educational system and compare them with the present and future trends of the local cultures. . . . This stage of determination of purposes and values can be briefly described – it cannot be carried out so easily. Many advanced Western Governments are obviously still fumbling with or evading such a determination. In a Pacific culture or group of cultures it may perhaps be easier, since it could be undertaken before (or in the early stages of) the most rapid culture-change, instead of after the change has been in active process for a century or more, as in the West. In any event, if evaluation is to be soundly based, this first stage is inescapable.¹²⁾

In the event the culture change has gathered momentum, but, though Nield's paper was revived at a meeting of Pacific educationists in 1967, the first stage of a major contribution to developing the quality of education in the region through an examination of objectives in a cultural context, leading to the release of systems from pressures of selection by external standards of attainment, has yet to be taken.

The other problem is the standard of work required for university entrance itself, which in Western Samoa, for example, has determined the pattern of education in a secondary system embracing 8,188 children, of whom 9 passed the University Entrance Examination in 1967. Even in Fiji, with a similarly sized secondary establishment, only 135 passes were secured. For far too long the development of education in the islands has been bedevilled by the objectives of reaching and maintaining international standards.¹³⁾ Standards must be set, but they should be relative to time and place. The essential requirement is not the attainment of an exotic standard, but the quality of the work undertaken. Of quality, Alan Pifer of the Carnegie Corporation has finely said, "Quality in higher education is a virtue that is immutable and timeless. It has to do with the integrity of an educational enterprise, with the teacher's pride in his craft, with excellence of performance for its own sake, with intolerance of shoddiness in any form." It is a position which cannot be gainsaid.

But what of the vast majority of pupils left to face the problems of the near future, such as those Taylor cites:

Shortage of land, the population explosion, internal immigration to the towns, the dependence on dirty hands rather than a white collar, the sub-standard housing, unemployment, the breakdown of the traditional social structure that gave stability that no longer exists... the growing incidence of under-nourishment, the dependence on bread at the expense of vegetables, the increase in the incidence of juvenile crime... the discontent of the large numbers of (comparatively) well-educated, landless, unemployed young people who have tasted a little education and who are being influenced by cheap American films depicting violence, disorder, crude sex... the undue influence on that group of a few radically minded malcontents, who have been overseas and now rebel against the old order without having any constructive programme of replacement.¹⁴⁾

What contribution, it is asked, can education make to this situation? "A more intensive health education programme, with hygiene, nutrition, home-making, infant care, agriculture and carpentry playing a very prominent part in our curricula."¹⁵⁾ There is surely a very familiar ring about this prescription: "In company with their parents they would first see and learn how the ground was prepared... the girls were taught domestic duties..." Are we to return to education as in Sukuna's golden days, by society, not by professionals?

This would be a counsel of despair and it has been firmly rejected by administrative authorities and island peoples alike. Education is shaped by the play of forces: the ethical teaches moral discernment and commitment; the social sees education as a tool for the advancement of society, emphasising human resource development and the emergence of the productive good citizen; and the creative provides for the maximal expression of emotions, instincts, interests. All these forces interact on what might be called professional practice, the nature of the process carried out in schools, using learning and experience to promote in children a more adequate perception of themselves and of reality. The relative strength of the forces obviously varies, but they are external to the practices of education. Ethical pressure was strongest in the flourishing days of the missions; social pressures have the longest history; the creative pressures are weightiest in the most sophisticated societies; economic pressures are fashionable today. The contribution that education can make is its own expertise, the quality of the professional elements of the school, the methods of teaching, the insight and skill of the teachers, the relevance and significance of what is taught, and the tools that are employed.

In terms of the quality of teachers the whole spectrum exists across the region, from the village teacher drilling a class in a language he can scarcely speak and barely understand to the occasional *agrégé* in Noumea, Mid-Western Ph.D. in Pago-Pago, New Zealand graduate in the Cook Islands

or Fiji. Midway between these extremes is the young teacher with a modest background of ten years education, six years of which were spent in a remote village school, infected with a half-mastered enthusiasm for teaching techniques he has encountered at training college, returning to lose that impetus as the sole assistant to his old and conservative headmaster at his first school.

The usual remedies have been applied. Training colleges have been built, the standards of entry raised, and in some cases the duration of training lengthened: in-service and correspondence courses have been instituted. Expatriate qualified staff are to be found throughout the region – as administrators, headmasters, training college staff and advisory field staff. Young people from voluntary organisations have appeared to teach for a year or two; they have stopped a gap but not helped to fill it, their own development has benefitted, and at least they have been conversant with the language of instruction, if not with that of their pupils.

Neither is the situation quite as confused as it sounds. In 1945 the Government of New Zealand created an Islands Education Division within its own Education Department, headed by an officer who was to maintain a continuous service in the Islands, to advise the island administrations on modern educational developments, to assist in formulating a progressive policy, and to prepare readers, text books and journals especially adapted to the needs of the schools of the Islands.

In the quarter century since, the service thus inaugurated has spread far beyond the New Zealand territories. New Zealand staff were recruited under Schemes of Co-operation with Island Governments, and by May 1968, 179 New Zealand teachers were scattered through the English-speaking islands, 85 in Fiji, 33 in the Cooks, 21 in Western Samoa (this has subsequently shrunk to two following upon devaluation problems), 19 in Niue, 1 on Pitcairn, 5 in the New Hebrides, 2 in the Solomons, 2 in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and 11 in Tonga, many of them familiar with Polynesian people through their contacts with Maori pupils at home. By this means a reasonably uniform standard of professional expertise has been disseminated and standards of teaching set. On-the-job training of local colleagues has had a remarkable multiplier effect, and in particular, strength and direction have been given to secondary education, in which the quality of the teaching does much to compensate for the strictures of New Zealand examination prescriptions. But the main burden remains with locally trained teachers.

Columns 6–10 of the Table give, so far as data are obtainable, an indication of the intake of the island training colleges (6), the qualifications for entrance (9), and the length of course (10). Columns 7 and 8 show the total

number of teachers in service and the number of those who are untrained. It will be observed that three-year courses are now offered in the Cook Islands (where the College has been closed for two years owing to over-production), in Western Samoa and in the British sector of the New Hebrides. The remainder are two-year courses, except in French Polynesia (1 year) and in Guam and the Trust Territories, where an undergraduate course is available at the University of Guam for a selected group of students. Almost one third of the teachers of the region are untrained, but a number of territories are offering short courses to alleviate this situation.

Not untypical of the smaller institutions for training primary school teachers is Kawenu College in the New Hebrides, which in 1968 extended a two-year course to three years, aiming at an annual output of 24 teachers, 16 men and 8 women, for primary schools (classes 1-4) in the British sector of these entrancing but remote islands.¹⁶) It has been possible to require the Senior Primary Leaving Certificate (8 years schooling) as an entrance qualification, but the first year of the new course is devoted solely to academic studies, with special emphasis on English (there is no common vernacular in the Group), fluency in which is a main requisite for admission; the final interview includes a passage for reading, with questions to test comprehension. This very sensible requirement offers a fair indication of the level of entry to a course in teacher training!

The college is residential and, apart from a cook and a handyman-driver, the students are responsible for all household tasks. They are paid a monthly allowance of A\$ 2 whilst in residence at the college, having paid their own passages to reach it. The curriculum includes English, Arithmetic, Social Studies, Nature Study and Health, Physical Education, Art and Craft, Woodwork or Domestic Science (taught at the local secondary school) and, in the third year, 80 minutes per week of the Principles of Education - possibly a respectful tribute to the shade of Sir Percy Nunn. The library has over 3,000 volumes; however, one difficulty is finding books simple enough for the students to understand and appreciate, as reading for pleasure is something completely new to them. The staff of this gallant institution consists of a Principal and four graduates - all expatriates.

Secondary school staffs, numerically much smaller than primary staffs, are recruited either from experienced primary teachers, local students returning from training overseas on scholarship grants, or expatriates; many school staffs include all three elements. It is from these secondary schools that almost all future teachers and university students will be drawn, and the development of the islands will depend in no small measure upon the quality of the education they provide. The demand for expatriate

teachers in the developing world is growing, but such a policy, though a present help in time of trouble, cannot be continued indefinitely. It is expensive, uneconomic and inappropriate to both the cultural and political climate of developing countries, though such strictures are considerably less applicable to the case of teachers from New Zealand.

The question remains as to who shall train the trainers of teachers? A Technical Meeting of Educationists organised by the South Pacific High Commission in 1967 recommended¹⁷⁾ that urgent consideration be given to the establishment of a regional institution for the development of teacher education, with the dual aims of building up the academic background of experienced local teachers, the usual source of recruitment at the lower level of the training college staffs, and realigning the sights of expatriate staff to focus on the capabilities and attainments of students in training. Trainees from different island groups would mingle, and opportunities for educational research and clearing-house activities would present themselves. The proposal, though with a new orientation, reinforced earlier recommendations that a regional Institute of Education, or of Educational Research, should be established.

This aim now seems to have been realised for the English-speaking territories with the creation of the University of the South Pacific established in Fiji and including in its unofficial catchment area the New Hebrides (British Service), the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the Solomons, Western Samoa, Tonga, the Cooks and Niue. Within the University the School of Education will train teachers for intermediate secondary school classes in a three-year Diploma course, and for the full range of secondary teaching in a four-year concurrent Degree course in Arts or Science with Education. A one-year post-graduate Diploma course is also planned.

It is further proposed to set up a Secondary Curriculum Development Unit to review content and method. The aims of curricula will be discussed in the light of their relevance to the region as a whole and to individual groups, and programmes will then be prepared, together with experimental texts, apparatus and audio-visual aids. Courses in teaching the curricula will next be held, after which the programmes will be tried out and subsequently modified on the basis of feed-back. Secondary examining bodies will also be involved in this project, since the examination syllabuses will need matching revision. At the moment the proposals look more like a scheme on the drawing board (where they in fact are) than operations on a building site but they promise to do much to promote both the quality of secondary education and its relevance to regional needs.

Relations between the School of Education and the primary level appear to be limited initially to the provision of in-service courses and the develop-

ment of a "close association." This cautious policy is clearly dictated by the fact that primary training is already being undertaken by all the territories in the region. Nevertheless it seems unfortunate that new secondary curricula will be built up on the very insecure foundations of a wide variety of existing primary prescriptions.

However, the content and methodology of primary education have by no means been totally neglected. The Cook Islands and Western Samoa have each produced their own structured readers, a field in which the Literature Bureau of the South Pacific Commission has also been both active and effective. The Islands Education Division of the New Zealand Education Department has published a handbook for teachers and a series of Oral English books, used not only in Polynesia but as far afield as Sarawak and New Guinea. School broadcasting was pioneered in Western Samoa, has been developed in Fiji and the Cook Islands, and has been accompanied by class room aids and teachers' manuals. A specialist in the teaching of Science has also been working in the region.

By far the most dramatic innovation is to be found in American Samoa, where in 1961 Governor H. Rex Lee started the boldest experiment in the use of instruction by television ever to be attempted in a whole school system. This aroused world-wide attention, but calls for no description here since it is fully covered in a UNESCO publication.¹⁸⁾ The experiment, moreover, appears recently to have run into serious difficulties, and its future is uncertain,¹⁹⁾ so that any judgment on its success or failure must await events.

If generalisation is possible within the extremes of educational development to be found throughout the region, it may perhaps be concluded that the need for sheer growth has dominated the primary field and that quality has been achieved in the secondary schools by selection rather than the reform of curricula and methods. The remedies are familiar: they are seldom applied. The objectives and content of primary education need examination and re-definition so that it can prepare pupils for the small communities within which most of them will finish their lives. Selection procedures must be based upon ecological and cultural elements as well as upon standards of attainment. Teacher training must look to horizons stretching beyond the extension of knowledge and a smattering of classroom techniques. Yet these are material means to a less easily defined end: that the island schools shall generate among their pupils and within the community a climate in which the inevitable changes of economic, social and political life can be encountered, weighed and assimilated. The frontiers of the Islands have spread beyond the lagoon and over the reef. "Our world used to end where the waters of the sea lapped at the sands of our

islands. Today events far across these seas affect our daily lives minutes after they happen."²⁰)

And so we return to the opening of this paper: there is no Addis Ababa Plan for the South Seas. But surely it needs no *tukuna nofine* – no marriage by capture – to bring the South Pacific Commission and UNESCO into fruitful union?

NOTES

- 1) G. MYRDAL, *Asian Drama. An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations*. Vol. III. New York: Pantheon, 1968, p. 1622. (See review in this number.)
- 2) C. E. BEEBY, *The Quality of Education in Developing Countries*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- 3) Some compensation may be found in the wealth and width of regional material. Kennedy lists no fewer than 92 papers and reports published in the region relating to the improvement of the learning process, teaching techniques with Pacific Islands children, and testing and selection for various purposes. T. F. KENNEDY, *Pacific Islands Education* (Department of Education, Wellington), No. 51, March 1969, pp. 48–54.
- 4) *New Zealand Official Year Book 1967*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1967, p. 997.
- 5) A. CURLE, *Educational Strategy for Developing Societies: A Study of Educational and Social Factors in Relation to Economic Growth*. London: Tavistock, 1963, p. 51.
- 6) H. HAYDEN, *Department of Education Annual Report for 1966*. Suva: Government Printer, 1967, p. 2. This comment was first made by the writer in the Annual Report some twenty years ago.
- 7) H. HAYDEN, *Moturiki – A Pilot Project in Community Development*. London: Oxford University Press, 1954. Preface by Ratu Sir J. L. V. Sukuna, p. xi.
- 8) J. W. TAYLOR, "Education in the Pacific: A Conflict in Aims," *Pacific Islands Education*, No. 39, 1965, p. 69.
- 9) *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- 10) *Ibid.*, p. 71.
- 11) FANAIFI MA'IA'I, "A Study of the Developing Pattern of Education and the Factors Influencing that Development in New Zealand's Pacific Dependencies." Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1957.
- 12) J. C. NIELD, *Educational Evaluation: A Documentary Survey*, South Pacific Commission Technical Paper, No. 73. Noumea: South Pacific Commission, 1954.
- 13) H. HAYDEN, "The University of the South Pacific," *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 2, 1967, p. 97. The argument is developed, and the subsequent quotation from Pifer to be found in E. ASHBY, *Universities, British, Indian, African*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966, pp. 259–60. (See review in this number.)
- 14) J. W. TAYLOR, "Education in the Pacific," p. 69.
- 15) *Ibid.*, pp. 69–70.
- 16) The description of Kawenu Training College is based largely on material gathered from *Pacific Islands Education*, No. 52, May 1969. This is a special issue of the newsletter devoted solely to teacher training.
- 17) *Report of the Technical Meeting on Selection and Assessment of Pupils for Promotion of Vocational Guidance*, (Goroka, New Guinea, 1967). Noumea: South Pacific Commission, 1967.
- 18) W. SCHRAMM, *Educational Television in American Samoa. New Educational Media in Action: Case Studies for Planners*. Vol. I. Paris: UNESCO/IIEP, 1967.
- 19) Reported in *Pacific Islands Monthly*, 40, 1969, 5, pp. 25–26.
- 20) H. M. KING TAUFU'AHU TUPOU IV OF TONGA, Speech at the dedication of the Educational Television Centre, Pago-Pago, American Samoa, 1964.

DIE QUALITÄT DES BILDUNGSWESENS IM SÜDPAZIFISCHEN RAUM

von HOWARD HAYDEN, Sydney

Die kleinen Inselgruppen des Südpazifik mit ihren 1,4 Millionen Einwohnern weisen die meisten charakteristischen Merkmale der Entwicklungsländer auf: Abhängigkeit von einer Landwirtschaft, die gerade das Existenzminimum deckt, und von schwankenden Weltmarktpreisen auf dem Exportmarkt für Rohprodukte; steigende Geburtenraten; wachsende Spannungen durch soziale und politische Veränderungen einschließlich ständiger Forderungen nach größeren Bildungsmöglichkeiten. Indem die Regierungen die von Missionaren Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts gegründeten Schulen unterstützten, übernahmen oder weiterentwickelten, entstanden in diesem Raum drei unterschiedliche Erziehungssysteme: ein amerikanisches, ein französisches und ein britisches (einschließlich des neuseeländischen), die alle auf den Praktiken und Werten der Schulsysteme dieser Länder basierten. Das Ergebnis war eine beträchtliche quantitative Expansion der Primarschulbildung auf fast allen Inselgruppen und auf den größeren und reicheren Inseln eine begrenzte Ausdehnung von allgemeinbildenden Sekundarschulen konventionellen, akademischen Typs, die mit externen Prüfungen abschließen. Es bildeten sich kleine Eliten heraus, die meistens Lehrer-, untere technische oder Verwaltungsposten innehatten oder bestenfalls zum Universitätsstudium in Überseeländer geschickt wurden. Der großen Mehrheit der Kinder wurden nur wenige Grundkenntnisse einexerziert, häufig von nicht ausgebildeten Lehrern, und damit endete ihre Ausbildung.

Die unlängst gegründeten Universitäten in Guam und Suva, die Errichtung höherer technischer Ausbildungsstätten in Noumea und Suva sowie landwirtschaftlicher Ausbildungs- und Forschungsinstitute in Westsamoa und auf den Fidschi Inseln sind Anzeichen dafür, daß die Ausbildung heute, wenn auch nur für eine Minderheit, in engere Beziehung zum Arbeitskräftebedarf der Inseln tritt. Es ist zu hoffen, daß die Universität des Südpazifik auf Fidschi mit ihrem Lehrerausbildungsinstitut in ihrem Lehrbetrieb Qualität und Integrität entwickelt anstatt danach zu streben, den Standard einer Industrienation mit den entsprechenden Konsequenzen, wie Druck auf die Sekundarschulen, zu erreichen. Das Lehrerausbildungsinstitut bildet eingeborene Lehrer für den ersten und zweiten Zyklus der Sekundarschule aus, was bisher durch ausländische Lehrer erfolgt ist, einschließlich 179 Neuseeländern. Darüber hinaus soll eine Lehrplanabteilung gegründet werden, um Inhalte und Methoden des Sekundarschulunterrichts zu untersuchen und neu zu planen. Da die Ausbildung der Primarschullehrer jedoch an lokalen Ausbildungsstätten erfolgt, kann das Lehrerausbildungsinstitut wohl nur sehr geringen grundlegenden Einfluß auf das Erziehungssystem selbst ausüben. Als hoffnungsvoll können jedoch strengere Aufnahmebedingungen für die Ausbildungsstätten, Verlängerung der Ausbildungsgänge und aktivere Lehrerfortbildung angesehen werden. Es gibt in zunehmendem Maße speziell für die Inseln hergestellte Lehrbücher, und die Anwendung technischer Lehrmittel einschließlich gut zusammengestellter Radiosendungen wird immer mehr entwickelt. In Amerikanisch-Samoa findet auf dem gesamten Territorium sogar ein wichtiges Versuchsprogramm mit Schulfernsehen statt, das nicht nur an die Schulen, sondern an alle Einwohner gerichtet ist.

Die Qualität von Erziehung und Bildung im südpazifischen Raum sollte nicht so sehr einseitig durch die Richtlinien der prüfungsorientierten Bildungssysteme be-

stimmt werden, aus denen sich Eliten heranbilden, sondern von der Integrität, der Hingebung und dem Verständnis der Lehrer, die bestrebt sind, ihre Schüler so heranzubilden, daß sie die sozialen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Veränderungen, die sich heute auch auf dem fernsten Atoll vollziehen, verstehen und verarbeiten.

LA QUALITE DE L'EDUCATION DANS LE PACIFIQUE SUD

par HOWARD HAYDEN, Sydney

Les groupes de petites îles de l'océan Pacifique Sud, dont la population s'élève à 1.400.000 habitants, possèdent la plupart des caractéristiques des pays en voie de développement. Elles dépendent d'une agriculture de subsistance, sont soumises pour les matières premières exportées aux fluctuations des prix sur le marché mondial, accusent un accroissement du taux des naissances, connaissent des pressions croissantes de changements sociaux et politiques, et des revendications instantes pour de plus grandes facilités d'enseignement. Alors que les gouvernements ont appuyé, repris ou augmenté les écoles fondées tout d'abord par les missionnaires au milieu du 19^e siècle, trois systèmes scolaires distincts : l'américain, le français et l'anglais (y compris le système de la Nouvelle-Zélande) ont fait leur apparition. Tous trois sont fondés sur les pratiques et valeurs de l'éducation dans les pays métropolitains. Il en a résulté un développement quantitatif important de l'enseignement primaire s'étendant largement à travers les groupes, et dans les grandes îles plus prospères un accroissement limité de l'enseignement secondaire général au caractère académique conventionnel et se terminant par des examens externes. On a formé de petites élites destinées surtout à devenir enseignants ou à remplir des fonctions peu importantes cléricales, techniques ou administratives, ou – au mieux – être envoyées outre-mer en vue d'entreprendre des études universitaires. La plupart des enfants n'ont simplement reçu que quelques connaissances de base, souvent par des enseignants non qualifiés, et c'est à ce niveau que leur éducation s'est terminée.

La fondation récente d'universités à Guam et à Suva, d'instituts techniques d'un niveau élevé à Nouméa et à Suva, et d'instituts de recherche et formation agricole dans les Samoa occidentales et dans les îles Fidji indiquent que l'éducation même si elle n'est offerte qu'à une minorité, se développe maintenant plus étroitement selon les besoins en main-d'œuvre des îles. Il faut certainement espérer que l'Université du Pacifique Sud, avec son Ecole d'Education, augmentera la qualité et l'intégrité de son enseignement, plutôt que de s'efforcer à obtenir les niveaux des pays métropolitains entraînant des pressions sur les écoles secondaires donatrices. L'Ecole d'Education formera des enseignants pour les premier et deuxième cycles de l'enseignement secondaire – assuré jusqu'à présent par des étrangers comprenant 179 Néo-zélandais – et doit aussi fonder un Centre de Programmes d'études secondaires afin de revoir et réorganiser les contenu et méthodes de l'enseignement secondaire. Malheureusement, comme la formation d'enseignants primaires est assurée dans tous les territoires par les institutions existantes, l'Ecole d'Education n'exerce que peu d'influence sur la base de tout le système scolaire. On peut cependant apercevoir des signes encourageants dans l'augmentation des niveaux pour entrer dans les instituts de formation d'enseignants, dans l'extension de la longueur des cours et dans la formation active en cours d'exercice. On dispose maintenant de plus de manuels destinés aux besoins locaux et l'utilisation d'auxiliaires pédagogi-

ques comprenant des programmes bien faits de retransmission scolaire progresse rapidement. On procède en effet sur l'ensemble du territoire des Samoa américaines à un essai de programmes télévisés éducatifs qui sont destinés à toute la communauté et non pas seulement aux écoles.

La qualité de l'enseignement dans le Pacifique Sud devrait être déterminée, non pas tellement en fonction de l'augmentation des niveaux des systèmes orientés vers les examens par lesquels on forme des élites, mais plutôt en fonction de l'intégrité, la dévotion et la compréhension des enseignants insulaires s'efforçant d'adapter leurs élèves pour qu'ils comprennent et assimilent les changements sociaux, politiques et économiques qui se produisent actuellement, même dans les atolls les plus éloignés.

RECENT TRENDS IN ARAB EDUCATION

by MATTA AKRAWI and A. A. EL-KOUSSY, Beirut

Background

The outward expansion of Europe and of European civilization into most parts of the world took the Middle East in its stride. This contact brought about a social change in the Arab world which has been increasing in momentum. The Arabs have passed from active opposition to limited borrowing, to toleration of innovation, and finally to avid and conscious adoption of Western ideas, practices and ways of life as a means of survival. The resulting social change has now attained revolutionary proportions in a number of Arabic countries, and is, essentially, a reaction to the many challenges which the West has presented to the Arab world.

The most notable form of this reaction has been Arab nationalism, which began as a movement for liberating the Arabs from Ottoman rule, continued after the First World War to free the countries from the four Western powers (France, Great Britain, Italy and Spain), and then had to face the rise of the State of Israel, which poses a continuing problem. But the struggle for independence was only one aspect of Arab nationalism. It has tried for a hundred years to revive the Arab culture, to create an Arab consciousness and some form of Arab national unity, and to renovate the whole social and economic fabric of Arab life, which has been torn apart by centuries of invasion, foreign rule and neglect.

There is a mood of urgency and impatience which has manifested itself in revolutionary movements in half the Arab countries. There has been a gradual change from the monarchical to the republican form of government, and power has passed to the military in many states. One-party rule has become common and only a minority of constitutional monarchies or

republics of the Western type are left. Tribal nomadic life is on the wane, and movements of land reform have resulted in the breaking up of large land ownerships and the redistribution of smaller plots to individual farmers. For many reasons this has met with only mixed success; while the power of the land-owning class has weakened, the rise to power of the new class of farmers has been hampered by their lack of education and experience.

Industrialization has gathered momentum since the Second World War, and is replacing the traditional hand industries. By far the largest industry, of course, is oil. Nearly half the world's oil reserves are in seven or eight Arab countries; they bring those governments nearly three billion dollars a year, a good part of which is used for development. A labour movement has been growing in importance, and in the United Arab Republic, Syria, Iraq and Algeria, which have nationalized most of the industries, there is a growing trend for workers to participate in management and share in the benefits.

On the social front a transformation is taking place in the status of women and in the Arab family. The education of girls, though still lagging behind that of boys, has made tremendous strides, and women have entered into the professions and other occupations. The patriarchal family is gradually breaking down into the monogamous, unicellular family. Almost inevitably, there has been a decline in the power of tradition, and a gradual transformation in the habits and ways of life of the people, and in their social and moral values. At the same time we have seen a revival of the Arabic language, the growth of new schools of literature which depart radically from literary tradition, and a blend of the East and the West in art and music.

The change is far from complete, and can only be compared with the fundamental change which took place in Europe between 1789 and 1918. Its implications for education are tremendous.¹⁾

The Trend Towards Unification

As they emerged from foreign domination, the Arab States found themselves with many school systems differing greatly in their structure, organization, practices and curricula. Syria, Lebanon, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco had the typically 5-4-3 French structure for their school systems. Iraq had a 6-3-2 plan. Mandated Palestine and Jordan had a 7-4 plan, Sudan a 4-4-4, and Aden a 3-4-4-2. Egypt had a 3-year "kindergarten" which alone led to a 4-year primary school, a 4-year secondary school and university. In addition it had a 5-year compulsory school and a

4-year elementary school which did not lead to secondary and higher education.

A similar diversity existed in their language policies. Except for Syria, the countries that had been under French domination taught many of the primary subjects and most of the secondary ones in French. A minority of schools in Lebanon used English as a medium. In the countries of North Africa it was not till the early fifties that Arabic even became a subject for the baccalaureate. The other Arab countries taught in Arabic, except for Sudan which switched from English to Arabic as the medium in its secondary schools only four years ago. English was used for teaching purposes in some higher institutions.

Curricula were largely inspired by those of the occupying countries, if not built on their models, particularly in the countries associated with France. In others considerable adaptations were made; Egypt and Iraq were particularly independent in this respect. Some countries, notably Syria and Iraq, paid special attention to Arabic history and geography, but others treated them simply as a part of the general subjects, and in a few they were nearly ignored.

Similar differences prevailed with regard to teacher training, vocational and higher education, administration and inspection, examinations and certificates and degrees.

The foundation of the League of Arab States in 1944 led to the Arab Cultural Agreement in 1945, and the establishment of the Directorate of Culture at the Secretariat of the League. The Agreement was built on the premise that the solidarity of the Arab States could best be realized by strengthening cooperation in the cultural and educational fields, and by raising the educational standards of the people. One of its main aims was to create a measure of unity between the diverse school systems. The Directorate of Culture has organized a great number of meetings and seminars for this purpose. At the ministerial level, four conferences have been held, the last in January, 1970 in Morocco. A significant step was the establishment of the Union of Arab Teachers and the Union of Arab Universities.

These meetings have already born fruit. A uniform title for the ministries of education (*Wizarat al Tarbiya*) has been adopted by most countries, and the administrative structures are being brought into line as far as possible to facilitate cooperation between the ministries. The 6-3-3 plan of school organization, first implemented by cultural agreements between the UAR, Syria, Jordan and Iraq in 1957-58 has now been adopted by most of the Arab States. The examination systems are being made as similar as possible, and the mutual recognition of equivalent certificates,

diplomas and degrees has been largely accomplished at the primary and secondary stages, and in part at the university level.

The Arab States Conference on Compulsory Education in 1954-55 recommended nearly automatic promotion in the primary grades, but the UAR is the only Arab country adhering to the policy with a promotion rate of 95-98 per cent, and a survival rate of about 85 per cent over the 6-year primary school. In Iraq the retention rate over 6 years is 67 per cent, while in Jordan it progressed from 50 to 76 per cent between 1957 and 1967. Similar progress has taken place in other countries, but in some it is still a little below 50 per cent. The drop-out before the end of secondary school is still high: of every 100 students enrolled in the first primary grade the percentages remaining to the twelfth grade and getting the secondary school certificate vary from 4.5 to 18 in different countries.

From 1947, successive conferences have called for a common core in the curricula, consisting of the Arabic language and Arabic history, geography, and civics. Nearly all the states have responded in some degree; a new subject, "Arab Society," is gaining ground, and teaching is now uniformly in Arabic in the primary and secondary schools except for Lebanon (where it is used for about half the subjects) and for the three countries of North Africa.

There is now a considerable exchange of personnel between the systems. The UAR has more than 3,000 teachers delegated to the other Arab States at all levels, and Iraq sent 600 primary school teachers to Algeria in the first years of its independence to help it Arabize its instruction. Some states have also opened or aided schools in other countries. There is much exchange of students, particularly at the higher levels. The UAR has nearly 25,000 Arab students in its higher institutions, out of a total of 200,000, and other countries have proportions of Arab students rising to 30 per cent or more; 80 per cent of the students of Beirut Arab University are non-Lebanese Arab students. In most cases, Arab students are accepted free in the state universities, and some receive generous scholarships.

The Quantitative Trend

Exact figures cannot always be found for all Arab countries, but fairly reliable estimates show that, in 1960, with a total population of about 92 million, the enrollment in all types of education in Arab countries was 8 million; by 1965, with a population of 105 million, the number of students had risen to 12 million, and by 1968 it was 14 million for a population of 115 million. These figures do not include adult literacy classes.

Adult literacy figures increased in the Sudan from 13.5 per cent in 1962/63 to 14.7 per cent in 1965/66; in Libya from 19 per cent in 1963/64

to 22.2 per cent in 1964/65; in Kuwait from 43 per cent in 1957 to 51 per cent in 1961; and in the UAR from 23 per cent in 1947 to 30 per cent in 1960. The percentages are always much higher for males than for females, and for urban than for rural areas. The rate of training adult literates is constantly increasing, in Kuwait for instance, by 20 per cent a year. The Unesco Arab States Center for Functional Literacy is carrying out studies and training programs, and recently a special literacy fund was established under the auspices of the Arab League.

Primary enrollments increased from 6.3 million in 1964 to 10.5 million in 1967, but that left about 10 million children of primary school age still out of school, when over-age and under-age pupils are allowed for. So, in the Arab world as a whole, about 50 per cent of the primary school age population are now in school; females make up about a third of the primary school rolls. Between 1950 and 1960 the annual increase in primary school enrollments was 11 per cent, but the rate has slowed down over the last 5 years to about 7 per cent.

Secondary education enrollment has increased from 1.5 million in 1960 to 2.75 million in 1967, with an average rate over the past 5 years of 18.5 per cent. Higher education enrollments increased from 264,000 in 1964 to 310,000 in 1967, an average rate of 12.3 per cent. The largest enrollments are in the UAR and Syria.

Table I shows the ratios of students in the three levels of the education systems.

TABLE I
Relative Enrollments in the Three Levels of Education

Year	Primary	Secondary	Higher
1961/62	100	17.7	2.2
1964/65	100	20.6	2.8
1966/67	100	25.5	2.9
1967/68	100	26.0	3.0

The number of females is increasing rather more rapidly than that for males, but they are still far from equal, particularly at the secondary and higher levels.

For eleven countries for which data are available, the increase in technical education between 1965/66 and 1966/67 was only 4.6 per cent, compared with 23.9 per cent for secondary, but, generally, expenditure on technical education has increased proportionately to total educational expenditure. In the UAR, for instance, because of a special policy, it increased from 6.5 per cent in 1959/60 to 9.5 per cent in 1963/64, while

expenditure on secondary education dropped from 32.7 per cent to 26.6 per cent. But there are still in the Arab countries deeply rooted attitudes which resist such changes.

In the Arab world, the increase in students is not always matched by an increase in teachers, buildings and equipment. The rate of increase in the supply of primary and technical teachers is greater than for academic secondary and higher education. There is also an increase in the proportion of qualified teachers for primary schools, but it is still low; in 1965 there were some 66,000 insufficiently qualified teachers responsible for the education of more than two million primary school children. Enrollment in teacher training schools and in-service courses is growing at a yearly rate not exceeding 5 per cent. But one cheering aspect of raising the level of teaching is the increase in the proportion of native born teachers, especially at the primary level, in all the newly independent Arab States, though progress in this respect is slower in the rich "petrol" countries than in the poorer countries.

It is very difficult to get adequate data to make an estimate of a nation's total educational effort, including private education and the activities of other ministries. But, as far as we can see, the regional public expenditure on education, including private expenditure, increased by 67 per cent from 1960/61 to 1967/68 to a figure of some \$ 1,200 million, while total enrollments increased by 60 per cent. For 16 Arab countries, expenditure on education expressed as a percentage of the State budget rose from 13.3 per cent in 1960 to 15.7 per cent in 1967, and, for 10 countries, expenditure expressed as a percentage of national income rose from 3.8 per cent to 4.8 per cent. Per capita expenditure on education rose from \$ 7.46 to \$ 10.34. Expressed in terms of the population aged 5-24, it rose from \$ 16.25 in 1960 to \$ 23.34 in 1967.²⁾

Third level education absorbed 6.8 per cent of the total education budget in 1960 and 10.4 per cent in 1967, while general second level education rose from 16.3 per cent to 22.4 per cent in the same time. During this period, the proportion spent on administration dropped, and the percentage spent on buildings and equipment fell from 14.2 per cent to 9.6 per cent, while recurring expenditure increased correspondingly. The present financial situation calls for serious attention. With limited resources and an abundance of pupils, the desirable targets for education seem very distant. The problem is to find new and more productive methods of education which do not require additional expenditure. Experiments are now being carried out on education by correspondence, on education through pupils helping each other, on low cost school buildings, and on materials of instruction constructed by teachers.

The Lowering of Quality

The rapid growth of numbers at all levels of education has not been achieved without some sacrifice of quality. The lag in school building programs, for example, has led to overcrowding and the use of unsuitable buildings, and some countries, like the UAR, Iraq, and Tunisia, have had to resort to double, and sometimes triple, shifts. Elementary school libraries, when they exist at all, are mostly small and not well used, and libraries in secondary schools, though better, are still inadequate. Not all secondary schools have laboratories, much less workshops, art rooms and home economics equipment. As stated earlier, the teacher-student ratios have slipped. It should, in fairness, be said that near heroic efforts have been made by some countries to erect new school buildings. The best situation is in Kuwait, where many superb buildings have been erected at a rate which nearly met the growth in enrollment.

It is not surprising that there has been a lowering of educational standards in some of the countries. This is nowhere greater than in the teaching of foreign languages, and of science and mathematics in the secondary schools. After the disappearance of foreign rule, it was natural that a reaction should set in against the domination of the secondary schools by the languages of the occupying powers and that a much greater emphasis should be put on Arabic. So the teaching of a foreign language now starts much later in many countries and, in some, does not begin at all in the primary schools. The teaching of mathematics and science has suffered mainly from the shortage of teachers in these subjects—a phenomenon which is virtually world wide. The teaching of science tends to be bookish because the mushrooming of secondary schools has made it difficult to provide adequate laboratories.

The lowering of standards, however, cannot be ascribed solely to the lag of facilities behind enrollments. The greatly increased spread in the abilities of the pupils accounts for some of it. Up to the Second World War, the children attending secondary schools, and sometimes even primary schools, were a select group socially and intellectually, who could handle a difficult curriculum beyond the capability of many of the children of lower ability who flooded into the schools in the next two decades.

Curricula and Textbooks

Curricula in the Arab States are prescribed by government authority, and are uniform for each type of school in any state, whether the school is public or private. Previously, private schools had more freedom in this regard, but nationalistic considerations have led governments to demand

a single curriculum, to bring about national unity. Since governments recognize only their own certificates earned by passing examinations based on official syllabuses, the pressure to fall in line is considerable, although private schools still have some freedom in religious and foreign language instruction.

Curricula are usually worked out by committees. A central committee set up by the ministry of education lays down the basic directives, the subjects to be taught and the time to be given to them. Specialized committees then decide the content of each subject. The result is generally a compartmentalized and overloaded curriculum. Attempts have recently been made to lighten the curricula of the elementary schools, but those of the secondary schools remain traditional and overcrowded, partly because of pressure from higher institutions. Except for home economics and the manual arts, there is little differentiation on the basis of sex, and little difference also between urban and rural communities, though the Arab world is largely rural. Rural school teachers are supposed to adapt their teaching to their rural environment, but few of them succeed in doing so. In a few cases curriculum revision has been based on some form of experimentation, as, for example, in the Institute of Education at Bakht al-Ruda in the Sudan. Curricula in the UAR and Jordan also reflect more modern tendencies, particularly in the elementary schools.

In the states with a socialistic bent, the curricula now give evidence of socialistic concepts and orientation. The UAR sets out to bring up children to live in a democratic, socialistic, cooperative society, and stresses work in the service of the community, and the 1967 curriculum in Syria emphasizes a revolutionary and socialistic Arab society. In sharp contrast with this, Saudi Arabian curricula devote more than fifty per cent of the time to the study of Islamic religion and Arabic.

There is nearly complete separation between academic and vocational studies, the latter taking place in special vocational and trade schools. There are signs, however, of an increasing awareness that this sharp division no longer meets the need of Arab countries, though most parents still prefer to send their children to academic schools. Recently, the UAR has introduced vocational studies on an experimental basis into the preparatory and secondary classes, and UNRWA has experimented with post-primary classes that combine pre-vocational with general education subjects, while Jordan is trying out a similar scheme in the upper classes of the compulsory nine-year stage.

Except for private schools in Lebanon, all the schools in each of the Arab countries use uniform text-books. A large number of the countries have "nationalized" text-book production; a committee of authors, chosen

by the ministry, writes each book or set of books, which is then mass produced and distributed at cost price or gratis. Only in Lebanon and to a certain extent in the UAR, is there some competition in text-book production. It is rare for teachers to give students assignments from sources outside the primary and secondary text-books.

Experimentation and Research

There has been more interest in the expansion of school systems than in research to improve the content and methods of education. In Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and the UAR there are research bodies attached to the ministries of education, but they confine themselves largely to making studies. But there are some actual research units in existence, such as the Psychological and Educational Research Centre in Baghdad, the Bourguiba Institute of Living Languages and the Institute of Educational Research in Tunis, and the Educational Documentation and Research Center in Cairo. The Universities have also done some educational research.

The late Ismail Kabbani started experimentation in schools on a large scale as early as 1932. His experimental and progressive schools, both primary and secondary, gave guidance to most of the reforms that have taken place since then, covering such things as examinations, the use of record cards, activity methods, special provision for the retarded, and new methods of teaching a variety of subjects. In Iraq there has been experimentation in the project method and the teaching of reading, and Iraq, Egypt, Syria and Jordan have experimented with the education of rural school teachers.

One of the present writers carried out experiments in six preparatory (junior high) schools in Egypt, which were made to follow a mixed academic and practical curriculum closely linked with neighboring industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises. Students were helped to discover their own potentialities and interests, and the academic work was closely linked to the practical. Students sat the regular examination leading to higher secondary education and did exceptionally well. In the early sixties the Ministry followed the same line and abolished specialized education prior to the age of 15.

A great deal of attention has been given to the teaching of reading to beginners, especially in the UAR and Iraq. The introduction of the global method was resisted by the authorities in Iraq, but was continued on a limited scale. In the UAR rigorously controlled experiments were carried out, and, in spite of some initial resistance, teachers are now gradually dropping alphabetic and phonic methods for a variety of global methods.

Methods of Teaching

Except in a few experimental schools, the methods of teaching in the school systems generally remain largely traditional, with the child as a passive recipient. In the main, methods are Herbartian, sometimes literally following Herbart's five steps. Assignments in the textbooks are given, and children must recite in the following period. Teaching is predominantly informational, with memorization playing a large role. Only in the UAR, and occasionally in Iraq and Lebanon, have more active methods been attempted.

There has been progress in the simplification of language teaching, with less traditional grammar and a greater emphasis on oral and written composition, but much more needs to be done to modernize thoroughly the teaching of Arabic. The teaching of English has undergone considerable change, with methods based on word counts and graduated sentence patterns, and the adoption of some internationally used series of books. Language laboratories have begun to be introduced in Lebanon, Iraq, UAR and Saudi Arabia. Programmed instruction in English has hardly begun. Similarly, new concepts in mathematics and science teaching have not yet found their way to the schools, and are limited at present to experiments in some university classes in science education, particularly in the American University of Beirut. Recently, UNESCO undertook a promising effort to bring together international teams of experts, including Arab and non-Arab specialists, to write secondary school textbooks in science and mathematics embodying the latest developments.

School Inspection

Inspection is still largely a matter of catching the teacher unprepared and examining the results of his teaching, the part of the curriculum he has covered, and his impact on the pupils. The intention is to evaluate the teacher's work and give him some guidance. This evaluation usually determines the teacher's chances of promotion. Travel is difficult and there are too few inspectors to do this delicate work properly. Inspection is unfortunately still regarded as fault finding in most Arab countries, and the inspectors are old teachers who more often than not have stopped growing professionally, with the result that the relation between them and the teachers is full of tensions.

In the UAR, Jordan and some other countries, there is now a tendency to substitute for "inspection" the term "supervision," which stresses co-operation between the teacher and the supervisor, who is expected to behave like a senior colleague, and to put his experience and that of other

teachers at the disposal of each teacher he visits. In spite of all the studies done in this regard, only Jordan has actually begun to apply the new theory, since 1964.

The Education of Teachers

Up to ten years ago, the education of primary school teachers was roughly at the secondary level or less. Now the UAR gives a five-year course beyond middle school, which is equivalent to a junior college education; Jordan has a course two years beyond the secondary school for teachers in its 9-year compulsory stage; Iraq has some of its training colleges at a junior college level; and the course in Lebanon is, for the most part, equivalent to one year beyond the baccalaureate. Saudi Arabia has brought its teacher training up to the secondary level.

Some countries have a special course for teachers at the intermediate stage, but most demand a university degree for both intermediate and upper secondary teachers. Teacher training in universities may lead to the first degree or may be post-graduate.

Only the UAR and Iraq come near to having a full complement of professionally trained teachers. The others have been obliged by the rapid expansion of schools and inadequate training facilities to employ large numbers of untrained teachers below the standards the countries have set themselves. Thus there has been a marked development of in-service training schemes.

Arabization of Education

The term "Arabization" is used in the following senses:

- The coining of Arabic technical terms and the development of the Arabic language as an effective instrument for the expression of modern thought.
- The gradual conversion of all instruction to the medium of Arabic, together with the employment of Arab instead of non-Arab teachers.
- The cultivation of subjects such as Arabic language and literature, and Arabic history, geography, civics, economics, natural resources, and folk arts.

Three academies have been founded, in Syria (1919), the UAR (1935) and Iraq (1947), to conduct linguistic and lexicographic study of Arabic so as to simplify and modernize it and to coin Arabic equivalents for technical and scientific terms. This terminology has been widely used in school books, and the UAR academy has published a modern Arabic dictionary. Other public and private agencies, as well as individuals, have participated in this Arabization, and recently the Moroccan Bureau of

Arabization has been turned into a regional organization to coordinate all these efforts.

Trend Towards Educational Planning

The year 1960 was a turning point in educational planning in Arab countries, though some planning had been done before this date with the participation of one of the present authors: in Iraq (1946); in Kuwait (1955) and in the Sudan (1958-59). Tunisia had its first plan in 1959-60; Syria, the UAR, Saudi Arabia, and Morocco drafted plans for the period 1960-65.

A number of factors led to the introduction of planning, among them: the population explosion, the awakening desire for education by the masses, and the increasing appreciation of the role of education in social and economic development. Three events sharpened the feeling of a need for planning. A survey carried out by UNESCO in the Arab States showed considerable progress in education, but also revealed the lack of balance between educational development and economic needs. A meeting of representatives of ministries of education, in 1960, considered the report of this survey and recommended the establishment of a regional center in the Arab States for training educational planners. Following that, the Addis Ababa Conference on African Education, sponsored by UNESCO in 1961, calculated the colossal cost of universalizing primary education within twenty years, and the International Conference on Public Education held in Geneva in 1962 laid down the principles for sound educational planning. This was the period, of course, when the movement for educational planning was gaining momentum in other parts of the world. It is not an accident that the beginning of planning in the Arab States coincided with the UN's first development decade.

The targets of educational plans in the Arab world varied from country to country, but they mostly centered on the following points:

- Universalizing primary education in the shortest possible time.
- Giving greater opportunities for post-primary education, and more diversification in the second stage of secondary education.
- Giving increased attention to university and higher education.
- Eradicating illiteracy and experimenting with functional literacy.

The carrying out of the plans naturally encountered many difficulties, which were due to:

- the conceptualization of planning in purely quantitative terms, without much attention being paid to manpower and economic needs,
- lack of coordination between the various planning organs of the ministries of education,

- the dearth or absence of demographic, economic, and other data necessary for planning,
- lack of coordination between educational planning and over-all national planning,
- the disturbing influence of many political changes and of the Arab-Israeli conflict over Palestine,
- the scarcity of finance and of trained planners.

Nevertheless, the planning movement is progressing. Ministries of education are setting up units for research, documentation, statistics, buildings, and planning, and are seeking the necessary trained personnel from the Unesco Regional Center in Beirut as well as from other specialized institutes in Europe and North America. The number of educational planners trained during the past eight years in Beirut is more than 350, and the Center for Educational Planning carries out studies and research projects, holds high level meetings, offers consultative services to governments, and sets up regional and local training courses. One of the major needs is still for scientifically conducted studies of manpower requirements, though some elaborate ones have been done in the UAR and Tunisia, and some data have been collected in Jordan and Sudan.

Epilogue

The Arab world is in a state of flux. So is its education. Because the Arab States have been primarily concerned with expanding their educational facilities and with finding a common ground among the sixteen educational systems, they have been unable to prevent a certain decline in the quality of their education. At the same time, the move to use education to establish a national identity for the Arab peoples is slowly but surely gaining ground. It is to be hoped that, as Arab life renews itself and crystallizes into definite cultural patterns, and as experience and maturity are gained, the quality of schooling will improve and education will become a better mirror of a modernized Arab nation.

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2) For further details, see *Comparative Statistical Data*, *op. cit.*

NEUE TENDENZEN IM ARABISCHEN BILDUNGSWESEN

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In der arabischen Welt haben sich seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts tiefgreifende Veränderungen vollzogen, die das gesamte politische, soziale, wirtschaftliche, religiöse und kulturelle Leben beeinflusst haben. Die meisten Monarchien sind Republiken gewichen; das Nomadentum ist weitgehend aufgegeben und die Völkstämme sind größtenteils sesshaft geworden; Landreformen haben in einer Reihe von Staaten zur Beseitigung des Großgrundbesitzes geführt; die Industrialisierung mit den sie begleitenden Arbeiterbewegungen setzte ein; der Status der Frauen ist beträchtlich verbessert worden und viele Frauen stehen heute im aktiven Berufsleben. Die patriarchalische Familie löst sich immer mehr auf. Auch Literatur und Kunst sind von westlichen Strömungen nicht unbeeinflusst geblieben. Vor allem aber war es eine Welle nationalistischer Emotionen, die die arabischen Gebiete zunächst von türkischer und später von westlicher Herrschaft befreite. Dies führte zum Übergreifen des arabischen Nationalbewußtseins auch auf Völker jenseits der Grenzen und zur Entstehung der Idee einer arabischen Einheit als Ideal.

Veränderungen im Bildungswesen liefen mit der allgemeinen Entwicklung des arabischen Lebens parallel. Seit einem Vierteljahrhundert sind Bestrebungen zur gegenseitigen Annäherung der arabischen Schulsysteme im Gange. Sie führten zur vorherrschenden 6:3:3 Struktur des Bildungswesens und regten den Austausch von Lehrern, Studenten und Veröffentlichungen sowie zur Schaffung arabischer Erziehungsorganisationen an. Eine Reihe von Konferenzen, Seminaren und Tagungen trugen zur Erarbeitung gemeinsamer Grundlagen für arabische Bildungsgänge vor allem der Primar- und Sekundarschule bei, sowie zur gegenseitigen Anerkennung von Zeugnissen, Diplomen und Universitätsgraden. In den arabischen Schulsystemen haben sich seit 1950 auf allen Ebenen die Schülerzahlen im Durchschnitt vervierfacht. Schulgebäude, Ausstattung und das Lehrpersonal haben im allgemeinen jedoch nicht mit diesem quantitativen Wachstum Schritt gehalten. In den

meisten arabischen Staaten hat dies zu einer Qualitätsminderung in der Ausbildung geführt. Die größtenteils traditionellen Lehrpläne wurden ständig revidiert, in einigen Fällen nach modernen Grundsätzen. Die Lehrbücher sind im allgemeinen einheitlich und von den Regierungen vorgeschrieben und bilden das wichtigste Unterrichtsmaterial. Die Unterrichtsmethoden sind weitgehend an Herbart orientiert und beruhen stark auf Gedächtnisleistung. Dennoch sind in einigen Staaten Versuche mit Schüler stärker aktivierenden Unterrichtsmethoden durchgeführt und neue Verfahren im Lese- und Kunstunterricht sowie in den fremdsprachlichen und naturwissenschaftlichen Fächern eingeführt worden. Die Schulaufsicht ist noch weitgehend autoritär, wobei sie sich in zwei oder drei Staaten zunehmend die Mitarbeit der Lehrer zum Ziel setzt. Die Ausbildung der Primarschullehrer findet hauptsächlich im Sekundarbereich statt, in vier Staaten jedoch auf einem etwas höheren Niveau. Mittel- und Sekundarschullehrer werden auf Universitätsniveau, entweder an pädagogischen Hochschulen oder an Universitätsinstituten für Lehrerbildung ausgebildet. Bestrebungen zur Arabisierung des Bildungswesens haben bemerkenswerte Fortschritte gemacht. Mit Ausnahme von drei oder vier Staaten erfolgt heute der Primar- und Sekundarschulunterricht allgemein in arabischer Sprache, und die meisten Universitäten gebrauchen sie zu einem wesentlichen Teil im Lehrbetrieb. Akademien, Universitäten und spezielle Arabisierungsinstitute arbeiten an einer technischen Terminologie im Arabischen. Während der letzten zehn Jahre wurde mit Unterstützung der UNESCO und der Vereinten Nationen eine verstärkte Bildungsplanung angestrebt und eine Reihe von Staaten haben Fünf- und Zehnjahrespläne für das Erziehungswesen aufgestellt. Die arabischen Staaten haben gemeinsam mit der UNESCO in Beirut ein regionales Zentrum für Bildungsplanung und -verwaltung errichtet, das bisher etwa 350 Fachkräfte auf dem Gebiet der Bildungsplanung ausgebildet hat.

Zusammenfassend kann die Entwicklung des arabischen Bildungswesens nach dem Kriege als Versuch gekennzeichnet werden, diesem Bereich eine arabische Identität zu verleihen, und Erziehung und Bildung der Allgemeinheit zugänglich zu machen, während man sich gleichzeitig um Qualität bemüht und versucht, die Lehrpläne örtlichen Erfordernissen anzupassen, das berufliche und technische Bildungswesen zu entwickeln und die Bildungsplanung als Instrument in diesem Entwicklungsprozeß zu benutzen. Die Arbeit an allen Fronten gleichzeitig war nicht leicht. Die pädagogische Praxis, obwohl noch immer weitgehend traditionell, wird allmählich modernisiert, da die Zahl der pädagogischen Fachkräfte ständig zunimmt und gleichzeitig mehr Erfahrungen gesammelt werden.

TENDANCES RECENTES DANS L'EDUCATION ARABE

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Depuis la fin du 18^{ème} siècle, le monde arabe a subi de profondes modifications qui ont affecté tous les aspects de sa vie politique, sociale, économique, religieuse et culturelle. La plupart des monarchies ont cédé le pas à des républiques, la vie tribale se désintègre, un grand nombre de tribus se sont fixées, la réforme agraire dans de nombreux pays a provoqué la disparition de grandes propriétés terriennes, l'industrialisation a fait jour en s'accompagnant d'une augmentation des mouvements du travail, le statut de la femme s'est considérablement amélioré, beaucoup d'entre

elles ont pris part à la vie professionnelle active et la famille patriarcale est en train de se dissoudre. La littérature et les arts ont aussi été influencés par de nombreux mouvements venant de l'Occident. Il s'est produit avant tout une poussée de sentiment national qui a libéré les terres arabes, tout d'abord de la domination ottomane, et ensuite de l'occupation par des puissances occidentales. Ces sentiments ont permis à la conscience nationale arabe de se répandre parmi les peuples au-delà des frontières et ont engendré un idéal d'unité arabe.

Des progrès au point de vue éducation ont suivi l'évolution générale de la vie arabe. Un mouvement vers un rapprochement des systèmes scolaires arabes est en cours depuis un quart de siècle; il a réalisé un plan 6-3-3 d'organisation pédagogique, a stimulé l'échange d'enseignants, d'étudiants et de publications, et a favorisé le développement d'organisations pédagogiques arabes. De nombreuses conférences, séminaires et groupes de travail ont été organisés amenant l'élaboration d'un programme commun d'études arabes et la reconnaissance réciproque des certificats, diplômes et titres. Depuis 1950, les systèmes scolaires arabes ont en moyenne quadruplé le nombre d'inscriptions scolaires à tous les niveaux. Les bâtiments scolaires, les manuels et équipement, et les enseignants n'ont généralement pas suivi ce développement quantitatif. Aussi y a-t-il eu une diminution de la qualité de l'éducation dans la plupart des pays arabes. Les programmes d'étude, pour la plupart traditionnels, ont subi une révision constante et dans quelques cas, selon des normes modernes. Les manuels sont généralement uniformes et prescrits par les gouvernements, et constituent la source principale de l'équipement pédagogique. Les méthodes d'enseignement sont surtout celles de Herbart et se basent fortement sur la mémoire. On a procédé néanmoins dans quelques pays à des expérimentations dans des méthodes plus actives, de même qu'à des expérimentations dans l'introduction de nouvelles méthodes pour enseigner la lecture, les arts, les langues étrangères et les sciences. L'inspection scolaire est encore en grande partie du genre autoritaire, quoique dans deux ou trois pays ses buts consistent de plus en plus à orienter et aider les enseignants. La formation d'enseignants d'écoles primaires se fait surtout au niveau secondaire, excepté dans quatre pays où elle se fait au niveau des premières années universitaires. Les enseignants des écoles intermédiaires et secondaires sont formés au niveau universitaire, soit dans des collèges spéciaux, soit dans des instituts universitaires d'éducation. Un mouvement en vue d'arabiser l'éducation a fait de remarquables progrès. Tous les pays, à l'exception de trois ou de quatre, donnent maintenant leur enseignement en arabe, et la plupart des universités utilisent l'arabe pour une grande partie de leur enseignement. Les académies, universités et bureaux spéciaux d'arabisation élaborent une terminologie technique arabe. Au cours de ces dix dernières années, un mouvement s'est produit avec l'aide de l'UNESCO et des Nations Unies, en vue d'une planification de l'éducation et de nombreux pays ont élaboré des plans quinquennaux et décennaux d'éducation. Un Centre régional pour l'administration et la planification de l'éducation a été créé à Beyrouth par les états arabes et l'UNESCO, et a formé jusqu'à présent quelque 350 planificateurs de l'éducation.

En résumé, le mouvement pédagogique arabe d'après-guerre peut être caractérisé comme un effort en vue de réaliser l'identité pédagogique arabe, et universaliser l'éducation, tout en s'efforçant en même temps de conserver la qualité, adapter les programmes d'étude aux besoins locaux, développer l'enseignement professionnel et technique, et utiliser la planification de l'éducation comme instrument de dé-

veloppement. Opérer sur tous les fronts n'a pas été aisé. On modernise lentement les pratiques pédagogiques encore fort traditionnelles, en même temps que le nombre d'experts en éducation augmente et que l'on acquiert de l'expérience.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN TEACHER EDUCATION IN EAST AFRICA

by W. SENTEZA KAJUBI, Kampala, Uganda

The three countries of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, with a total area of 650,000 square miles and an estimated population of about thirty million, form a compact geographical and quasi-political unit known as the East African Community. They have much in common: they all abut on Lake Victoria; they have a common historical and political background, having been until recently under British administration. They have a common market and customs union, and an inter-state organization for running such services as railways, harbours, posts and telecommunications, aviation, research, and (until June 1970) a federal university. They also share the same problems relating to their economic and social development.

This paper is concerned with the problems involved in the expansion and improvement of education in these countries, with particular reference to the education of teachers.

The Problem

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance which East African governments, and indeed all the people of the developing countries, attach to education as a means of advancement on the socio-economic ladder. East African governments spend over 20 per cent of their annual revenues, or 4 to 6 per cent of their Gross National Products, on education. Parents spend high proportions of their meagre incomes on school fees, and build "harambee" or self-help schools for the education of their children. Pupils walk long distances to school, and in many cases would willingly cram the contents of partially digested text books in order to take their examinations. The importance of formal education as a lever of social and economic growth is taken for granted almost everywhere.

The accomplishments of East African countries in the field of education since independence have been remarkable. The number of children who leave school, having completed a full primary course, has more than trebled and secondary school enrollments have more than doubled in the last five years. In Kenya for example, out of the four hundred secondary schools

in the country in 1966, 250 have been established since 1963.¹⁾ Everywhere in these countries, one cannot fail to be struck by visible signs of the expansion and improvement of educational facilities.

Yet in spite of this public zeal and heavy investment in education, the gap between social demand and the capacity of East African countries to satisfy it is wide and enlarging. Despite the high percentage of the annual national budgets spent on education, only a small proportion of school-age children are able to receive more than a few years of schooling. Only about 45 to 50 per cent of the children in the ages 7-12 years are enrolled in the publicly supported primary schools, and the proportion of children who are enrolled in secondary level institutions hardly exceeds 2 or 3 per cent of the relevant age group.

There is such a narrow bottleneck between the top of the primary school and the entrance to the secondary school that the stream of primary school leavers for whom neither secondary school education nor employment opportunities in the modern sector are available, constitutes a major problem. For example, Table I shows that in Kenya the "index of opportunity" (a phrase coined by the Kenya Education Commission to refer to the number of secondary Form I places for every 100 primary school leavers) is not only very low but is also declining.

TABLE I
*Number of Primary School Leavers
Gaining Places in Aided Secondary Schools in Kenya, 1964-67*

	1964	1965	1966	1967
KPE*) Candidates in Preceding Year	62,125	103,400	150,000	150,000
Secondary Places	8,956	11,529	12,754	14,000
Index of Opportunity	14.4	11.2	8.5	9.3

Source: Kyale MWENDWA, "Constraints and Strategy in Planning Education", in James SHEFFIELD (ed.), *Education, Employment and Rural Development*. Nairobi: East African Publ. House, 1967, p. 278.

*) Kenya Preliminary Examination

Although East African countries are under-populated in terms of absolute numbers, the annual rate of population growth is high (between 2.5 and 3 per cent). Moreover the proportion of the population which is of school age (between 6 and 15 years; see Table II) is also comparatively very high, while that of children between 1 and 5 years is not only high, but

increasing. These children are not only non-productive but also demand a disproportionately high share of the education and health services. Education, therefore, will continue to be available to a progressively smaller proportion of the school-age population, unless the East African economies sharply increase their rates of growth, or drastic measures are

TABLE II

*Percentage Age Distribution of the African Populations of
Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya,
and the Populations of England and Wales, and Sweden
by Age Group in Census Years*

		Under 1	1-5	6-15	16-45	46+	Total
Tanganyika	1948	3.6	15.2	23.4	47.8	10.0	100
	1957	3.9	17.3	22.7	44.2	11.9	100
Uganda	1948	2.8	14.3	23.8	47.5	11.6	100
	1959	3.8	16.6	22.8	44.0	12.8	100
Kenya	1948	4.5	19.0	24.6	43.2	8.7	100
England and Wales	1951	1.5	8.5	13.4	42.9	33.7	100
Sweden	1950	1.6	8.9	14.1	43.4	32.0	100

Source: Based on Philip BELL, *African Economic Problems*, Vol. II, Book I, Tables 6 and 7. Kampala: Makerere University College, pp. 112-113.

Note: The 1962 Kenya Census did not use the same age groups; therefore, data are not available for comparison.

adopted to raise the productivity of educational resources, thus coping with more students without consuming a much greater proportion of national budgets.

Another problem connected with the rapid demographic growth, and the relative diminishing of educational opportunities, is the fact that the number of new employment possibilities generated by the economies is rather static and in some cases declining. Despite considerable injection of capital into East African economies, practically no additional employment has been created in the last years in the urban sector to absorb the stream of primary school leavers. For example, Table III shows that in Uganda the total estimated number of adults in gainful employment remained stagnant in the ten years between 1955 and 1965.

Coupled with the need to expand facilities at all levels in order to meet

TABLE III

Uganda: Number of Adults in Gainful Employment at 5-Year Intervals - 1955-65

<i>Year</i>	<i>Private Industry</i>	<i>Government</i>	<i>Total</i>
1955	134,063	92,165	226,228
1960	133,319	95,570	228,889
1965	136,017	92,169	228,186

Source: Uganda Government, *Ministry of Labour Annual Reports*.

the mounting social demand, are the problems caused by the critical shortage of local teachers at the secondary level and the low academic status of the teacher trainers and primary school teachers. The number of local graduates who join the teaching profession is still very small, and the secondary schools have to rely on expatriate teachers; without their services, there would be few secondary schools and teachers colleges in East Africa today. However, they stay for only short periods and are not in a position to nurture and guide the development of national cultures.

When we turn to the education of primary school teachers, we find that what Freeman Butts has termed "educational disjunctivitis"²⁾ is endemic in the education system of East Africa. The academic and professional qualifications of primary teachers are very low compared with those of secondary school teachers. In Uganda in 1967 25 per cent of the total primary school teaching force of 19,250 teachers, were Grade I, with only four to six years of primary education plus two years of professional training. Because in most cases they read and write only their vernaculars, they find it difficult to keep abreast of modern teaching ideas. About 50 per cent of the primary teachers are Grade II, with a basic education of seven or eight years plus four years of training.³⁾ Similarly, of 53,500 teachers in the Kenyan primary schools in 1966, 30.5 per cent were untrained, and 28 per cent had only the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) or less.⁴⁾ In Tanzania, 9,500 teachers are in the C grade, with formal education of not more than 8 years plus two years of professional training. The result is that teaching methods in the primary schools are often formal, consisting of drill on the part of the teachers, and learning by rote on the part of pupils.

The dearth of adequately qualified local tutors in the primary teachers colleges also poses a major problem. Table IV shows that in both Kenya and Uganda only about one third of the teachers college staffs are local, and of those only a small minority are university graduates. There is great

need, therefore, to increase the number and to improve the qualifications of local tutors in the teachers colleges.

TABLE IV

Approximate Composition of Teacher Training College Staffs in Kenya and Uganda, in per cent⁵

	<i>Expatriates</i>	<i>Local Graduates</i>	<i>Local Non-Graduates</i>	<i>Total</i>
Kenya (1967)	64	7	29	100 (417)
Uganda (1969)	70	8	22	100 (196)

Source: Unpublished government statistics.

The Uganda Education Commission, commenting on the problems outlined in the foregoing paragraphs, posed the following question:

When over half the nation is illiterate and the people clamour for education, when teachers are in short supply and inadequately trained, when government and industry demand trained recruits, when unemployment is widespread and increasing, when the nation is poor, what policy should the government pursue?⁶

East African countries, and indeed all countries of the developing world, are faced with the formidable task of devising educational systems and teacher education programmes which are relevant to their national problems. Those developed in the colonial period were not designed to solve these problems. As Mwalimu Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, states in his *Education for Self-Reliance*:

The most central thing about the education we are at present providing is that it is basically an élitist education designed to meet the interests and needs of a very small proportion of those who enter the school system. . . . It is designed for the few who are intellectually stronger than their fellows; it induces among those who succeed a feeling of superiority, and leaves the majority of the others hankering after something they will never obtain. It induces a feeling of inferiority among the majority and can thus not produce either the egalitarian society we should build, nor the attitudes of mind which are conducive to an egalitarian society. On the contrary, it induces the growth of a class structure in our country.⁷

Milton A. Obote, the former President of the Republic in Uganda, has declared that

. . . in this spirit our education system will have to be tailored in the future to our national needs and geared to the production of faithful and competent servants of Uganda and not to the multiplication of the élite and gentry.⁸

*New Directions in Teacher Education**1. Re-defining Values and the Objectives of Education*

The single most important factor affecting the direction of education in East Africa today is the realisation that the vast majority of the children who go through the system will never see the inside of a secondary school, and that they will have to make a living on the land after primary school. An education system dominated by examinations and aimed at preparing primary school children for secondary school and secondary school pupils for university, cannot meet the needs of the majority of children. Efforts are, therefore, under way to make education at all levels, especially in the primary school, more practical and agriculturally oriented than has been the case in the past. At the same time, teachers must be prepared in such a way that they will be able to effect these changes.

In Tanzania for example, where this trend has moved furthest, following the Arusha Declaration on African Socialism and Self-Reliance,⁹⁾ the objectives of teacher education have been re-defined, and the curriculum of teachers colleges has been drastically altered. The objectives of teacher education in order of importance are: to educate the students in the true meaning of the Tanzanian concept of "Ujamaa", i.e mutual assistance or "familyhood";¹⁰⁾ to train the students to be dedicated and capable primary school teachers with understanding of the children placed in their charge; and lastly to deepen the students' general education.¹¹⁾ Attempts are being made to achieve these goals in a number of ways, such as:

- the introduction of "National Education" as the major constituent of the subject formerly known as Principles of Education, in which much greater attention is being paid to developing attitudes of leadership and awareness of current political needs and aspirations amongst the potential teachers;
- the introduction in all colleges of an assessment formula, which attempts to measure the students' social attitudes and national spirit;
- a determined effort to revive national cultural activities, especially through the arts;
- an emphasis on civics as a subject to learn and to teach later on in school;
- a continuous effort to relate other subjects, particularly geography, history and literature to Tanzania and Africa; and lastly by
- a remarkable increase in the use of Ki-Swahili as a medium of instruction and a language of communication in the colleges and in the schools.

In addition, all students – male and female – are required to do National Service for an initial period of six months as part of their training. During this time, they leave the colleges to participate in community projects and physical training.

The Conference on Education, Employment and Rural Development held at Kericho, Kenya, in 1966¹²⁾ further dramatised the crisis precipitated by the flood of primary school leavers who cannot be absorbed in the modern urban sector and who do not fit into the traditional rural sector of the economy. Partly as a direct result of that Conference and following a general trend since independence, efforts are being made in Kenya and Uganda to re-define the objectives of teacher education and to re-shape both the values and structure of education in general so as to relate it more closely to the local environment and to give greater emphasis to those aspects of education which are likely to stimulate rural development.

Programmes for training teachers of agriculture and of technical subjects have been instituted at Egerton College in Western Kenya and at the Kenya Polytechnic respectively. It has also been recommended that experienced professional educationists with a basic training in agriculture or agricultural science should be appointed to the staffs of all teachers colleges in Kenya, to ensure that science subjects in the schools will be taught by teachers who have themselves been taught to appreciate and understand the principles and problems of agriculture.¹³⁾ Village polytechnics have also been established in one or two places, although it is too early to assess their success and impact.

In Uganda, Makerere University, Kampala has plans for offering a course in the teaching of agriculture as part of the post-graduate Diploma in Education and to produce graduate teachers of agriculture in 1970 as the first step of a substantial project involving the creation of large departments of agriculture in some of the secondary schools. There are plans to offer the teaching of agriculture as part of the undergraduate course leading to the award of the Bachelor of Education degree. A UNESCO Pilot Project aiming at ruralising the primary school syllabus and curriculum is also under way in Uganda.¹⁴⁾

No one, however, should be under the delusion that the ruralisation of teacher education and the school curriculum alone will be a panacea to the rural-urban migration of school leavers. This problem is not entirely, nor even principally, educational. It has its roots in the wide disparity in economic opportunities between the rural and urban sectors of the economy. School leavers, no matter how much agricultural education they may have received, will not be satisfied with a rural existence based on a one-hoe-one-acre economy. The task, therefore, of arresting the rural-urban exodus and of attracting school leavers back to the land, goes much further than merely manipulating the curriculum of schools and teachers colleges. It involves physical planning, provision of capital, organization of produce marketing and other facets of development planning – all

aimed at the transformation of rural areas to make life there economically and socially more attractive. As the Kericho Conference concluded, the only thing which can change this situation is visible evidence that farming really pays.¹⁵⁾

As in Tanzania, cultural education and the development of teaching materials based on indigenous art, music and dance and vernacular languages have become a major activity of the Kenya Institute of Education Curriculum Development and Research Centre, which has established Departments of Cultural Education and African Languages for this purpose. Here again, emphasis is increasingly placed on the education of the teacher as a leader in his community, with an understanding of the society he serves.¹⁶⁾

2. The Search for Quality

The quality of education can be judged from many viewpoints and from different levels.¹⁷⁾ Here the term is used to refer to the effectiveness of teachers in the classroom.

Improvement of Standards: All three East African countries have established Institutes of Education which are charged with the vital task of raising and maintaining standards in the schools and colleges. The institutes cooperate in the organization of educational conferences and in-service courses for teachers and tutors. They are also responsible for the preparation of syllabuses and curricula for teachers colleges. In Tanzania and Uganda, the institutes are university-based and, in the case of Uganda, the primary teachers' course leads to an award of the Makerere University, Kampala. This relationship acts as a link between the teachers colleges and the University, and it helps to bring teachers of all grades near to the University.

The in-service education of teachers, particularly of those in the least qualified category, is of major concern in all three countries. With the assistance of UNICEF and UNESCO, Uganda has an on-going long-term programme of re-training 1,000 Grade I teachers to bring them up to Grade II over a period of three years, using a combination of correspondence courses, radio and on-campus vacation courses. As part of this project 100 Grade II teachers annually will receive intensive on-campus vacation instruction of three months' duration in science subjects relating to the primary syllabus. On successful completion of the course, each will instruct 10 fellow teachers in the content and the new methods of teaching science in the primary school. It is expected that over a period of 3 years, at least 9,000 Grade II teachers will have been affected. A very important

aspect of the UNICEF grant for the two projects is the provision of supporting educational materials, which include a printing press for Makerere, and workshop and science equipment for teachers colleges, to be used for vacation instruction.

The Kenya Institute of Education, with the assistance of a team of Canadian teacher educators, has, in the last two years, organized courses involving some 4,000 unqualified primary school teachers with at least four years' experience. These courses are entirely professional in content and involve a similar combination of on-campus vacation attendance, radio instruction and correspondence assignments over a period of one year; they lead to the award of the appropriate teachers' certificate. Courses organised along similar lines are also run by the Kenya Institute for headteachers and are reported to be very successful.¹⁸⁾

The Institutes of Education in Tanzania and Uganda have associateship one-year courses aimed at preparing experienced primary school teachers of various grades for tutorship in teachers colleges, and at upgrading tutors to higher professional qualifications. Some of the teachers who successfully complete these courses gain admission to the universities of East Africa, and it is hoped that this will add to the number of graduate tutors in the colleges who have experience in primary education. Kenya plans to institute a similar training programme.

Trend Towards Larger Teachers Colleges: Primary teachers are at the moment trained in numerous colleges, whose enrolments are very small and often uneconomic. In Kenya for example in 1968, there were 26 colleges, 13 of which had enrolments of less than 200 students; 4 had less than 100 students and only 4 had more than 300 students. Uganda had also 26 colleges, with an average enrolment of 150 students. Because these colleges are small, they cannot afford specialized equipment and in many cases they have considerable staffing deficiencies.

A significant trend in the next few years will be the consolidation and rationalisation of teachers colleges into larger colleges for the purpose of training higher grade primary school teachers. Uganda will move farthest in this direction, when its 26 colleges are reduced to four large regional colleges, two of which are due to be opened in 1972. These colleges will have enrolments of 800 to 1000 students. The level of in-take is also to be raised to a full secondary education plus two years of teacher education. Kenya has plans to reduce the number of its colleges to 16 larger ones – with enrolments of 250 to 400 students.¹⁹⁾ In Tanzania the process of closing down some of the older and smaller colleges has also already begun.²⁰⁾

It is impossible to forecast accurately at this stage what the impact of this trend is likely to be on the quality of teacher education in East Africa. There is no doubt, however, that the larger institutions will open up a whole vista of new opportunities for more specialised and competent staff and for greater possibilities for independent work fostered by a wider variety of library and laboratory facilities. It is also held that, apart from the operational efficiencies which should result from the economies of scale, the larger units may help to break down sectional loyalties such as tribal and denominational affinities and thus contribute significantly towards building the national spirit.

Use of Instructional Materials: One of the most dramatic developments in teacher education in the last few years has been the rapidly expanding use of modern instructional media in the classrooms of teachers colleges. Although in many colleges text-books are still few and in some cases out of date, and while in many classrooms there is still a real dearth of audio-visual teaching materials, schools in general and teachers colleges in particular have shown considerable interest in the use of media, as Table V demonstrates.

TABLE V
*Audio-Visual and Teaching Aids
in the Teachers Colleges of Kenya and Uganda*

Type of Equipment	KENYA		UGANDA	
	Number of Colleges	Percentage of Colleges	Number of Colleges	Percentage of Colleges
Tape Recorder	18	69.2	25	96.2
16 mm Sound				
Film Projector	22	84.6	24	92.3
Overhead				
Projector	6	23.1	18	69.2
Slide Projector	11	42.3	21	80.8
Filmstrip				
Projector	8	30.8	—	—
Radio	14	53.8	23	88.5
Record Player	9	38.5	—	—
TV Sets	10	38.5	14	53.8

Source: For Kenya, see Kenya Institute of Education, *New Directions in Teacher Education*. Proceedings of the Second Kenya Conference 1968. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969, p. 137, Table 9.

For Uganda, see National Institute of Education, *Prelude to Planning*. A Survey conducted by Charles Pratt, 1969.

It is difficult to explain how small teachers colleges with limited funds have been able to afford the considerable investment represented by these instructional materials. It is, however, clear that many colleges have acquired much of the equipment as gifts from donor agencies. Also the Teacher Education for East Africa Project may have helped to trigger off some of this enthusiasm. Each tutor posted to a college under the Project is given a small grant for the purchase of teaching materials. Since the Project started in 1964 about \$ 100,000 has been injected into the teachers colleges of East Africa in the form of instructional materials.

A considerable investment is being made in instructional media of various kinds, particularly projection equipment. It is estimated, for example, that in the schools and colleges of Uganda, investment in 16 mm sound film projectors alone approaches \$ 150,000. It is not clear, however, what educational dividends this investment produces. Until 1968, there were no educational film libraries or instructional resource centres in East Africa to lend films or other visual aids to schools and colleges. The National Institute of Education at Makerere, aided by the Nuffield Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, established in that year a Teaching Materials Production and Documentation Centre, and since then considerable progress has been made towards making available to schools, colleges and teachers centres, at a manageable cost, the supporting services necessary for audio-visual education. The need for expansion of these services is very great, and the cost is daunting: but unless such services are initiated, teachers cannot be expected to integrate the use of audiovisual material into their teaching. Where they do exist (at Makerere and, in an inchoate fashion, at the embryo Teachers Centres under the wing of that University's Audio-Visual Aids Centre) the services are eagerly and profitably exploited.

NOTES

- 1) Government of Kenya, Ministry of Education, *Triennial Survey 1964-66 and Annual Report 1966*. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1967, p. 40, Table 1(b).
- 2) Freeman R. BUTTS, "Teacher Education and Modernisation," G.Z.F. BEREDAY (ed.), *Essays on World Education*. Oxford: University Press, 1964, p. 114.
- 3) Uganda Government, Ministry of Education, *Annual Statistics*, 1967, Table 22 (cyclostyled).
- 4) Government of Kenya, Ministry of Education, *Triennial Survey 1964-66 and Annual Report 1966*, *op. cit.*, p. 46, Table 5.
- 5) For the qualifications of TTC staff in Kenya, see also Kenya Institute of Education, *New Directions in Teacher Education*. Proceedings of the Second Kenya Conference 1968. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969, p. 134, Table 2.
- 6) Uganda Government, *Education in Uganda*, Report of the Uganda Education Commission 1963. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1964, p. 78.
- 7) Julius K. NYERERE, *Education for Self Reliance*. United Republic of Tanzania. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967, pp. 9-10.

- 8) A. MILTON OBOTE, Independence Speech, October 9, 1968. *Uganda Argus*, October 10, 1968.
- 9) Tanganyika African National Union, *The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self Reliance*. Dar es Salaam: TANU, 1967.
- 10) Julius K. NYERERE, *Freedom and Unity*. Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 162-171.
- 11) The information on the re-organisation of teacher education in Tanzania is based on various circulars issued by the Ministry of Education, Tanzania. I am indebted to Mr. G. Auger of the Institute of Education, University College, Dar es Salaam, for his assistance in locating these circulars. See also Solomon N. ELIEFO, "The Aims and Purposes of Tanzanian Education since Independence," Idrian N. RESNICK (ed.), *Tanzania: Revolution by Education*. Dar es Salaam: Longmans, 1968, pp. 37-39.
- 12) See James R. SHEFFIELD (ed.), *Education, Employment and Rural Development*. Report of the Kericho (Kenya) Conference 1966. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967.
- 13) Government of Kenya, Report of the Agricultural Education Commission. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1967, p. 96.
- 14) UNESCO, *Uganda: Rural Education in Primary Schools*. Paris: UNESCO, No. 1140/BMS.RD/APS, March 1969. See also: UNESCO, No. 725/BMS.RD/APS, August 1968, and No. 636/BMS.RD/APS, June 1968.
- 15) James R. SHEFFIELD (ed.), *Education, Employment and Rural Development*, p. 23. See also: Institute of Education Studies, University of Sussex, Report of Study Seminar, *Development Planning: Employment, Education and Manpower*, held at Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda, 4 May to 13 June, 1969, p. 28.
- 16) Kenya Institute of Education, *New Directions in Teacher Education*, p. 20.
- 17) C. E. BEEBY, *The Quality of Education in Developing Countries*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966, pp. 7-17.
- 18) Kenya Institute of Education, *Progress Report 1967-1968*, pp. 9-11.
- 19) Details of Uganda's proposed regional colleges are contained in Alice M. MIEL and Henry J. RISETTO, *Teacher Training Curriculum and Facility Factors related to Uganda Teacher Training College Loan Analysis*. New York: Columbia University, 1960, pp. 92. Government of Kenya, *Kenya Education Commission Report*. Part I. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1964, p. 111.
- 20) Solomon ELIEFO, "The Aims and Purposes of Tanzanian Education since Independence", p. 38.

NEUE ZIELE DER LEHRERBILDUNG IN OSTAFRIKA

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Die drei ostafrikanischen Staaten Kenia, Tanzania und Uganda bilden eine geschlossene geographische Einheit, deren jüngste Geschichte verwandte Merkmale aufweist und vielfältige Ähnlichkeiten zwischen den Völkern erkennen läßt. Sie bilden die Ostafrikanische Gemeinschaft, um eine wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit zu gewährleisten und gemeinsame Probleme zu lösen. Als vordringliches sozio-ökonomisches Problem stellt sich die wachsende Nachfrage nach Bildung, die als sicherster Weg zu sozialem und wirtschaftlichem Fortschritt angesehen wird. Obwohl diese Staaten 4 bis 6% ihres Bruttosozialprodukts (über 20% des Jahreshaushalts) für das Erziehungswesen ausgeben, kann die Nachfrage keineswegs auch nur annähernd gedeckt werden, und mit dem ständigen Anwachsen der Bevölkerung verringern sich die Bildungschancen. Das Erziehungssystem und seine Lehrpläne waren bisher darauf ausgerichtet, eine städtische Elite heranzubilden. Die Beschäftigungsmöglichkeiten der Städte reichen jedoch heute bei der Saturierung des Stellenmarktes keineswegs mehr aus, um die Schulabgänger aufzunehmen. Um ein

weiteres Ansteigen der Arbeitslosigkeit in den Städten zu verhindern, ist es daher eine vordringliche Aufgabe, das Bildungswesen umzugestalten, und mit Hilfe von Lehrplänen, die den lokalen Gegebenheiten angepaßt sind, das Interesse der Jugend auf eine aussichtsreiche Arbeit und ein zufriedenstellendes Leben auf dem Lande zu richten. Insbesondere muß der Lehrplan der Primarschule umgestaltet werden, um allen Kindern eine echte Schulbildung zu vermitteln, anstatt eine Minderheit auf die weiterführende Schule vorzubereiten und die Mehrheit in halbalphabetisierter Stagnation zu lassen.

Durch die Lehrplanreform wird die Frage nach der angemessenen Qualität und Quantität der Lehrerbildung aufgeworfen. Im Primarsektor haben verhältnismäßig viele Lehrer entweder keine angemessene oder überhaupt keine Ausbildung. Sie sind infolgedessen unsicher und den Anforderungen einer Reform nicht gewachsen. An den Lehrerausbildungsstätten sind die afrikanischen Tutoren häufig für ihre Arbeit nicht ausreichend qualifiziert und stellen bisher nicht einmal die Hälfte des Personals während es im Sekundarbereich noch immer sehr wenige afrikanische Lehrer gibt, die zudem vielfach keinen Universitätsabschluß besitzen. Das Problem der Lehrerbildung hat daher mehrere Aspekte: Es müssen genügend qualifizierte Lehrer ausgebildet und ständig weitergebildet werden und sie müssen sich voll und ganz für die Wiederbelebung des sozialen, kulturellen und wirtschaftlichen Lebens auf dem Lande einsetzen. Die drei ostafrikanischen Partnerstaaten machen alle Anstrengungen, um diesen Forderungen durch aktive Unterstützung von pädagogischen Instituten und Rationalisierungsplänen sowie durch Entwicklung von Lehrmaterial und wirksamen Lehrerfortbildungsprogrammen nachzukommen. Die bisherige Reaktion der Lehrer läßt erkennen, daß die neuen Ziele der Lehrerbildung mit außerordentlichem Enthusiasmus und großen Hoffnungen für die Zukunft verfolgt werden.

NOUVELLES DIRECTIONS

DANS LA FORMATION D'ENSEIGNANTS EN AFRIQUE DE L'EST

par W. SENTEZA KAJUBI, Kampala, Ouganda

Les trois pays d'Afrique de l'Est du Kenya, de la Tanzanie et de l'Ouganda forment un complexe géographique unifié et présentent des similarités dans les développements historiques récents, et de nombreuses affinités entre leurs peuples. Ils constituent ensemble la Communauté d'Afrique de l'Est et partagent les institutions économiques – et les problèmes. Le plus grand des problèmes socio-économiques est peut-être celui que posent les revendications croissantes d'enseignement que les gens considèrent comme la "voie royale" au progrès social et économique. Bien que les pays dépensent de 4 à 6% de leur produit national brut (plus de 20% de leur budget total annuel) pour l'éducation, ces revendications ne sont pas du tout près d'être satisfaites. L'explosion démographique dans ces pays est telle que les chances d'être éduqué sont relativement en régression. Le système d'éducation et ses programmes d'étude ont jusqu'à présent eu tendance à produire une élite urbanisée, mais les possibilités d'emploi urbain sont maintenant, avec la saturation du marché, tout à fait incapables d'absorber la production du système scolaire. C'est pourquoi il s'impose avant tout de réorienter le système d'éducation pour arrêter l'afflux vers les emplois urbains non disponibles et de diriger, au moyen de programmes d'étude appropriés aux réalités locales, les aspirations de la jeunesse vers une vie à la cam-

pagne prospère et satisfaisante. Il faut, plus particulièrement, reconcevoir le programme d'étude de l'école primaire, de sorte que le secteur primaire éduque vraiment la majorité pour laquelle il fournit un enseignement terminal au lieu de préparer une minorité à obtenir d'autres résultats académiques en abandonnant la majorité dans une stagnation mi-lettrée.

La réforme du programme scolaire soulève à son tour la question du caractère adéquat (quantitativement et qualitativement) des enseignants. Au niveau primaire, un nombre relativement grand d'instituteurs ne sont pas suffisamment éduqués, ils ont reçu une formation insuffisante ou pas de formation du tout et sont, par conséquent, incertains et incapables de faire face aux exigences de la réforme. Les professeurs africains dans les écoles normales sont souvent insuffisamment qualifiés et leur nombre est encore moins élevé que la moitié du personnel enseignant, tandis que les enseignants africains dans le secteur secondaire sont peu élevés en nombre et sont trop souvent sans titre universitaire. Le problème de la formation d'enseignants est par conséquent triple : il faut former des enseignants en nombre suffisant, il faut qu'ils soient qualifiés de manière appropriée et qu'ils suivent continuellement des cours de rafraîchissement et il faut qu'ils s'engagent totalement à la renaissance sociale, culturelle et économique de la vie rurale africaine. Les trois états membres de l'Afrique de l'Est s'imposent la tâche urgente de remplir ces exigences, au moyen d'Instituts d'Education actifs et de plans de rationalisation, ainsi qu'en développant le matériel d'enseignement et les programmes massifs de formation en cours d'exercice. Jusqu'à présent, les réactions provenant d'enseignants indiquent que l'on applique les nouvelles directions dans la formation d'enseignants avec un enthousiasme considérable et de grands espoirs pour l'avenir.

COMMUNICATIONS - BERICHTE - COMMUNICATIONS

REPORT: THE ENTEBBE MATHEMATICS PROJECT

Introduction

The Entebbe Mathematics Series is produced by the African Education Programme, which is one of many projects of the Education Development Centre (EDC), a non-profit American organization based in Newton, Massachusetts. EDC was founded by academics interested in improving curricula and instruction and its African Education Programme (AEP) was initiated in response to African demand for curricula reform which would accord with the needs of national growth and development. This was in the 1950's when as a result of the independence movement, Africans assumed responsibility for education. Funds for the AEP Mathematics Project have come largely from USAID and the Ford Foundation.

The Entebbe Mathematics Series (EMS) were written at annual summer conferences between 1962 and 1968 and derived their name from Entebbe, Uganda, where the first three conferences were held. The majority of participants at these conferences were from Africa, the United States and the United Kingdom. The African participants (from Ghana, Ethiopia, Liberia, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Uganda,

Sierra Leone, Tanzania and Zambia) constituted 102 out of a total of 186 persons who wrote the series. Most of the participants were teachers from schools and universities.

Purpose

African education experts, expatriate officers in Africa and some Americans met in 1961 to develop more useful and realistic curricula and improve instruction. Particularly, the group concerned with mathematics decided in 1962 to write a few preliminary texts. Since then, the mathematics section of AEP has developed more texts, initiated extensive in-service teacher training programmes and undertaken other activities to improve mathematics instruction.

The EMS Texts

67 volumes of texts have been written and these cover the entire primary, teacher training, secondary and sixth form levels of work. This large number results from writing a separate teacher's guide for each pupil's book. Particularly at the primary level it has been necessary to write other texts to supplement the deficiencies of the ordinary teacher in mathematics and in methodology. To this end, a *Source Book* and *Handbook* provide more advanced treatment of the basic ideas, while a comprehensive *Curriculum Guide* offers advice on the lesson-by-lesson and the year-by-year organization of materials to meet the demands of a six, seven or eight year primary school programme.

A basic premise underlying the mathematics writing is that younger nations, like older ones, face new challenges requiring new knowledge and a willingness to experiment and learn new ways, and that an understanding of mathematics should help the young to tackle the new problems better. The mathematics group believes that mathematics is alive, exciting and interesting and that everybody should be able to use the elementary concepts taught normally in primary and secondary schools. Hence the stress on understanding *why* things are done. The texts encourage students to participate actively in learning so as to discover some of the important ideas in mathematics for themselves. They play down rote memorization and strive to explain rules. Ideas are introduced early and simply, revised frequently, and developed logically even as their area of application is expanded from year to year. The elementary school series cover number and numeration, operations of numbers, arithmetic relations, geometry, measurement, probability and statistics and the applications of all these topics to everyday living.

From Book One, major mathematical ideas are introduced informally, and in succeeding years they are revised and treated in greater depth. The various threads are interwoven to show the relationship between arithmetic, geometry and algebra. In particular, measurement is taught not as a series of formulae but rather to assist children appreciate the need for measurement and standard and local measures. Further measurement serves to link arithmetic and geometry. New topics like motion geometry, graphs, statistics and probability stress learning through activity and discovering facts by doing.

A basic assumption of the secondary texts is that young people are more capable of understanding mathematical ideas and concepts than is normally supposed. The emphasis is on understanding concepts rather than mere manipulation. Activities are introduced to ensure that students understand the properties of the real number system and that they know *why* numbers behave the way they do. Initially, an

intuitive approach is adopted but more formal treatment follows to ensure comprehension of the properties of geometric figures, simple vectors, rigid motion and some patterns of logical reasoning. An informal approach to functions leads to the use of algebra to deduce geometric facts, and to study rigid motion and other transformations of the plane, enabling students to appreciate mathematics as a language designed to express certain kinds of ideas.

In additional and advanced mathematics the main objective is to ensure a good introduction to calculus, linear algebra, probability and statistics and build a solid foundation for students doing further work in mathematics and related areas. The texts are also designed to enable students with a traditional background in mathematics to use them.

The *Basic Concepts* (four volumes) written specially for teachers in training assume a minimum elementary school arithmetic background. They emphasize the need for teachers to understand above all the properties of the real number system and how to teach about it. The language in these texts is simplified and the books make allowance for the poor background of many teachers. An informal presentation of basic ideas in geometry, functions, measurement, statistics and probability provides a broader base for the teacher.

Evaluation and Testing

At the first writing workshop, it became obvious that the new presentation and the new materials could not be adequately evaluated by the traditional testing papers. Consequently, a testing sub-group was formed to write tests appropriate for the materials produced and the type of education desired. Specimen test items and examinations have been produced for primary three through primary five, secondary one through secondary three and in additional mathematics. For teachers colleges, short answer tests and essay type questions have been constructed. These tests have been pre-tested and are available. In addition the group has formulated a syllabus for ordinary-level school leaving examination, and produced specimen primary school leaving examinations.

Mathematics Institutes or In-service Training

When the EMS were introduced into African Schools in 1963, mathematics institutes or conferences were arranged by AEP and national Ministries of Education in the co-operating countries cited earlier. Some countries were able to arrange two or more institutes annually using overseas lecturers. Soon it became obvious that this method would not meet the need to prepare large numbers of teachers to handle the new materials in each country.

Consequently, AEP with the assistance of the Ford Foundation and the collaboration of the various Ministries of Education, provided for three annual International Mathematics Institutes in Nairobi starting in 1966. These conferences, better known as the ABC Mathematics Institutes, trained a cadre of inspectors and teachers for each participating African country and Swaziland. Each month-long conference sought to upgrade the mathematical competence of the teachers as well as introduce them to better ways of teaching so that they could assist and direct their own country's mathematics education. In the period between institutes, African university lecturers who were tutors in Nairobi continued correspondence courses with the teachers, thus building a close relationship between university, Ministry and

school personnel in each country. Over 85 people were continuously associated in this exercise. Increasingly the ABC participants are being co-opted by Ministries to help prepare new syllabuses and run in-service courses for teachers. Others are engaged in adapting EMS to suit their country's requirements.

Films and Tapes

Since 1966, films have been produced on teaching situations where EMS are used. The films have shortcomings but they serve to give African teachers an opportunity to criticize other teachers. Experience indicates that, better than any other media, the films stimulate teachers to an awareness of the superiority of activity and discovery to authoritarian and lecture methods. Secondly, recorded dialogues and monologues are being produced. Each of the tapes develops a single topic from the *Basic Concepts*, analyses a concept and focuses thinking on the essentials. They are of immense value to teachers.

Applications

A satisfying aspect of the Entebbe Mathematics Project is that the books are being used either in their original form or with minor adaptations to suit local conditions. Almost a million texts have been published and requests for EMS are now world-wide. A rough estimate shows that over two million pupils are using the Entebbe texts, and the number is increasing.

Tanzania has translated the primary series into Swahili, and published several hundred thousand copies; it intended to introduce the secondary series to all its schools by 1970 and it uses the additional mathematics and teacher training texts. Ghana, Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, Zambia and Sierra Leone have all introduced EMS or adaptations at some level to some of their schools. Ethiopia plans Amharic translations for the primary level. In Nigeria, over forty-five primary schools use the texts in Lagos while leading secondary schools in Lagos, and the Western and Mid-Western States use the secondary series. The University of Wisconsin Northern Nigeria Teacher Training Project introduced EMS into seven leading Colleges in the northern states of Nigeria. This pilot project has fused the EMS secondary and teacher training texts to develop a series specially suited to its five-year teachers colleges.

Effect

The original purpose of AEP is being achieved, for the texts are being used in many African school systems and have set in motion a whole series of activities directed towards improving mathematics education. Since 1963 teachers using EMS have been encouraged to criticize them, in the belief that text books are not sacred documents to be slavishly followed. Perhaps this practice has led to the claim that a most significant contribution of the AEP Mathematics programme is its influence on Africans and Europeans, and especially on British publishing houses, leading them to re-examine their mathematics publications and search for Africans to write and develop good mathematics series for African countries.

Even unfavourable criticism of the EMS has sometimes led to the introduction of good texts, developed for other school systems and not originally meant for the African market, and the EMS have certainly spurred expatriate teachers in Africa to write mathematics texts.

Conclusion

The EMS have sometimes been dubbed American but this is to ignore the valuable contribution of the African participants, who feel keenly the African origin of the series. Moreover the whole exercise has provided an international forum for teaching and learning, unprecedented in the annals of education. Africans, working with Europeans and Americans, have produced mathematics texts good enough for use anywhere in the world. Mutual benefits have been derived by all concerned and the project has clearly contributed to international understanding.

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THE WEST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL

From December 1949 to March 1950 the late Dr. G. B. Jeffrey, F.R.S., Director of the Institute of Education of the University of London, visited West Africa at the invitation of the British Secretary of State for the Colonies "to study and advise upon the proposal that there should be instituted a West African School Examinations Council," which would deal with secondary school examinations. It was to that question that he devoted most of his attention. However, he came to the conclusion that it was necessary to establish a body empowered to deal with a wide range of examinations and not merely with those to be taken at the end of secondary school courses. On his recommendation the West African Examinations Council was set up in 1951, as the examining authority for Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Gambia. It was given wide powers to conduct such examinations as might be considered to be in the public interest.

The Council is made up of 32 members including the chairman. Some of the members are nominated by the governments of the four countries and some by the national committees of the Council in these Countries. The Universities of Cambridge and London have one representative each. Much of the Council's work is done by committees. Members of the national committees in the four countries are appointed by secondary school teachers' organisations, universities, university colleges and Ministries of Education. Two important committees, the Finance Committee and the School Examinations Committee, are responsible for the general administrative and academic policies of the Council. Matters of concern to only one country are delegated to a sub-committee in that country. The School Examinations Committee is advised by subject panels. There are also committees controlling particular examinations or groups of examinations.

The Council conducts examinations either on its own authority or on behalf of other examining bodies. The examinations the Council conducts on its own are its national and international examinations. The national examinations which are restricted to one of the member countries of the Council include the Middle School Leaving Certificate examination; Entrance Examinations to Secondary Schools and Teacher Training Colleges; Final Examinations for Teacher Training Colleges; Civil Service Competitive Examinations. The Council's international examinations are for its Ordinary Level General Certificate of Education (GCE) – taken in Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Gambia – and the West African School Certificate/GCE which is taken in Nigeria. The Council, in collaboration with the Universities of London and Cambridge, is also conducting in certain subjects Advanced Level examinations

for the GCE and the Higher School Certificate respectively. A phased programme for the Council to take over completely examining at the Advanced Level was initially begun in 1967 with the three subjects – Economics, Economic History and Government. Other subjects will be added as and when new syllabuses are approved.

The examinations the Council conducts for other examining boards are those of the University of London, the City and Guilds of London Institute, the Royal Society of Arts, the Associated Examining Board and the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music. The Council acts on behalf of a large number of professional bodies (about 38) which make their examinations available in West Africa. The candidates submit their entries to the examining bodies and the Council arranges only accommodation, invigilation and the safe custody of scripts.

All questions connected with the holding of examinations also receive the attention of the Council. For example, the Council is responsible for the revision of examination syllabuses and the schemes of Secondary School Examinations to ensure that examinations serve current West African needs and that the syllabuses do not inhibit new developments in the curricula of the schools in West Africa. This revision is the task of subject panels which have been set up by the Council. The members of these panels are drawn from Secondary Schools, Universities, University Colleges, the Ministries of Education and the chief examiners in the subjects concerned. The recognition of schools for the presentation of examination candidates as well as for the recruitment and training of examiners also fall within the scope of the Council's activities.

In the examinations it holds for candidates from the Primary and Middle Schools, the Council makes extensive use of objective testing, in order to examine a large number of candidates in a way which eliminates any subjective or chance elements from the marking.

The West African Examinations Council pioneered the use of punch-card machines and electronic calculators for scoring objective tests. In Ghana it now uses an IBM 1,230 Optical Mark Scoring Reader for scoring these tests and in that country alone some 626,000 scripts will have been marked by the end of 1966 in this way. The Council has taken measures to profit from recent developments in the United States in the scientific construction and scoring of tests, and has set up a development unit known as TEDRO (Test Development and Research Office).

The Council's work has greatly increased throughout its existence and will continue to expand as the educational systems of the countries it serves develop. The Table (including all four Council countries) gives an indication of the trend.

TABLE

	1954	1960	1964	1967
Number of candidates	35,000	220,000	318,000	480,000
Number of scripts marked	45,000	410,000	954,000	1,600,000
Budget	£90,000	£410,000	£724,000	£1,067,000

In Ghana the Council's responsibilities continue to grow both in terms of the number of candidates examined and of the range of examinations provided. Thus in 1958 the Council became responsible for an examination used to help select pupil teachers, and in 1965 it dealt with most of the papers taken by students completing the four-year training course. In 1960 the Council established its own School Certificate Examinations for pupils in the fifth forms of secondary schools in Ghana and Sierra Leone (now also taken by pupils in the Gambia and in one school in Nigeria). In 1965 this became a GCE Examination at the Ordinary Level. In Nigeria the Council in 1966 completed taking over responsibility for the West African School Certificate Examination, which it had conducted in the past in collaboration with the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate.

The Head Office of the Council is in Accra, with a Registrar responsible for day-to-day administration. There are national offices in Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, as well as an office in London. In the Gambia the Council operates through the Ministry of Education, although a national office is now envisaged. The Council's London Representative carries on negotiations with examining bodies in the United Kingdom, manages the Council's security and printing programme, checks the proofs of question papers and makes arrangements for the marking of examination scripts by examiners on leave from West Africa and for Award Meetings conducted by Moderators recruited in the United Kingdom.

The Council is supported by the governments of Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Gambia. The Council has received financial aid and technical assistance from Britain and the United States. The British Government grants funds for the training of examiners and the British Council assigns an English Language Specialist to the Council. The Ford Foundation has given financial support towards the cost of developing objective testing and a staff training programme. USAID is giving technical assistance by providing consultants in test development and funds for international travel and other related projects.

Educational research carried out by the West African Examinations Council is undertaken by the Test Development and Research Office (TEDRO), with its headquarters at the Lagos Office. TEDRO was established on 1st April, 1966, when the former Objective Testing Unit of the Council and the Nigerian Aptitude Testing Unit were formally merged with a Research Evaluation and Statistical Analysis Unit and formed into a single organisation as an integral part of the Council.

TEDRO has the task of co-ordinating the test development and research programmes of the Council. Its specific aims can be stated briefly as follows: to develop and construct achievement tests at different levels of education; to develop aptitude tests for selection for various purposes; to undertake research into the validity of the tests used.

To begin with the Objective Testing Unit concentrated on developing objective tests of achievement, and the Aptitude Testing Unit on aptitude tests and selection programmes with services to commercial and industrial firms. The Research and Statistical Analysis Unit was responsible for basic research and evaluation of the tests developed and it provided statistical information to the Council's offices in Accra, Lagos and Freetown on the examinations taken.

TEDRO's structure has recently been modified, and it is now organised into five sections: the Secondary Achievement Examinations Section; the Secondary Selection, Guidance and Evaluation Section; the Professional and Higher Academic

Examinations Section; the Commercial, Technical Examinations Section; the Research Evaluation and Statistical Analysis Section.

The governments of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Federal Nigeria provide subventions to TEDRO, and it has also received financial and technical assistance from the Ford Foundation, the British Council and USAID.

The Council has set up an International Committee for TEDRO, which will report to the Council in a capacity analogous to that of the Administrative and Finance Committee and the Schools Examinations Committee. The Committee will be responsible for determining the broad policies of TEDRO, by reviewing its activities and making recommendations to the Council.

Certain aspects of the West African Examinations Council are of particular interest. The first is the debt which the Council owes to the Examinations Councils of London University and Cambridge. Their representatives helped to familiarise the West African Council with the mechanism conducting of examinations. Later the Council improved briefly on their methods by being the first Examinations Council to use computerized techniques extensively. The spacing of examinations, the setting of papers, moderating, and all the other steps which precede the actual examinations as well as the steps which follow them, are processes which any new examining body must first master from existing practice before deciding on its own form of action.

Another major problem which faced the Council quite early was that of the modification of existing subjects and, in some cases, initiation of new ones which would suit independent developing countries but which at the same time would maintain the academic standards of the subjects which they replaced. For many years the subject "British Constitution" was a very popular one in the GCE Examinations, probably because its straightforward nature made it easier for African candidates than other subjects. However, educationists in West Africa became increasingly dubious as to how relevant the composition and history of the British House of Lords, for example, were to the region's immediate problems. After much discussion on the matter at committee level, local level, and at the annual meetings of the Council, it was decided to broaden this subject into one called "Government" which covered comparatively the political institutions of other countries.

Another difficult subject was that of Economics. A certain politically active regime in one of the member states felt that radical changes should be made immediately in all spheres of national life. The Council came under heavy criticism, and at one point personal intervention by the Chairman with the Minister of Education and the President himself was necessary. It was felt by the authorities that subjects like economics and history were taught in a manner biased towards the philosophy of Western capitalist countries. In fact, some changes had already been envisaged by the Council, but perhaps not quickly enough. From another viewpoint, certain University Departments of Economics had gone so far as to state that their first year students had to unlearn what they had studied for their GCE Advanced Level Economics of London University. This was an extreme statement, but it had a point.

In history, the Council itself had felt that the content of its syllabus needed a bias towards the newer concepts and findings of modern research into African history. In the late fifties and early sixties particularly, eminent historians, both African and European, at African Universities and abroad, were breaking entirely new ground in African history, revealing great contributions made by Africans which had been previously overlooked. The Examinations Council had by its considerations of history syllabuses was able to stimulate the production of more accurate text books.

Thus the criticisms of nationalistic politicians and educationists in all four countries were already in the process of being met, but the Council was able to accelerate the process, knowing that all sides were travelling towards an agreed destination. There would almost certainly have been a clash if the views of the politicians had differed seriously from those of the Council. The Council was jealous of its educational autonomy, feeling that its international representation brought together many points of view, and that these had always been very aware that the educational system had to fit in with the background and aspirations of African society. The Council sometimes had to point out that it was willing to examine on the basis of syllabuses put forward by different bodies and governments, provided it was clearly understood that the Council was not responsible for the syllabuses, although its undertaking to set examinations on them naturally meant that it could not entirely divest itself of all responsibility for them.

An important advance in recent years has been the forging of a closer association with universities and colleges in the member countries. This was achieved by electing a member from each university and college in West Africa to the School Examinations Committee of the Council. Although it has been clearly recognized by now that the GCE examinations are not designed only for university entrance, most of those who are successful in them do usually seek admission to institutions of higher education. This was sufficient ground for raising the university representation on the Council. There were also periods when some universities felt – as mentioned in the case of Economics above – that some of the subjects taken in the school leaving exams of the Council or those of the examining boards of London and Cambridge Universities were not adequate preparation for their courses. There was a move to set up separate university entrance examinations. The Council, by associating itself more closely with these institutions, was able to make itself more aware of their needs and so save unnecessary duplication. There were other advantages in closely co-operating with the universities. Many of the chief examiners and moderators were university dons, and the Council was able to include in its subject panels some of the outstanding lecturers from West African Universities. Some of them volunteered to write text books and compile anthologies, either by themselves or in collaboration with school teachers, to meet the needs of candidates for the Council's examinations. Thus the association was mutually profitable and succeeded in reducing a growing area of difference.

The chairmanship of the Council has been traditionally held by the head of a University institution. The chairman is of best service to the Council if he has a broad outlook, such as that associated with rectors of French Universities, and takes an active interest not only in higher education but in all rungs of the educational ladder. The Common Entrance examination taken at the age of eleven must concern the chairman equally as much as technical subjects such as woodwork and electricity, or advanced level subjects which overlap with first year University work. It has been the good fortune of the Council that the thorough preparatory work done by the Registrar and his staff and the high level of tact and ability of the Council members have all contributed towards making the task of the chairman and the rotating vice-chairman a rewarding and exciting one.

The annual meetings of the Council are held in the four countries in rotation, and the office of Registrar – a demanding post which continues to be held by able scholarly administrators – calls for extensive travelling to attend national and regional meetings of the Council's sub-committees. Another factor contributing to the success

of the Council has been the continuity of membership of a small nucleus, which has allowed meetings to be conducted with speed and a clear understanding of past actions, present intentions and future expectations of the work of the Council. Yet at the same time, new or substitute members are continually being recruited to bring different approaches and viewpoints to the deliberations.

During the colonial period and in the immediate pre-independence era, several West African boards dealing with various topics, such as air travel, medical research, rice research and other matters were constituted. Most of them disintegrated as the former colonies became independent. The West African Examinations Council had the distinction of being one of the few if not the only one to survive in toto. It did so by showing a willingness to adjust itself quickly to the circumstances of fully independent nations. Its chairman and officers realised more speedily than others that their primary purpose was to serve the governments of newly independent nations who were rightly jealous of their privileges. Perhaps tribute should be paid here to the Chief Education Officers of the member territories who acted as an effective liaison between the Council and their respective governments, sometimes under very difficult circumstances. No country should be singled out, for all worked extremely hard. But it was obvious that Nigeria, the largest country, presented more difficulties than the others, with its particular problems with regionalisation and a central federal authority.

The Council continues to carry out a process of self-examination and has recently decided to subject itself to a general review of its administrative structure and to any reorganisation which may be necessary. Its TEDRO branch has also been recently reviewed.

The future of the Council seems very promising, provided the co-operation of individual governments continues. The Council has envisaged extending its activities in future beyond the four Commonwealth territories of Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ghana and the Gambia. It has accepted Liberia into associate membership and its Registrar has visited East Africa to advise on the setting up of an Examinations Council there. Links with the French-speaking territories might be more difficult but should not be impossible. African education should not be bound forever by the distinctive heritages of its former colonial masters. It should use those outstanding qualities which are related and suitable for Africa as guidelines towards producing systems more distinctively African which reach a high level comparable to educational standards in other parts of the world.

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BOOK REVIEWS – BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN ANALYSES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

ALTBACH, PHILIP G., *Student Politics in Bombay*. London : Asia Publishing House, 1968. pp. 218. 45/-.

This further monograph in the Indian Education Series sponsored by the exchange programme between the University of Michigan and the Universities of Bombay and of Baroda is designed to provide basic data about the development and current status of student activism in India. Philip Altbach has focussed his investigation on the city of Bombay, due to its prominence in the student movement he examines; and he has brought to his study the dual approach of historian and sociologist.

He begins with a summary of generally received notions about student activism in developing countries, and follows, as a setting for his own enquiry, with some sociological reflections about the student community in India and a brief outline of the educational system in Bombay. The core of his book is devoted to a historical account of the rise and fall of the student movement in Bombay from its origins in the extra-curricular activity of the nineteenth century to its virtual eclipse in the aftermath of Independence. A final section adds a case study in student communal organisations, and an examination of the role of the student press, and ends with a summary of the findings of the historical section, a distillation of hypotheses to set against those in the opening chapter, and a brief conclusion.

Dr. Altbach's dual approach involves some repetition, but his preliminary sociological comments – in which he anticipates some of his conclusions – offer a helpful guide to what follows, and the core of his work provides a skillful reconstruction of the growth of student organisational activity and its progressive involvement in the nationalist struggle. His account is greatly enriched by the field work on which it so largely depends; the reminiscences he has extracted from former student leaders, journalists and others, particularly of the culmination of student activism in the crucial months of 1942, give permanent value to his work as well as a welcome touch of vividness. Despite an elaborate progression of findings, hypotheses and conclusions, Dr. Altbach leaves it to his readers to make the ultimate appraisal invited by his introductory remarks. Some of his findings give added validity to the hypotheses with which he started. Others highlight the peculiar features of the Indian situation; and of these the most remarkable is surely the degree to which the student movement in Bombay – and, indeed, in India as a whole – should have burnt itself out in the fierce heat of the nationalist struggle. Given the context of Indian higher education, it is astonishing that the student experience gained in those years should not have been turned to more account in campus issues subsequently, and that vigorous student activism should have degenerated so completely into ill-led student indiscipline or simple inertia. Surprisingly, Dr. Altbach does not consider how far traditional values in Indian culture may have contributed to this result.

Both historians and sociologists will be grateful for this study: historians for the new evidence it provides of an influential pressure group in the struggle for independence, and sociologists for a further yardstick with which to judge the student organisations and movements in other developing countries. But *Student Politics in Bombay* contains much of interest, too, for all concerned with the present phase

of student unrest in the West: not least, perhaps, its refreshing reminder of the high ideals that can lie at the root of militant student activism.

It is to be hoped that later volumes in this series may be spared the deplorably low printing standards of the present one.

MARY A. ANDERSON, Dorking, England

ALTBACH, PHILIP G. (ed.), *Turmoil and Transition: Higher Education and Student Politics in India*. New York: Basic Books, 1968. pp. 278. \$ 7.50.

The essays brought together in this symposium are in the nature of a progress report on a continuing investigation, which is part of the Comparative Student Project at Harvard directed by Professor S. M. Lipset. They have been contributed by seven sociologists – six American and one Indian – and combine the reflections of experienced observers with the detailed findings of younger research workers. Anyone seeking an insight into the problem of student unrest in India will find them an admirable guide. Indeed, the book is likely to become one of the most valuable studies emerging from Professor Lipset's Project.

Of the six main essays, the first three are devoted to studies in an all-India context: an opening essay from the editor, chiefly valuable for the historical background it supplies to the present unrest; a characteristically sensitive article from Edward Shils discussing the academic and sociological factors underlying it (it is a tribute to Shils' perception that the editor should not have found it necessary to explain that this was first published as far back as 1961); and a concluding essay from Joseph Gusfield boldly illuminating the character of staff-student relations by a comparative study of campus conditions in India and the United States. The three remaining essays are devoted to detailed studies of the disorder at individual universities: studies which illustrate (and to some extent qualify) the generalisations that have gone before, but which also add fresh insights of their own. Joseph Di Bona, in his examination of the troubles at the veteran University of Allahabad, provides a fascinating, though untypical, example of the "rural buffeting" which contributes so largely to the turbulence on the Indian campus. R. C. Shaw, and A. K. Singh, writing respectively of the recent disturbances at the younger universities of Osmania and Ranchi, disclose the grim reality of political intervention in Indian academic life.

One of the attractive features of this symposium is the degree to which unity and form accompany the refreshing diversity of viewpoint and judgement in its pages. Read in the sequence in which they are presented, the six main essays provide a developing conspectus of the problem they examine. The volume concludes appropriately with an appendix, by Margaret Cormack, which builds on the previous material whilst retaining a distinctly individual standpoint. This forward-looking summary of the development of student unrest in the 1960s, interpreted as a race between the forces of corruption and the growing points of excellence in the Indian system of higher education, is one of the most thoughtful essays in the book.

But it is to the introduction contributed by Edward Shils that most readers will wish to return on completing a first reading of this volume. For it is here that the report is given its most purposeful thrust; here that the really effective conclusion is drawn. It takes stock of recent research, indicating the results already achieved,

and the gaps that remain to be filled. (A special plea is addressed to Indian scholars.) More important, it anticipates the inertia of despair by suggesting the measures immediately needed to prevent the present situation from becoming dangerously out of hand. All these measures find support in the essays that follow.

MARY A. ANDERSON, Dorking, England

ASHBY, ERIC, in association with ANDERSON, MARY, *Universities: British, Indian, African. A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966. pp. 558. 84/-.

Sir Eric Ashby is one of the few who have undertaken to examine and interpret the massive educational revolution that has taken place on our globe since the close of World War II. He has written with clarity, humanity and wit about the technology (to use his own phrase) of higher education, and in the process has identified, and illuminated, aspects of its phenomenology which are less well understood, but perhaps more important than its customary patterns. His credentials, in terms of positions of responsibility held, and recorded achievements, as scientist, as administrator, and as analyst and counselor, are of the highest standard and his name and his role are among the best known in the field of higher education today.

Having set down this reviewer's opinions as to Sir Eric's qualifications, it is also necessary to record that he came late to the field of educational analysis. He came not as an educationist (an omission for which he has never been forgiven by some practitioners in that field) but as an administrator schooled to the empiricism and detachment of a scientist. He is not by training a scholar in the social disciplines (although as this book has proved, he can work superbly in tandem with a scholar colleague such as Mary Anderson), and he has not held administrative posts in Indian or African universities. These are not recorded as statements of limitations but as facts to complete this record of his qualifications and experience.

Sir Eric makes plain, in his introductory statement of purpose, the frame of reference within which the study was prepared. He remarks that over a dozen years he has, in advising on the development of university institutions in Africa, dealt with problems of immediate, local, and practical relevance, such as finance, building programmes, expansion, administration and the spectrum of studies – in short, the technology of higher education. However, he remarks,

Advice was given, or decisions were made, within a framework of assumptions which my colleagues and I never had time to examine, still less to question. The elements of the framework were first, assumptions about the history of "British policy" for the export of universities to the Commonwealth; second, assumptions about the pattern of higher education appropriate for non-European societies to western learning. Our advice was accordingly empirical. We lacked an understanding-in-depth of the problems we were asked to think about; nor did we find books or people to enlighten us (p. ix).

Obviously the book is for the authors an adventure in self-enlightenment, and presumably, although the authors do not say so, an exercise in establishing a base

line which future explorers can use when launching their own expeditions into enlightenment.

Although there are sections on British and/or Indian universities, the book focusses on Africa and, within Africa, on the founding of university institutions in territories under British control or influence and, within that topic, on the development of demands on the institutions and the responses, political and academic, to those demands. There is a quick review of the factors affecting the formation of university institutions in other African regions, and a discussion of the influence of American patterns of higher education (without mention of Liberia and its peculiar American mission origins, possibly because they seem to have had no influence on other African territories).

The focus, so described, may seem restricted, but the importance of the topic is in fact unlimited. The development of higher education in Africa has been one of the great political and intellectual adventures of our time, and this volume is a fine start to the necessary history of that development. Its significance is greater by reason of having been written about events still contemporary by a participant who himself had a major hand in the shaping of some of them.

Yet on this central point the importance of the book is in a sense reduced, for its concern with the form and operations of institutions has resulted in an enforced neglect of the sociology and anthropology of the imposition of new educational institutions on pre-literate societies. It is true that there are references to some of the consequences of the clash between the ideals of the universities, and the realities, political and social, of the societies in which they were set, but we learn little about the reasons for the clashes. This is not because the authors are unaware of the problems of African acceptance of Western education, or its obverse, the effects of African realities upon Western education. In fact they acknowledge them:

Finally we have not attempted, except incidentally in our narrative, to assess the impact of higher education on African communities. On one hand there is no doubt that Africans avidly accept all the Western education they can get, and on the whole prefer it as little altered as possible from the patterns of education to be found in Europe. (One reason for this is that the least adapted patterns of higher education lead to the most prestigious posts.) On the other hand there is equally no doubt that Western education in Africa did not (except so far as it was concerned with science and technology) fill an intellectual vacuum: it displaced indigenous values deeply rooted in the African character, and some thoughtful Africans (and Europeans familiar with Africa) doubt whether the displacement has been for the better. It was Marjery Perham who said that a Western money economy and Christian education are two acids eating into the healthy cells of family and tribal life (p. xii).

This cogent paragraph is full evidence of intellectual readiness to deal with the social aspects of education development. That the authors did not do so was clearly a matter of their choice of a frame of reference.

In structure, the book commences with an unexpected *hors d'œuvre*: a rich chapter on the historical background of modern universities with sections on cosmopolitanism in the medieval university; differentiation among European universities in the 19th century; and the early transplantations of universities beyond Europe. The second chapter of the book presents five distinctive families of 19th century British universities which were available as possible prototypes for export to British

possessions overseas: Oxford, Cambridge, and Trinity College Dublin; London and Queens University of Ireland; Durham; Queen's College, Manchester; and the four universities of Scotland. The authors do not hold any of the five up for admiration or fitness to serve as a model for export.

It is difficult to discern a common social purpose or ideology among these five kinds of universities; nor at that time were there any commonly agreed and clearly enunciated principles of higher education ... Except over theological matters the influence of universities ... was negligible and even the impact of their graduates on the intellectual life of Britain was hard to discern ... Most of the important intellectual advances of the time were being made outside the universities (p. 20).

The discussion of the weaknesses and merits of the five genera is the best summary of the situation of 19th century English universities that the writer knows of. It is a proper prelude to the long section on the founding of Indian universities.

The Indian section is a model of historical research and reconstruction detailing the structural problems which underlay the tragedy of the intellectual failure of the Indian universities. However, it must be said that the monograph informs but does not illuminate. It makes clear that the Indian universities had to contend with certain characteristics of Indian society, but these characteristics are not described, much less analyzed, and their effects are discussed only in generalities. Indian standards are stated to be low, but are not compared with any external criterion such as the standard of the British honors degree either at the turn of the century (when the quality of Indian universities first became a matter of concern), or today. Nowhere is it made clear that today large segments of what is termed university education in India are essentially vocational clerkships, and that intellectually they are hardly above the standard for graduation from an American community college.

The third and central section of the book traces the formation of African institutions, beginning with the era of "Aspirations Without a Policy", which treats the haphazard introduction of education into West Africa from 1835 onwards, including the settlement of a missionary college at Fourah Bay in Sierra Leone in 1848 and the commencement of higher studies at that college, under affiliation with the University of Durham in 1876, thence going through a long series of false starts to the founding of Achimota College in the Gold Coast in the 1920's.

"The Evolution of a Policy" records the rising interest of the Colonial Office in African higher education after the close of the first World War. The following chapter, entitled "The Transplantation", begins with a sentence of striking import: "Underlying British enterprise in providing higher education for her people overseas was one massive assumption that the pattern of university appropriate for Manchester, Exeter, and Hull was *ipso facto* appropriate for Ibadan, Kampala, and Singapore" (p. 224). The chapter itself explores the question as to which of the British patterns was used under a given set of conditions, and thus explains some (but by no means all) of the bewildering organizational patterns incident to the building and development of some of the post-war British colonial universities.

The next two chapters of the section deal with the rooting of the university scions in the soil of national independence and the trials and the mutations which came out of the process. In "Higher Education Takes Root", the authors detail the negotiations and the decisions which took place before, during and after the opening of the new African universities. The chapter also deals with the introduction of the

American Land Grant concept in Nigeria, and the utilization of international committees, with reference to British-American working parties in East and Central Africa. The chapter on "Autonomy and Academic Freedom" completes the frame of reference of the book itself with exploration of the central intellectual – as distinct from social and cultural – problems of African universities today, torn as they are between the centripetal forces of nationalism and the natural centrifugal tendencies of universities.

The book closes with the short chapter already mentioned, dealing with other patterns of higher education in Africa, touching usefully but lightly on French institutions, American influences in Nigeria and Ethiopia, and Belgian myopia in the Congo.

The book which Sir Eric Ashby and Dr. Mary Anderson have produced has the solid virtues of scholarship and of careful exposition of one aspect – basically the constitutional history – of British universities overseas. As such, it is a valuable book particularly as a source of the sort of indispensable information on the founding of institutions which tends to disappear within a few years after the events. But despite its virtues it is a disappointment, when compared with what it could have been and what students in the field had hoped for. The shorter books and papers of Sir Eric Ashby (including his central responsibility for what was properly thought of as the Ashby report on Nigerian education), gave us reason to expect that this book would deal in depth with the social and cultural consequences of the transplantation of western university patterns into African and Indian matrices.

Certainly no one has yet undertaken such a study, and certainly it needs to be done, for we need to know why so few of the shining promises that surrounded the new universities from 1945 to 1960 have been fulfilled, and we need a guide to the developments that are now taking place. These are direct consequences of the encounters between philosophies and methods of founding and building the anglophone universities of Africa, and the cultures and aspirations of the societies in which they were planted.

Perhaps the most important of these developments, in a political sense, is the emerging struggle between the students, the politicians, and the educators for the control of the universities. The chapter on "Autonomy and Academic Freedom" traces those roots of the struggle which extend into the area of conformity of political ideas, personalities, and the uses of patronage as between government and universities. These were and are important, but they have been subordinated by factors in the development of universities which have placed them in two unpredicted roles. The first role is that of a heavy burden on government finance. Without exception, African universities are growing more rapidly than government incomes, and the money for their support, therefore, must come directly out of funds that would otherwise have gone into other government ministries. In consequence the universities are locked in a continuous struggle with the other agencies of government in their demands for money. The price of success in the struggle is the animosity of all the ministers who have been forced to yield potential budget increases to meet university demands. The price of failure is the lowering of standards and eventual surrender to a creeping intellectual paralysis.

The second role is that of a political stronghold in a power struggle between student and governments. In most African countries universities are places where a unique measure of freedom in political discussion is permitted. They tend therefore, to become centers of dissent and unrest, which governments attempt to keep under some

control, and which the students attempt to enlarge. The struggle is of recent origin, but it is being carried on, at least by the students, with increasing sophistication and a distinct penchant for the use of force. Predictably, the day is not far distant when the students of some African institution will seize an entire university and set up their own revolutionary academy, expelling professors and administrators, replacing them by others of their choice and using themselves as hostages in defiance of armed force. When they do it will be in a sense a family feud, since by and large the African university students are children of the power structure, who are to wait for the day when they will succeed their parents in their seats of power.

Shifting from politics to education, another unpredicted outcome of educational development in Africa has been the almost total failure of efforts in the field of technical education. In hindsight this rests in part on the fact that the institutions selected as models for transplant were themselves unrelated to and often disdainful of technical education. The possibility that other models might have been selected – as for example the American land grant colleges which had long since rationalized technical education on the university level – was, as is plainly pointed out in the volume under review, specifically rejected by the planning authorities. However, lest too much blame be placed on the transplanters of universities, it must also be noted that Africans school leavers show no hesitancy in asserting their antipathy to any kind of training involving manual labor. They have consistently avoided all forms of vocational and technical training whenever freedom of choice has permitted, and they find nothing in present or foreseeable social and cultural patterns which will change their firmly held attitudes. The nature and size of this barrier to the development of technical education is apparently still unrealized by the consultants and missionaries of the great international agencies who continue to prescribe for African education. There is, of course, progress, but the time when technical education will serve as a large scale alternative to university education is obviously still far in the future.

Still another unforeseen event, is the prospect of widespread unemployment for African university graduates. The problems here lies in the fact that African universities were planned as small, select institutions with a limited output and a certain "mix" of graduates with strong emphasis on the pure and applied sciences. In operation neither planning goal has been fulfilled. The universities have been forced to enlarge their enrollment, but they have not been able to maintain the planned proportion of graduates in pure and applied science. As a result there is an undersupply of the science graduates that are in short supply, and an oversupply of arts graduates to fill a limited number of vacancies in the non-technical area of the civil service. The core of the problem rests, of course, in the lower schools which have not been planned, organized or equipped in terms of ultimately producing university graduates and which are not likely to be modified in the foreseeable future.

It is clear to the reader of the volume under review that the authors are familiar with whole families of events such as these. But although they have sometimes grappled briefly with them, they have not engaged them frontally. We may hope they will attempt to do so, for they will assuredly do it well, and their study now so well begun clearly calls for this extra effort, which could truly make it one of the major educational documents of our time.

FRANK BOWLES, Addis Ababa

COOMBS, PHILIP H., *The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis*. Oxford: University Press, 1968. pp. 241. 21/6.

The World Educational Crisis by Philip H. Coombs, the former Director of UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning, comes as a welcome addition to the growing literature in the new field of educational planning. The author is well qualified in his own right as an expert and as head of a research team in planning to illuminate afresh the intricacies of educational planning. In *The World Educational Crisis*, he addresses the whole world, developed and developing nations, on what he calls a crisis in education. He assembles the relevant facts, suggests a strategy for controlling or resolving the crisis and pleads constructively for dealing with an educational system in its entirety, as a whole system.

The seven chapters bear challenging or topical titles: "Angle of Vision," "The Inputs of Educational Systems," "The Outputs of Educational Systems," "Inside the Educational System," "Nonformal Education," "International Co-operation," "Conclusions for Strategy." Each chapter opens with a succinct summary of its contents, which is a useful device for revision.

The first chapter draws attention to the facts of widespread expansion in student enrolments and rising expenditure. Rapid as the progress in educational development is, the events of the respective environments grow faster, leading to a yawning gap. The fact that educational systems are unable to match their respective rapidly changing environments is called the educational crisis. Because this picture of disparity between the systems and the environments cannot be said to be confined to a few countries, the book deserves its title: *The World Educational Crisis*. Four factors – a sharp increase in popular aspirations for education, an acute scarcity of resources, the inherent inertia of educational systems, and the inertia of societies themselves – are postulated as contributors to the current crisis and a programme is outlined for examining these causes in relation to the existing systems. The chapter concludes with the definition of the major components of education in economic terms as inputs processed into outputs, while stressing the interaction between an educational system and its environment, and the mutual interdependence of educational systems throughout the world.

The next two chapters are devoted to considering the students as they enter the educational systems, as inputs, and as they go out of the systems into their respective environments, as outputs. The fourth chapter describes the process inside the system, outlining possible aims and priorities and the hard choice between popular education and the education of a functional elite. It then discusses the crucial problems of quality and content, the topical subjects of technology, research and innovation, and the administrative problems of management, costs and efficiency. Then follow seven principles for analysing an educational system with a view to strategic action. These are the principles of individual differences, self-instruction, combining human energy and physical resources, economies of scale, division of labour, concentration and critical mass and finally optimizing. These economic terms are then spelt out in relation to educational situations and problems.

The fifth chapter takes up the vital problem of nonformal education which serves to complement formal education in a good educational system. It urges making a distinction between the needs for nonformal education of the more industrialised nations and those of developing countries. Many an expert in adult education has

gone to a developing country with the “answers in the bag” and has failed woefully, because the problems are different and therefore require different treatments and solutions. There is, however, the broadly common need to assess existing effort, harmonise formal and nonformal education and undertake continual research into nonformal education. Chapter 6, on strategy, considers international co-operation, as a key to meeting the crisis, and uses the analogy of the regional common market in economic goods to draw attention to the gains that could be made through a world-wide common market in education. What are the commodities? The author lists knowledge and ideas, individuals (whether teachers, students, experts, research workers or others) and, thirdly, the physical facilities including equipment and supplies. He argues forcibly that the common market in education is of mutual benefit to the developed and the developing nations through the enrichment generated by the two-way flow. The next chapter turns to external assistance from the developed to the developing nations and concludes with a discussion of the role of universities in resolving the crisis. Universities can help to establish or spur the growth of new higher educational institutions in developing countries, to develop planning and the implementation of educational systems, and to strengthen research capability and the dialogue among universities. It is suggested that they should assume leadership in educational innovation at all levels, encourage and help small neighbouring countries to collaborate in co-operative educational endeavours, assist in reducing drainage of needed talent from developing regions and help to establish institutional arrangements that will facilitate and encourage collaboration among scholars in various countries. The seventh and last chapter recapitulates the factors of the crisis and the essential features of the strategy to meet it. It sets down five priority targets of strategy and re-emphasises that “the educational crisis is everybody’s business.”

The Epilogue recalls the book’s origin as a basic working paper presented by the author to the International Conference on the World Crisis in Education, held at Williamsburg, Virginia, in October 1967. It consists of the Summary Report of the Conference Chairman and President of Cornell University, Dr. James A. Perkins, which concludes with a proposal for an International Education Year. “It is not that concerted world attention in a single year would solve the crisis in education, for this crisis will endure at best for years to come, but a common effort could mobilize energies and inspire world-wide initiatives that would give this subject the priority it deserves.”

The World Educational Crisis states its two aims explicitly in the Preface. The first is to assemble the facts of a world educational crisis, indicating the tendencies inherent in those facts and proposing a strategy for resolving the crisis. The second aim is an analysis of an educational system. Both aims are successfully achieved. The charts, diagrams and statistical tables throughout the book reinforce the arguments. The thirty-four appendices of comparative statistical data with copious references to sources add to the quality of the book as a source-book in comparative education and educational administration.

Dr. Coombs’ approach is primarily that of an economist, for he is an educational researcher and a one-time Professor of Economics. This brings to his subject a refreshing and wider view, and follows the trend of widening the language and vision of education. One advantage of using such an economic lens is the fact that the implementation and funding of educational planning often rests on the understand-

ing and sympathy of an economic planning unit and it is as well to put the case in the language which the tribunal understands.

The book is written in a good, readable style. The index is comprehensive and adequate and the annotated bibliography is a useful guide to research students and librarians.

The World Educational Crisis can be highly recommended as supplementary reading in comparative education and educational administration, to students of Institutes of Education and University Departments of Education, and in particular to research students in educational administration and planning. Policy makers in developing countries will find in the book useful material for their deliberations on educational programmes. It is also to be recommended to the general reader who wishes to be informed on current educational problems and proposed action for solutions. He should find that, as Dr. Coombs says, "the educational crisis is everybody's business."

C. O. TAIWO, Lagos

CZYCHOLL, REINHARD; MOLZAHN, HANS, *Die Schulbuchsituation in Bolivien*. Berichte und Expertisen des Vereins zur Förderung der Bildungshilfe in Entwicklungsländern. Bad Godesberg: Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 1966. 122 S.

Dieser von Czycholl und Molzahn vorgelegte Forschungsbericht ist das Ergebnis einer Forschungsreise durch Bolivien mit dem Ziel, Material über die Herstellung, Verbreitung und Anwendung von Schulbüchern zu sammeln. Die gezielte Befragung der mit dem bolivianischen Schul- und Druckereiwesen verbundenen, einflussreichen Personen, sogenannte Experteninterviews, bringt klare Ergebnisse, da die Verfasser die verbalen Äußerungen mit kritischer Distanz analysiert haben.

Damit der Leser den gesamtgesellschaftlichen Zusammenhang der Schulprobleme Boliviens und auch der Schulbuchsituation besser versteht, geben die Autoren eine kurze Einführung in die sozio-ökonomische Situation Boliviens. Es schließt sich eine umfangreiche Schilderung des Aufbaus des bolivianischen Schulwesens an, sodaß die spanische Provenienz und andere Eigenheiten des bolivianischen Schulwesens in ihrem gesellschaftlichen Bezug deutlich werden. Die nicht nur statisch, sondern auch im Zeitablauf geschilderten Ausbildungsprozesse lassen die vielfältigen Ursachen erkennen, die eine mit europäischen Verhältnissen nicht vergleichbare Schulbuchsituation stützen, Verbesserungen verhindern (ohne daß bei Verbesserungen gleich an eine Angleichung an Schulsysteme der industrialisierten Welt gedacht ist), und die Arbeit für die Lehrkräfte ungeheuer erschweren. In den Kapiteln III und IV wird die Nachfrage nach schulischem und außerschulischem Lesematerial dargestellt. Kapitel V beschäftigt sich mit Gesetzen und Erlassen der Schulbuchherstellung, und in Kapitel VI sind das Schulbuchangebot und die Versorgung mit Lehr- und Lernmitteln analysiert. Im letzten Kapitel werden die Konsequenzen des Schulbuchmangels für das Schulsystem und die daraus resultierenden methodisch-didaktischen Fachprobleme geschildert. Der Anhang gibt den Text des Schulbuchabkommens zwischen Bolivien und den USA in englischer Sprache wieder. Das abschließende Literaturverzeichnis enthält nur die im Text verarbeiteten Veröffentlichungen, vor allem aus Zeitungen und Zeitschriften.

Die in ihren Entscheidungen an Traditionen und Privilegien gebundene Elite der bolivianischen Gesellschaft – so zeigt das Buch klar – ist nicht gewillt, das staatliche Schulwesen planend zu fördern. So ist in absehbarer Zeit weder eine Kommerzialisierung noch ein effizientes staatliches Förderungsprogramm zur Verbesserung der Schulbuchsituation zu erwarten.

Untersuchungen dieser Art sind notwendig, um in Kleinarbeit Fakten zu liefern, damit die Bildungsprobleme in Bolivien – und darüber hinaus in Lateinamerika – in theoretische Bezugsrahmen gebracht werden können. Erst dann können sowohl die politischen Entscheidungsinstanzen als auch die Fachwissenschaftler die Schulsysteme der einzelnen Länder abschätzen, bewerten und behandeln. Die Autoren verzichten auf jegliche Verankerung und Verbindung der Schulprobleme Boliviens mit theoretischen Aussagen, die für industriell entwickeltere Länder gelten. Die Auslassung der eigenen sozio-kulturellen Erfahrungswelt ist im Rahmen dieser Materialsammlung lobenswert gelungen.

Die begrenzte Thematik des Buches engt den interessierten Leserkreis durch seine Spezialisierung auf die beiden Schwerpunkte "Bolivien" und "Schulbuch" ein. Verlagskaufleute, Pädagogen und Soziologen werden jedoch, soweit sie an Ländern mit geringerer Industrialisierung – vor allem an Lateinamerika – interessiert sind, Informationen finden können.

JAN D. BECKMANN, Dortmund

GAY, JOHN; COLE, MICHAEL, *The New Mathematics and an Old Culture. A Study of Learning Among the Kpelle of Liberia*. pp. 100. 24/–.

SINGLETON, JOHN, *Nichū: A Japanese School*. pp. 125. 22/–.

WARREN, RICHARD L., *Education in Rebhausen. A German Village*. pp. 114. 22/–.

WALCOTT, HARRY F., *A Kwakiutl Village and School*. pp. 132. 24/–. *Case Studies in Education and Culture*. General Editors: George and Louise Spindler. London: Holt, Rinehart, 1967.

This series consists of individual case studies of what goes in an individual classroom or in a school in relation to the cultural environment of the participants in the educational process. The thesis underlying the studies is that "to understand education we must study it as it is imbedded in the culture of which it is an integral part and which it serves."

The New Mathematics and an Old Culture analyses the problem of culture disturbance in the context of an attempt to introduce a new mathematics programme into schools of the Kpelle people of Liberia. The latter are described as a reasonably well-integrated group of people, already affected by Western culture, who are being forced to adjust themselves to a Western technological world which is absorbing them whether they wish it or not. The first four chapters provide a descriptive analysis of the Kpelle culture, education and the factors which are resistant to the problem-solving modes of Western thought. In Chapter 6, the difficulties facing the mathematics teacher arising from indigenous linguistics, learning techniques and processes of logic and reasoning are discussed. Arithmetical and geometrical measurement concepts are examined, and matters of language and logic, verbalization and

learning are dealt with successively. These chapters are followed by a summary description of the Kpelle world view and a final chapter of recommendations for the guidance of the teachers of mathematics in the Kpelle schools.

In *Nichū*, the reader is presented with the study of a single school in an urban centre of population in Japan, with special attention to "the local community of the school district, the administrative hierarchy of formal education from the local school board to the Ministry of Education, and the professional community of Japanese teachers represented primarily by the Japan Teachers Union and its local chapters" as the major forces bearing upon the school. In a postscript, the author lists eight questions which in his opinion must be answered if an understanding is to be obtained of the social foundations of school education in any specific setting, but also points out that the answers must be supplemented by data from the viewpoints of other behavioral sciences. His final comment is that "without the types of information outlined here, educational planners have little chance of success in efficiently allocating limited educational resources and planning for the contribution which schools can make to their national educational plans."

Education in Rebhausen is concerned with a German school in a rural community undergoing rapid industrialisation, where the traditional relationships of school and community continue to exercise considerable influence upon the behaviour of parents, pupils, teachers and officials. As a result the function of the school in maintaining continuity with the past and at the same time in serving as an instrument of education for change is shown in an explicit way.

The fourth study, *A Kwakiutl Village and School*, is a case study of a tiny Indian village along the inland waterway of the British Columbia coast. It is a situation where the community is aware of modern Canadian life, but the village lives in a fashion which, while not traditional, has many links with the past and inhibits change. The school in this context is a formal, directive instrument focussing upon "improving" the children in terms of the skills and values of a dominant society in which literacy and middle-class respectability are more important "than knowing how to render enlachen grease or how to perform the dance of the Lamatsa 'cannibal dancer'." The author does not attempt to offer a solution to the dilemma but as in the case of the Japanese study postulates a series of questions to which answers must be found if the school is to assist the pupils in the process of acculturation.

In different ways each of these studies poses the question as to the qualifications required of a teacher involved in educating the young in circumstances of intensive cross-cultural change. It is obvious that the teacher cannot be expected to have the equipment of the psychologist, sociologist, anthropologist, ethnologist, linguist and the like, as well as being equipped as a teacher. Nor can he hope to be able to draw upon such a range of resources to help him about his specific school as a team of behavioural scientists would represent. The answer lies, in part, in identifying more specifically what particular contribution can be made to helping the pupils to understand the world of today and tomorrow and to equip them, so far as it lies in the power of the school, with knowledge and skills relevant to the changing circumstances. At the same time this implies identification of the responsibilities of other social institutions and the ways in which they can be motivated to make their appropriate contributions to the bringing up of the young.

For those responsible for the preparation of teachers and for designing the curriculum of the schools these studies pose major problems. Adding the sociology of education to the time-table of teachers in training will only compound the folly of the

existing compartmental treatment of the philosophy of education, the psychology of education, the economics of education, the methodology of education, which is characteristic of so much of teacher training. The issue is clear: how can we, from the variety of tools of the behavioural scientists, fashion a new set of tools appropriate to the specific needs of the teacher of today and tomorrow? As is clearly demonstrated by these studies the school is a social institution influenced by and influencing other social institutions. If the teacher in the school is to be able to respond successfully to the increasingly complex educational needs of his pupils, then the quality of his training must be greatly improved. One element of that training is to be found in the specifics and the generalisations contained in such studies as these.

L. J. LEWIS, London

HAYDEN, HOWARD, *Higher Education and Development in South-East Asia*. Paris: UNESCO/International Association of Universities, 1967.

Vol. I: *Director's Report*. pp. 508. \$ 8.50.

Vol. II: *Country Profiles*. pp. 615. \$ 11.

Vol. III, Part 1: HUNTER, GUY, *High-Level Manpower for Development*. pp. 184. \$ 3.50.

Vol. III, Part 2: NOSS, RICHARD, *Language Policy and Higher Education*. pp. 216. \$ 3.50.

When a study is originated by two prestigious international educational organizations, funded generously by a notable foundation and executed by men of high calibre, the promise of success is strong. *Higher Education and Development in South-East Asia* is a remarkable accomplishment. The scope is broad; the writing is both scholarly and lively; the perspective is extra-ordinary. This study will stand as a model for the investigation of an educational problem in the region for many years to come.

There are certain shortcomings, but they are acknowledged openly. The deliberate tone of the *Director's Report* — the remaining volumes can be viewed as sub-studies or appendices — is evidenced in several ways. Though Howard Hayden has some minor disagreements with experts, e.g. Vaizey and Belshaw, on economic and social development, and even with a principal consultant, Guy Hunter (*Report*, pp. 125–128 and pp. 141, 192), he is not sharp when offering his differing conclusion. The account of the genesis and operations of the study (*Report*, pp. 463–469) elucidates the breadth of consultation and the resulting mass of information that had to be sifted systematically. Finally, as a check upon Hayden's perspective, F. Cyril James contributed a perspicacious "Afterword: A Note on the Nature and Functions of a University" (*Report*, pp. 490–508). The resultant tone is such that there are no immoderate attacks upon well-intentioned efforts in tertiary education in the countries studied, nor any unreasonable prescriptions for new achievement.

This study outdistances the earlier volumes of T. H. Silcock (*South-East Asian University*, Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1964) and M. Shamsul Huq (*Education and Development Strategy in South and Southeast Asia*, Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center Press, 1965) as interpretations of higher education in the

region. However, each still conveys valuable insights, the former on the fragility of academic freedom and the latter on the complexity of affiliating institutions.

Gunnar Myrdal (*Asian Drama*, reviewed elsewhere in this number) has also examined the region (he calls it "South Asia" and includes the Sub-Continent) and portrayed development needs. His third volume is largely devoted to education; however, the generalizations flow principally from the analysis of India. He advocates, on the basis of a sophisticated and broad treatment, a radical change in the educational systems to raise their quality and effectiveness, and stresses the necessity of adult education. Nevertheless *Asian Drama* is largely in accord with the IAU-UNESCO study and can be profitably read as both a more comprehensive analysis of the development problems of the region and a counterpoint to certain priorities of educational expansion.

The responsibility of coalescing and integrating the labors of a large staff in Kuala Lumpur and of several international conferences was undertaken by Howard Hayden. Although not involved in the inception of the project, a joint undertaking of the International Association of Universities and UNESCO financed chiefly by the Ford Foundation, Hayden has successfully pulled together its three component strands: development economics, analysis of language policy and culture, and description of school systems. He has had experience in the region as an educator and was called from the Division of Comparative Education, UNESCO, to serve as the third director of the project, succeeding Matta Akrawi of Baghdad University and R. M. Sundrum of Rangoon University.

Hayden is cautious in his generalizations regarding the multifaceted relationships of universities to development. In his outlook he is not so restrained as John Vaizey (*The Economics of Education*, London: Faber and Faber, 1962), nor so bleak as Gunnar Myrdal. The report assumes that if universities marshal their resources rationally, they can significantly accelerate social, political and cultural development as well as economic growth. The priorities in expanding educational effort are three, with the initial one emphasizing the universities:

First, the quality of the provision for higher education should be consolidated, targets being set for the minimum necessary output of high-quality graduates. At the same time the quality of secondary education should be raised to reduce high wastage rates, and measures should be taken to effect a massive increase in post-secondary technical training. These steps should take precedence over the quantitative expansion of primary education until the second stage is reached, at which the economy is adequately absorbing the educational output, when primary education should be consolidated and expanded to react effectively to the leadership generated by the first step. Finally, as the economy gathers pace towards "take-off" and the need for technologists and technicians begins to rise steeply, priorities should again be allotted to the upper levels of the educational system. (*Report*, p. 129).

The *Report* is in accordance with the premises of the 1962 and 1965 revisions of the Karachi Plan: education as investment must take precedence over consumption.

The *Director's Report* is divided into three sections: regional social and educational patterns; development problems with implications for higher education; and required changes in university structure and personnel of the universities. No specific curricular recommendations in particular fields are given, although guidelines for modernization, relevance and effectiveness are liberally provided. Burma and former

French Indo-China have the longest road to travel to adequate higher education; Indonesia and Thailand build from strong bases; the Philippines, Singapore and Malaysia show the greatest promise – the first from the large numbers already in post-secondary education, the latter two from their relatively higher wealth.

Hayden has emphasized manpower needs that can be fulfilled by post-secondary education, following the pattern laid down by Guy Hunter (developed in Vol. III, Part 1, *High Level Manpower*). Minimum human resource requirements are derived from economic growth projections, rather than from comprehensive labor force studies. Outputs are assessed, on the basis of present teaching methods and structures, for the fields of agriculture, technology, medicine, teaching and science. The 1960 output is compared to the minimum estimated needs of 1970, a longer time span being deemed unrealistic. In the case of Thailand, Hayden and Hunter are at odds on the scientist category (*Director's Report*, pp. 141–2). Thai government output objectives are set for 450 mathematicians, physicists, chemists and biologists per year by 1980 (actually 165 in 1962). Where Hunter estimates the need at 2000 per year by 1975 to “back-up” agriculturists, doctors and technologists at a ratio of 3 or 4 to 1, Hayden judges the number lies between the government’s and the consultant’s figures. More serious is the omission, though acknowledged, of an appraisal of management needs for both the public and the private sectors of the regional economy. One can only conjecture that arts graduates without specialized training will continue to gravitate toward managerial posts.

The second major division, three chapters of the *Director's Report*, turns to the larger issues of social, linguistic and cultural development and to what roles the universities can play in dealing with them. Here the balance is struck, keeping the manpower approach from looming too large. Inferences for university development are drawn from diverse perspectives, such as social mobility, rural needs, language policy, interdisciplinary research, and cultural development.

The third major division of the *Director's Report* looks at the higher institutions themselves – their organization, students and instructional personnel. A “model for the organization of technical education” (pp. 306–307) presents a scheme for appropriate levels of training for skilled occupations up through the professions. A panoply of provisions from post-primary to post-graduate “tiers” of instruction is advocated, with emphasis moving upward as development progresses. The “structural model” at the tertiary level calls for technical and “multi-faculty” universities, together with strategically dispersed “multi-purpose” affiliated centers. The former would provide the principal *loci* of professional training and research while the latter would be centers for higher secondary and initial university courses, adult education, the training of primary teachers, sites of field research, and so forth. In sum, the multi-purpose centers are most similar to American junior colleges, with appropriate additions for place and level of development, but linked to the universities; the stress upon technical universities reflects the report’s overt reliance upon Robbins Report thinking where applicable.

In all higher institutions greater provision must be made for combating high wastage and the overallocation of students to generalist courses. Present enrollments for the region are high enough for manpower needs. Except for Malaya, no expansion of numbers is needed, while perhaps the Philippines could use a reduction in enrollments along with the lengthening of the course. Greater attention is needed to guiding students to productive courses and aiding them to maximize the opportunities available.

On the other hand, South-East Asian professors are poorly paid, too overloaded with teaching and other responsibilities to do research, and hampered by student linguistic incompetency, and library and laboratory inadequacies. Though universities should have prime responsibility for improving teaching at all levels, since it is the single most pressing problem for development, practically nothing substantive is suggested concerning the training of the university professor. In short, an important deficiency of the *Director's Report* is the lack of a thorough investigation of graduate education in the region, which is seriously inadequate; for example, the University of the Philippines produced three Ph.D.'s from 1908 to 1962 (Vol. II, *Country Profiles*, p. 593).

The *Report* concludes with a recommendation to establish a South-East Asian Institute for Higher Education and Development to encourage concerted research, to acquire statistics and documentation on regional higher education, to promote conferences on subject fields and their methodology, and to serve as a student and teacher exchange center. The "dominant themes" are reiterated (*Report*, pp. 428-429):

- improvement of the quality of education,
- developing a "fruitful relationship between secondary and higher education,"
- the value of a broad, general secondary education together with a "liberal element" in all branches of higher education,
- the importance of post-graduate studies, and
- "the need for the university to extend its thinking, its teaching and its influence beyond its own campus."

Volume II, *Country Profiles*, describes the interaction of the universities with the culture, society and economy of each nation. In general, the work is competent, bringing forward many fresh insights into the policies and styles of higher institutions of the region.

Volume III, Part 2, *Language Policy*, by Richard Noss, is capably done. It weaves its way knowledgeably among the intricacies of vernaculars, national tongues and world languages. Generally, Noss takes a middle ground, advocating the continued utility of world languages in most countries, and their increased use in Indonesia and Thailand. World languages, however, do not belong in the primary or secondary schools, but should be studied immediately prior to university. New methods of second language teaching are imperative; revised national approaches to the language spectrum, based on prospective research on language problems, are seen as a necessity.

Overall, the volumes could have had indexes and bibliographies - too usual an omission in UNESCO publications - though quite specific tables of contents and good cross references remedy these defects somewhat. A more serious fault is that lower schools are viewed too much from the vantage point of the university. Vocational and technical education are only now becoming "post-secondary" in the developed West. Finally, while the recommendations emphasize qualitative innovations over quantitative expansion, there are powerful forces in these new states of South-East Asia which favor more university places of the least productive kind. These are "soft states", as Gunnar Myrdal points out, in which social discipline is lacking, especially in the face of es-consonant with a rational course of action is lacking, especially in the face of established attitudes and habits. It is to be hoped that this careful scholarly study will

convince the national planners to whom it is directed and that the proposed Institute will sustain sound convictions through the difficult process of implementation.

In sum, the *Director's Report* is a must for those with a general interest in Asian higher education and for those who want a convincing example of a "problem" approach in comparative education. The *Country Profiles* will serve as a welcome addition to area studies bibliographies and to the growing number of substantial "descriptive" investigations in comparative education. Comparative educators also will profit from *High-Level Manpower* and *Language Policy*.

JAMES R. LIESCH, Los Angeles

HOWSON, GEOFFREY (ed.), *Children at School. Primary Education in Britain Today*. London: Heinemann, 1969. pp. 172. 18/- paper.

In his introduction to this book, Dr. Brian Young, Chairman of the Board of the Centre for Curriculum Renewal and Development Overseas (CREDO), expressed the hope that it might "provide something of the same stimulus and interest as would a close, personal study of British primary schools." Although *Children at School* probably gives an unduly favourable picture of British primary education, there can be little doubt that Young's hopes of it are fulfilled.

The book contains a series of articles by well-informed writers describing briefly and clearly some of the salient features of recent developments in primary school education. All clearly derive from first-hand practical experience of the subjects with which they are concerned, and all are free from the terminological excesses that mar some writing on curriculum development. Following a brief history and description of primary education, there are chapters on the teaching of English as the mother tongue, teaching English to non-native speakers, the teaching of French in the Schools Council Modern Language Project and new work in the social studies, modern mathematics and science; there are thoughtful articles on drama, movement and art, and on new forms of primary school organisation, timetabling and building. An account of the way that teachers' centres, working groups and in-service courses spread the new ideas rounds off the book, which is interesting throughout.

The authors of these chapters have a commendable quality of enthusiasm and this makes for easy reading. It also makes for some unsubstantiated statements – witness the claim made by John Blackie that the English system of primary school education "is much more defensible on grounds of social justice than any other." This might be true but how can one evaluate such a claim? Inevitably, despite Blackie's acknowledgement of some of the weaknesses of British primary education, his account smacks of a rather uncritical unilateral approach. Such doubts are not exactly dispelled by the next chapter, which begins "Primary education in Great Britain is sometimes described as being the finest in the world. We like to think this about our schools and the education they provide. The justification for such a claim lies in the fact that some primary schools achieve outstanding results with all their children."

However, the reader who is prepared to accept such occasional overstatements as the understandable concomitant of the authors' enthusiasm will find many interesting illustrations of the current preoccupations of some of the most progressive primary school educators. Discovery learning, the importance of oral work, the value of co-

operation in class, are themes that are given many variations in the different chapters, and it is certainly possible to get a good overall picture of recent primary school developments from the book. Nobody, perhaps, is likely to benefit from this more than parents and postgraduate students of education in Britain itself.

But the book is issued under the auspices of CREDO; it arises from "promptings ... particularly from overseas," and is intended for teachers and, presumably, students of education overseas. On this score, the book sadly lacks the editing that a work of this nature requires. It contains virtually no comparative framework, and thus the teacher in a developing country, in trying to evaluate some of the developments described, is apt to find the book dangerously misleading.

A book emanating from an organisation such as CREDO, should surely make clear the ways in which English primary school education differs from the primary school systems of developing countries. In Britain, primary education is usually the first stage of anybody's education; in many developing countries it is usually the first and last stage combined (and the dropout rate is often fantastically high). How much "discovery learning" should be encouraged when formal schooling lasts at most six years? In Britain, primary education is provided by comparatively well-prepared and qualified teachers; in most developing countries this is not the case. In Britain, with but few exceptions, children learn in their mother tongue; in many developing countries the medium of instruction is a second or third language. One cannot import British primary methods uncritically in such circumstances. In Britain, teachers' centres are possible because they can be financed; in developing countries there is often not the money for schools, let alone teachers' centres. In Britain, curiosity in the young is frequently fostered by society; in developing countries, traditions determine attitudes to a much greater degree.

If teachers overseas are to benefit from *Children at School*, these kinds of important comparative considerations need to be taken into account. Some readers overseas may, of course, do this automatically but one suspects that many, through no fault of their own, will be unable to do so.

GODFREY N. BROWN, Keele

KERR, JOHN F. (ed.), *Changing the Curriculum*. London: University of London Press, 1968. pp. 109. 13/6.

Die englischen Curriculum-Reformen, die vor etwa fünf Jahren besonders durch die Arbeit der *Nuffield Foundation* und des *Schools Council for the Curriculum and Examinations* in größerem Ausmaß einsetzten, haben bisher zwei Unzulänglichkeiten gezeigt. Es fehlt den Innovationen noch zu sehr an curriculum-theoretischer Fundierung, außerdem sind sowohl die Curriculum-Theorie selbst wie auch konkrete Entscheidungen bei der Entwicklung von Curricula durch Ergebnisse beeinflusst, die aus anderen Disziplinen als der Pädagogik stammen, ohne daß bisher der mögliche Beitrag dieser Disziplinen und ihr jeweiliger Ort im Entscheidungsprozeß genügend durchdacht wurden. Auf dem Hintergrund des allgemeinen, vor allem durch die Arbeit des *Schools Council* erkennbaren Verlangens nach fundierten Entscheidungen und besserer Kooperation entstand dieser Sammelband, dessen Fragen jedoch so komplex sind, daß sie kaum auf hundert Seiten hinreichend diskutiert werden können. Dies wird bereits dadurch verhindert, daß den einzelnen

Beiträgen kein einheitliches Konzept vom Curriculum zugrundeliegt. Kerr, der die Probleme der englischen Curriculum-Reform unter dem Gesichtspunkt einer allgemeinen Curriculum-Theorie diskutiert, definiert ein Curriculum durch die sich wechselseitig bedingenden Komponenten Lernziele, Wissen, Lernerfahrungen und Evaluation, ohne daß deren Zusammenhang deutlich wird. Er erörtert einige – durchaus wichtige, aber zu willkürlich ausgewählte – Beiträge zur Curriculum-Theorie wie die Taxonomien von Bloom u.a. oder die "Realms of Meaning" von Phenix, während die einflußreichen Arbeiten von J. S. Bruner ebenso übergangen werden wie das "Conceptual System" von J. Goodlad. Der Sprung von der allgemeinen Curriculum-Theorie zu englischen Reformpraktiken erfolgt bei Kerr jeweils zu schnell, sodaß beides nicht genügend ausdiskutiert werden kann.

Das Buch wendet sich in erster Linie an Studenten und Dozenten der Pädagogik, Lehrer und alle anderen Personengruppen, die Curriculum-Entscheidungen treffen, und fragt, welchen Beitrag die Philosophie, die Geschichte, die Psychologie und die Soziologie zur Theorie des Curriculum leisten. Diese Frage ist bisher kaum aufgegriffen worden und schon von ihrer Problematik her geeignet, Stellungnahmen aus den jeweiligen Disziplinen zu provozieren.

Am umfassendsten wird die Frage von P. H. Taylor im Hinblick auf die Psychologie diskutiert, die besonders durch entwicklungs- und lernpsychologische Ergebnisse Curriculum-Entscheidungen beeinflußt. Die Ergebnisse wurden jedoch häufig ohne genügende Berücksichtigung fachspezifischer Bedeutungen von Konstrukten oder der in die Theorien eingehenden Prämissen übernommen. Curriculumrelevante Forschungen in der Psychologie sollten sich nach Taylor in Zukunft vor allem auf das Lehren selbst konzentrieren. Ebenfalls umfassend, wenn auch etwas redundant, diskutiert K. Charlton den Beitrag, den die Geschichte liefern kann, und kommt zu dem Ergebnis, daß die Idee des Wandels sowohl bei der Curriculum-Entwicklung wie auch als Lernziel berücksichtigt werden sollte. Die Philosophie, von P. H. Hirst verstanden als eine Disziplin, die sich mit Bedeutungen und Voraussetzungen von Begriffen sowie deren logischen Zusammenhängen beschäftigt, kann in einer Curriculum-Theorie entscheidende Begriffe problematisieren und dadurch zum Beispiel Leerformeln aufdecken. So verbirgt das Lernziel "Fähigkeit zum Problemlösen", daß sich mathematische und moralische Probleme voneinander unterscheiden und verschiedenartige Lösungsstrategien verlangen. Die Lernziele implizieren Inhalte, die selbst wieder kategorisiert werden müßten, wie es Phenix versuchte. Hirst vermißt in den "Realms of Meaning" jedoch das grundlegende Konzept der Wahrheit, um das die bisherigen Dimensionen erweitert werden müßten. Im Gegensatz zu Hirst, der von einem positiven Beitrag der Philosophie ausging, setzt sich Musgrove zunächst mit seiner Meinung nach unzulässigen Ansätzen in der Soziologie auseinander. Anhand der Arbeiten Frank Clarkes versucht er nachzuweisen, daß sich die Soziologie bisher zu direkt an der Zielbestimmung beteiligt habe; statt dessen soll man das Curriculum als – nicht weiter expliziertes – soziales System auffassen und sein Verhältnis zum gesellschaftlichen Kontext untersuchen. Dies allerdings schließt einen Einfluß der Soziologie bei der Zielbestimmung nicht aus.

Der Sammelband, der einen Personenindex und ein sehr knappes Sachverzeichnis sowie relativ umfangreiche Bibliographien zu jedem Beitrag enthält, eignet sich bei sehr unterschiedlichem Niveau der einzelnen Beiträge vor allem zur Einführung in die Theorie des Curriculum, wenn dieser komplexe Gegenstand auch eher skizzenhaft als prägnant behandelt wird, und man gelegentlich von englischen Bedingungen her verallgemeinert.

DORIS ELBERS, Berlin

KIRPAL, PREM, *A Decade of Education in India*. Delhi: Indian Book Company, 1968. pp. 212. Rs. 20.

In no country in the world is the struggle for education so desperate as in India. The root difficulties lie outside the educational system. They are two, and they are connected: appalling population growth and appalling poverty. If these difficulties were not there, problems enough would still confront the reformer: the totally inadequate provision made for general education by the British Raj (offset only by the comparative excellence of the education provided for a minority), a tradition of rote-learning and bookishness that gives no basis at all for modern life, a good deal of local corruption and bedevilment of education by politics, and a language problem so deep that hysteria stops every effort at a sensible solution. During the ten years covered by this book, 1957-67, Prem Kirpal has really been in charge of education for the whole country, as the chief official of the Union Ministry of Education. As this book is published he has just retired. The first thing one wants to say is that any one who has merely kept his head in this situation of perpetual crisis deserves well of his country.

The second thing one wants to say is that this book is that rare exception, a collection of speeches that really does serve as a guide to the total problem with which their author has had to deal. These addresses made on various occasions cover most of the facets of Indian education in the period. And they are so full of facts and figures, so free from mere rhetoric, so clear in their main emphases, that the reader finishes reading as if he had read a book, not a mere assemblage of speeches. What they do not do is to give the foreign reader a visual idea of the conditions in which the Indian teacher, administrator, school child and student have to work: the poverty-stricken buildings, the miserable equipment, the ill-stocked libraries, the ill-trained and ill-paid teachers, the curious mixture of traditional respect for the guru and the hysteria of student unrest. But if he allowed himself to have a "Mother India" reaction the foreign visitor would be no less wrong. Measured against the point from which independent India started in 1947 the progress has been immense. In the twenty years succeeding independence the proportion of the primary school age-group in school rose from one third to three quarters, in spite of the increase in population. The proportion in middle schools rose from 9 per cent to 32 per cent. In secondary education the numbers enrolled have moved from one million to seven millions, and in higher education from a quarter of a million to 1.7 millions. The expenditure on education and research moved from Rs. 1.8 per capita in 1947 to Rs. 13 per capita in 1966. These are immense achievements.

But to gain ground here is only to lose it in face of the menacing demographic curve. Prem Kirpal states that between 1951 and 1961:

- the number of literates rose from 59 to 105 millions; but
- the population rose from 357 to 439 millions; and
- this wiped out the gain in literacy, for the number of illiterates *increased* in this decade by 36 millions.

Between 1961 and 1966, according to the Education Commission, there were 20 million more illiterates still; and the population of about 500 millions will be some 750 millions by 1986!

In a situation like this something may be done by wise policy. In social or adult

education, as Kirpal points out, the emphasis was on rural rather than urban education; and to the extent this meant literacy it was a mistake. The urban worker realises that he needs to be able to read and write. Since the rural worker does not feel this need so much, he has less motive to become literate and there is the virtual certainty of a lapsed skill. For social education in the countryside there is indeed need, but literacy should be at this stage a relatively smaller component. The hope of a rapid mass literacy campaign in India, to make everyone literate within a few years, has merely led to misdirection of effort and to disillusionment. Adult education must be selective, a concept that is now beginning to come into its own.

Three things have saved Indian education in this decade: immense popular demand that will not be gainsaid, a corps of trained administrators mostly at the centre, and a number of devoted workers in the villages, the cities and the schools. But the great wave of vigorous enthusiasm generated by Independence is failing. The Congress Party, which believed so much in education, now seems to the foreign observer (I am not quoting Kirpal) a spent force. It has been in power for twenty-two years; and, alas, there is no foreseeable alternative but Communism, which would be against all the traditional Indian values. Surely Congress has to renew itself if a New India movement is to be born, rallying the good men and women who are tired of corruption and petty politics and believe again that their good-will can be made effective. For such a movement to succeed in its educational policy new thinking has to be done about the system of education as a whole. This the Education Commission, which worked from 1964 to 1966 (and to which Kirpal frequently refers), tried to do.

The Education Commission was the first to look at Indian Education as a whole, and it tried, not to offer India more of the same education that it had inherited, but an education vitally related to national life, economic and cultural. Its stress was on quality rather than on quantitative expansion by itself. The Commission reported to the Union Minister of Education. Its indefatigable Member-Secretary, Mr. J. P. Naik, has been specifically appointed to a post in the Ministry whose duty is to see that the recommendations of the Report are carried out. Yet education is substantially the responsibility not of the centre, but of the states. Some of the states are educationally progressive, Kerala and Madras being perhaps in the lead, but an impulse started from the centre can all too easily lose its force when it has to be transmitted to so many varying contexts. It is hard not to feel that the recommendations of the Commission are running into the sand.

Two of the most important recommendations certainly have. The language problem, although it constantly threatens to tear India apart, is in itself nothing like so intractable as it is, say in New Guinea where there are three to five hundred separate languages, or in African countries where the languages are more intermingled. By and large in India the major languages correspond to regions. The proper analogy is not with the United Kingdom or the United States, but with Europe or with the Soviet Union. The Commission recommended that the famous "three language" formula be retained but translated into terms that made educational and political sense. An internal inconsistency in the drafting of the Report made its recommendations less clear than they actually were, but they seemed both educationally sound and politically feasible. It was assumed that the boy or girl who completed secondary education, that is to say at present the minority who might expect all-India or international employment, would have his own regional language, Hindi (the official national language) and English (the associate official language).

But there would be flexibility in the way he reached this point. The regional language would be the vehicle of instruction up to and including the first university degree. At about the age of eleven he would start his first other language, and this would be Hindi (if that was not his regional language) or English, according to his choice. At about the age of fourteen he would start his second other language, and this would be either Hindi or English (if either was lacking to him so far) or any other Indian or foreign language if he already had both. This plan would have preserved the position of Hindi as the official language, have ensured that those who really needed English had it without forcing people to learn it in too great numbers when there were not enough teachers to teach it properly, and would provide the country with persons who had other languages of importance to the country, such as Russian, Chinese, French and German. These eminently fair and sensible proposals have been drowned in communal fears, and among many of the educated, in the fear that because English was no longer to be the medium of instruction of all first-degree students the interest of all India might suffer. This latter anxiety exists despite the fact that a real command of English for the majority is about as attainable as French would be as a first-degree language in British universities.

The second major recommendation that seems to have run into the ground, though perhaps not irretrievably, is the one related to quality. The truth is that quality, and the funds to achieve it, have been spread too thin in Indian education. Teachers and students of real quality must be brought together in numbers large enough to form a "critical mass", as Edward Shils argued so forcefully in his evidence to the Commission. This means that at each level of education institutions that have shown their capacity to be well above the average must be encouraged to go ahead, and financed so that they can do so. At the university level the Commission argued that there was no reason why India should not have at least six universities of world class. But this means giving them the laboratories and libraries they need, and that they cannot have on the mere average funds they are entitled to at present. It means breaking the absurdly heavy seniority rules and giving promotion to the promising young Indians who now go (and stay) abroad not just for money, but because foreign universities offer them the means for their work. All this, alas, has been judged "undemocratic". Yet it is the only way that a democracy of educated quality can be born against the background of dire poverty that is India's.

It would not be quite true to say that just a handful of men and women like Prem Kirpal have been struggling alone against all these difficulties. The encouraging thing in India is that in poor villages and in the city slums one still finds people, living very barely themselves, who do believe in India, in democracy and in education. But they need rallying, before it is too late. As Kirpal bears generous witness, there has been real and significant international aid. But there must be much more. And when all has been said and done the inescapable truth is that the main effort has to be India's alone.

H. L. ELVIN, London

LASKA, JOHN A., *Planning and Educational Development in India*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1968. pp. 219. \$ 2.95.

Educational planning is a relatively new development, not only in India. Its methodology needs further development, and this book is a very useful contribution

towards this end. For students of comparative and international education it will be of value as a case study of planning in a developing society. Laska raises important questions about national development, and its relation to education and planning as well as about the criteria and methodology of planning itself.

In the introduction, Laska sets the tone of the book. It is an example of clear and rigorous thinking, worthy of emulation by the educational planner. He introduces the notion of the *relatively optimal* plan which should have a marginal cost equivalent to marginal benefits derived from the plan. The minimum requirement of an educational plan is to specify *how much* education of *what kind* is to be provided in a country. In order to study the optimality of a plan, however, certain simplifying assumptions regarding the identification and evaluation of alternative courses of action for a set of specific objectives are necessary. Thus Laska assumes that the number of persons completing education at each level in relation to the age group and the order of priority among levels should be adequate for judging optimality.

The second chapter is on "Structure of the Indian Educational System." It gives a brief historical account of the development of education in India, the various agencies which control the educational institutions, the distinction between primary and secondary levels of education (with the differences in the number of years for each level in the various States of India) and the enrolment figures (as of 1961) at the various levels.

The third chapter opens with a discussion of the relation of education and national development. The key concept in this relationship is preparation for role performance in a dynamic society. The author then introduces his notion of three stages of educational development: (1) university education for the few, (2) primary education for all, (3) secondary education for all. For planning, the index of each stage is the completion ratio for each. Laska uses this ratio to examine the educational development in various countries of the world and shows how the data fit into his model of sequential stages of development.

Planning in India is then examined in the fourth chapter in terms of stated goals and enrolment figures. In the place of completion ratios, Laska uses enrolment ratios in his critical analysis of plan implementation (Chapter 5) and, finally, in the last chapter, comes to the depressing conclusion, not unlike Myrdal, that in spite of verbal statements showing a correct appraisal and awareness of the requirements of the Indian situation, actual educational development has followed a contrary path.

There is a good bibliography at the end. There are forty-nine tables giving statistical data up to 1961. R. Freeman Butts has written a brief Foreword highlighting the main points of the study.

The study shows that the physical targets of educational planning in India are not commensurate with the officially stated goals and objectives, and that actual achievement is different from both. The reasons for such discrepancies are not clear, and Laska suggests only that they may be found in the decision-making processes. Perhaps Myrdal's analysis of the Indian situation*) may provide clues. Laska's study indicates that the model for planning should include the social and political forces which provide the context in which education functions.

SHIB K. MITRA, New Delhi

*) also reviewed in this number.

MYRDAL, GUNNAR, *Asian Drama. An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations*. Vol. III. New York: Pantheon, 1968. pp. 1531–2284.

Es handelt sich hier um eine umfassende Studie, die von einer Gruppe unter Leitung des bekannten schwedischen Volkswirtschaftlers über die politischen, wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Probleme Südasiens (von Pakistan bis zu den Philippinen, ohne China) gemacht und in drei Bänden mit insgesamt 2284 Seiten vorgelegt wurde. Im letzten Band, als Abschluß des systematischen Textes, behandelt Teil 7 (S. 1531–1828) über "Probleme der Bevölkerungsqualität," insbesondere *investment in man*, womit Gesundheit und, räumlich ganz überwiegend, Bildung als Teilaspekte der Entwicklungspolitik gemeint sind. Nur die das Bildungswesen behandelnden Teile sollen hier besprochen werden.

Das "Drama" liegt im Thema, nicht in seiner Behandlung. Es handelt sich um eine fleißige Zusammentragung von Sekundärmaterialien und deren kritische Auswertung (mit wiederholten und berechtigten Vorbehalten gegenüber den amtlichen Statistiken) und um eine Darstellung der wesentlichen Probleme dieser durchweg unterentwickelten Länder, der bisher ergriffenen Maßnahmen und ihrer (ganz überwiegend unbefriedigenden) Ergebnisse sowie um Anregungen für bessere Konzeptionen und Methoden zu ihrer Verwirklichung. Hierfür sind die folgenden Leitideen maßgebend: Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung ist nicht ohne grundlegenden gesellschaftlichen Strukturwandel möglich; dieser muß in der Richtung auf größere Gleichheit erfolgen; hierzu bedarf es stärkerer staatlicher Planung und Führung in den "weichen Staaten" dieser Region.

In einem einleitenden Kapitel wird das relativ neue Konzept *investment in man* kritisch analysiert. Es wird – wie mir scheint zu Recht – als Fortschritt gegenüber der naiven, auf materielle Faktoren beschränkten Planungsmethode betrachtet unter der Voraussetzung, daß der gesamte Komplex der Gesellschaftsordnung, der Einstellungen und der Setzung von dynamischen Bildungszielen über die rein ökonomischen Faktoren hinaus berücksichtigt wird. Als Bildungsziele werden Rationalisierung der Verhaltensweisen einerseits und Vermittlung von Wissen und Fähigkeiten andererseits stipuliert, im Gegensatz zu den traditionellen Vorstellungen von Erziehung und Bildung, die als zu liquidierende Erbschaft ziemlich eingehend dargestellt werden. Hierbei spielt das Phänomen des "Lesens ohne Verstehen" eine gewisse Rolle – insbesondere in der Form des Koranlesens auf Arabisch bei asiatischen Mohammedanern – als einzige Form des Alphabetismus. Zur Lösung des Problems der Alphabetisierung wird intensive Erwachsenenbildung als unentbehrlich angesehen, gleichzeitig wird aber auch auf ihre drastische Vernachlässigung in den meisten hier behandelten Ländern hingewiesen.

Das bei weitem längste Kapitel behandelt sodann die Bildungssysteme der einzelnen Länder unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Indiens. Zutreffend wird hier ein Grundproblem aller Entwicklungsländer aufgezeigt: daß formale Bildung ganz allgemein als Mittel zur Vermeidung von Handarbeit angestrebt wird, was einseitige und unrealistische Konzentration auf nicht-technische Fächer (im Gegensatz zu den Bedürfnissen dieser Länder), Arbeitslosigkeit von Gebildeten und, zwecks Unterbringung der "gebildeten" Überschußbevölkerung, immer stärkere Bürokratisierung nach sich zieht. Bezeichnend hierfür ist auch, daß die höheren und Hochschulen in den letzten Jahrzehnten zahlenmäßig rascher angewachsen sind als die Primarschulen. Elitäre Strukturen sind sowohl Ursache wie Ergebnis dieser Situation, die

sich eher entwicklungshemmend als -fördernd erweist. "Diese Völker sind nicht nur ungenügend gebildet; sie werden in einem ungeheuren Maße falsch gebildet" (S. 1649). Man lehrt und studiert rein memorisierend, für die formalen Prüfungen, aber nicht für die Bedürfnisse einer dynamisch gewordenen Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft. Die bisherige Bildungsplanung wird als "inept or entirely lacking" (S. 1810) bezeichnet.

Es ist erstaunlich, aber auch bezeichnend, wie wenig die nationale Unabhängigkeit die Konzeption und Verwirklichung wirksamerer, ihren Verhältnissen angepaßter und nicht einfach vom Westen kopierter Bildungssysteme gefördert hat. Der Wechsel an der Oberfläche der politischen Ordnung hat eben nicht die gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Grundstrukturen geändert. Und diese sind entscheidend dafür, wie viele Einwohner in welchen gesellschaftlichen Schichten, Geschlechts- und Altersgruppen und Regionen für welche Ziele und mit welchen Methoden geistig geformt werden. Auch hieran wird wieder einmal die maßlose Überschätzung, ja Fehleinschätzung der Bedeutung der Entkolonisierung für sozio-ökonomische Entwicklung deutlich.

Die Verfasser betonen "die Notwendigkeit eines radikalen Wandels im gesamten Bildungssystem" (S. 1810) durch Verlagerung der Planung von nur quantitativem auf qualitatives Wachstum. Sie empfehlen hierfür sogar zeitweise Stabilisierung, ja Reduzierung der Einschulung für die erste Klasse der Primarschulen, zugunsten einer abgeschlossenen Primarschulbildung, die heute die Ausnahme ist, sowie Einschränkung der Immatrikulation in höheren und Hochschulen, zugunsten eines höheren Ausbildungsniveaus. Weitere Forderungen beziehen sich auf finanzielle Erleichterungen für Schüler und Studenten aus niedrigen Einkommensschichten, striktere Selektion, bessere Lehrerbildung, Integration des Bildungswesens in eine umfassende Entwicklungspolitik und stärkere Regierungskontrolle des (noch weitgehend privaten) Bildungswesens.

Die hier besprochenen Kapitel bieten eine Fülle von Tatsachen und Einsichten. Es fehlt jedoch eine einheitliche Konzeption, und gelegentlich treten begriffliche Inkonsistenzen auf. Sie sind thematisch mangelhaft organisiert, daher unnötig lang und wortreich, mit vermeidbaren Überschneidungen und Wiederholungen. Die einzelnen Länder werden uneinheitlich behandelt, wobei Indien im Mittelpunkt steht.

Trotzdem handelt es sich hier um einen für Nichtspezialisten nützlichen Beitrag zum international vergleichenden Studium von Bildungsproblemen, insbesondere in Entwicklungsländern.

RICHARD F. BEHRENDT, Berlin

SCHRAMM, WILBUR; COOMBS, PHILIP H.; KAHNERT, FRIEDRICH; LYLE, JACK, *The New Media: Memo to Educational Planners*, Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1967. pp. 175. \$ 2.95. 21/-. FF 15.

New Educational Media in Action: Case Studies for Planners. Vols. I–III. Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1967. pp. 203, 226, 198. \$ 4.50. 23/-. FF 16.

These volumes contain an account of a survey carried out for Unesco's International Institute for Educational Planning by interdisciplinary teams during late 1965 and 1966. The raw material for twenty-three case studies was drawn from

seventeen countries, which have helped to pioneer the use of the new media in education. The authors describe it as "a rather long world tour". It is as well planned, lucidly described and informative a tour as could be hoped for.

The "new media" under inspection are primarily instructional television and radio, the instruments of communication most widely used for educational purposes in the developing areas of the world from which the majority of these cases were chosen. Descriptions of several projects in economically advanced countries are also included, and there are some examples of the use of correspondence study, film, radiovision and programmed learning. They provide a diversified sample of instances which the authors considered likely to be of particular interest to educational planners in developing countries.

One of the most rewarding aspects of the methodology adopted by the organisers for gathering evidence is that it has enabled questions about the cost, effectiveness and proper use of media to be posed within a meaningful context, that of the specific needs and available resources of particular areas. The magnitude of the problems confronting many of the countries on which the survey reports, faced with the urgency of rapid social and economic development, leaves no room for doubt about the importance of raising the questions or of getting adequate answers.

A first likely pitfall, by no means confined to developing areas, is perceptively pointed out by the authors: the wasteful tendency of nations as well as schools to muddle into the use of new technology because it is the fashionable thing or a gift of hardware is offered. The survey makes crystal clear that the introduction of a medium such as broadcast television for educational purposes is a major undertaking in time, money, planning and the deployment of resources, if it is to make any impact, and it requires major consequences to justify it. A criterion for decision is proposed: "An attempt should be made to use these new means to solve otherwise insoluble problems" (Memo p. 164).

It is not surprising that some of the bold and imaginative attempts to overcome apparently insoluble problems reported here elicit the admiration of the authors and generate excitement in the reader. The decision in American Samoa to bypass the usual slow process of raising the school level by a programme of teacher training and replacement, requiring ten to fifteen years to make a substantial effect, and to transmit the basic content of lessons at all levels by television using the best available teaching, was indeed a daring one. Made possible by forceful, even autocratic planning from the top, and outside financial support, the result was to implement "an abrupt and revolutionary change in the (educational) system" (Memo p. 18).

It is in just such a situation that hopes are raised for seeing the potential of the new media realised. This lies not only in their power to distribute a wider range of well prepared and presented materials equally to all the members of a school system or community, to "share the dynamics" as well as the substance of teaching (Memo p. 94). By their introduction, an opportunity is provided for a re-thinking of fundamental educational goals, methods of instruction and learning, and the most efficient deployment of available resources. Inevitably though, some fears are also roused by measures of the kind taken in American Samoa. As the authors observe, "mediocrity can assume giant proportions on a mass medium" (Memo p. 110). The dangers of perpetuating the worst features of traditional classroom attitudes and practice are real ones. The key to this in Samoa, as in other countries studied, lies in the philosophy of education which the programmes are designed to put into effect. Rote learning can be replaced by stimulus for individual enquiry,

discussion and problem solving, and pupils encouraged to ask questions and frame their own responses. Here the role of the classroom teacher or monitor, in devising activities which will enable the learners to participate fully in the creation of a learning situation, is crucial. The note of participation is one which sounds throughout the case studies: dialogue between teachers and studio staff in the planning of programmes, dialogue between teacher and learner in a mutual process of discovery. In Niger, by the combination of active classroom methods and the motivating power of television, "the question 'Why?' has made its appearance — a thing which is not common in the Niger family tradition" (CS 2 p. 27). The end result may be "access to the modern way of thinking and expression so necessary to the intellectual and economic development of the country" (Memo p. 25).

In the *Memo for Planners*, the authors have categorised their case studies according to five central problems for which a solution is being sought by the use of the new media of communication: to improve the quality of instruction, to train teachers, to extend schooling to pupils in isolated areas, to help teach literacy and fundamental education, and to foster adult education and community development.

Their advice to planners, based on an evaluation of how effectively the media have been used in the projects studied, the conditions of effective use, and costs in relation to benefits is clear and cogent, and should be of the utmost usefulness. The quality of the analyses, and the readable manner in which they are presented make these unusually rewarding volumes for anyone concerned with social and educational developments in the contemporary world.

GRAEME KEMELFIELD, Leeds

SOMERSET, H. C. A., *Predicting Success in School Certificate. A Uganda Case Study*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968. pp. 115. 15/-.

The title of this monograph has a universality of appeal comparable to "How to win friends and influence people." Its contents are somewhat narrower in scope. The author sets out to examine one set of figures for one country, Uganda. Within these limits it is a soundly argued, and well documented study by someone who has spent an adequate length of time in the country he is examining.

In 1964 slightly over 1100 candidates from aided schools in Uganda sat the Cambridge School Certificate. Of these Somerset was able to trace 881 who had sat the secondary entrance examination four years earlier and to compare the marks in the two examinations in order to analyse the predictive validity of the first one. It was not very great. Correlation was reasonably high for those with high entrance marks, but almost negligible for those with low ones, and it is thus probable that a number of borderline cases who were unable to secure admission would have done better than those who did.

The author goes on to examine the predictive validity of certain subjects. English Comprehension had a moderately high value as a predictor for all subjects in the School Certificate, English Grammar far less, English Composition very little, possibly because of the subjectivity of the marking. Mathematics is useful for predicting success in School Certificate Physics and Chemistry, but there is no satisfactory predictor for the "descriptive sciences." It is therefore suggested that the value

of the selection examination could be improved by adding a paper or questions on General Science.

Given the basic data used the arguments appear sound and the conclusions generally acceptable, bearing out what many headmasters in Uganda would have said at the time.

Unfortunately, as the author himself admits, the study suffers from the major weakness of having been based on an examination which took place over a decade ago. In developing countries events have an untidy habit of overtaking publication. Since the 1960 examination in Uganda the whole structure of the school system has altered and so has the form and content of the Junior Secondary, now Primary, leaving examination. The examination is now taken after seven years instead of eight. There is no pre-selection after six years. Numbers have quadrupled. The examination is now largely objective; English Composition has been dropped and Science added. A similar study now would therefore have to encompass an entirely different set of variables.

What is of greatest interest and value in this monograph is its fifth chapter, really a sort of afterthought to the main thesis, but one which has clearly interested the author as much as it is bound to interest us. This chapter is titled "Elementary school quality and secondary school achievement." After calling attention to what Castle describes as "the fantastic variations of quality" in primary education, the author proceeds to develop the argument that even though pupils from bad primary schools may manage, despite the quality of their instruction, to scrape through the secondary entrance examination, their future prospects are, on the average, dim. It is probable that "the quality of instruction pupils have received in their first eight years of school sets a limit to the level they will reach in the School Certificate examinations."

This evidence, the author suggests, might lead to a re-examination of educational priorities and to greater stress on improving the quality of primary education. What he says echoes some of the conclusions of the 1968 UNESCO/OAU conference at Nairobi; and such evidence, if valid, could be an important additional justification for this change of policy. But as he himself admits, it is "fragmentary", since only very small samples were used. Moreover there are other weaknesses. Neither the ages of the pupils nor the number of times they attempted the selection examination are taken into consideration. Concerning the latter it is stated rather naively that, until 1967, repeating the selection examination was not permitted. In fact a recent survey by Cashmore¹) establishes that some pupils may repeat up to five times in different schools and with different names in order, eventually, to gain a secondary school entry.

But this chapter does succeed in making a very strong case for the urgency of further research on whether or not "the effects of inferior education at primary and junior secondary levels are largely irreversible." Such research needs larger samples. It needs, if possible, to take into account the factors I have mentioned, and also to attempt to analyse some of the determinants of primary school quality including, as Somerset pointed out in an earlier study,²) whether or not pupils get any breakfast or lunch.

From what I have said it may appear that I am accusing the author of trying to sew a shirt on a button. I am. But I also think that we may well find, when we take a closer look, that the button does fit the shirt. In making this statement I speak

from some experience but absolutely no documentary evidence. I thus lay myself open to even more criticism than does Dr. Somerset.

HUGH W. R. HAWES, London

1) Forthcoming monograph to be published shortly by Teachers College, Columbia University.

2) "Proceedings of the EAISR Conference," Makerere, January 1964.

TOWNSEND COLES, EDWIN, *Adult Education in Developing Countries*. Oxford: Pergamon, 1969. pp. 144. 20/- \$ 3.

In the spate of books on education in the "Third World" adult education has received less than its due share of attention. *Adult Education in Developing Countries* does something to remedy that neglect; its aim is to describe the "Why? What? and How? of adult education," which is here so defined as to include "literacy teaching, women's club work, fundamental, foundation and social education, vocational studies, liberal education, correspondence courses and so on". Furthermore, few books have been written to give precise and practical help to the makers and implementers of policy; but this addition to Pergamon's Commonwealth and International Library "has been written as a guide for those who shape educational policy and those who are concerned with the administration of education in the statutory authorities, in voluntary agencies, in industry and in the universities." On these two counts this book is to be welcomed.

Its first chapter is concerned with the aims and purposes of adult education in relation to socio-economic development and integrated national planning. The author then categorises the several forms of adult education and boldly suggests a specific and articulated programme for every level from the simplest literacy class to preparation for university entrance. Chapter 3 describes the statutory and non-statutory agencies involved in this field, and this is followed, logically, by detailed discussion of the crucial problems of administering and financing a sector of education which is "notoriously difficult to organise." From organisation and finance the author turns to those aspects of "Teaching Methods and Aids" and "Staff, Training and Research" which clearly concern the policy makers and their executives, and rounds off the book with a very brief chapter on "Evaluation and Planning". The text is illuminated by a number of useful diagrams and tables, but one misses a list of books for further reading.

There is much about this book which appeals. It is patently a book written by a man who has actually *done* something, for his experience shines through every page. Secure in that experience, he has dared to make specific suggestions for action without implying that what he suggests is capable of universal application. And much of what the author proposes is useful and thought-provoking. Furthermore he writes most lucidly and readably; he avoids the windy Latinate style so beloved of many adult educationists and presents his case clearly and logically.

However, taking the author's suggestions as a whole, one is compelled to ask three questions. Will the elaborate and extensive financial and organisational demands he makes on behalf of adult education not frighten more policy makers, and certainly more Treasury officials, than they will convince? Are his repeated claims for the

links between adult education and democracy in any sense relevant for the one-party states of the developing world? Has the author not paid far too little attention to the tremendous significance, in adult education, of political and semi-political organisations? It is true that he mentions them, but in his thinking the traditional and conventional patterns of adult education seem to loom much larger; one suspects in fact that this book, which was written as a guide for future action, may already in parts be an historical document.

Nonetheless, the policy makers and administrators to whom this book is directed will assuredly find much that is valuable in it and, more generally, students of education in developing countries will find that it goes some way towards filling an obvious gap. In brief, one can certainly raise two cheers for *Adult Education in Developing Countries*.

W. A. DODD, London

TURNER, J. D.; HUNTER, A. P., *Educational Development in Predominantly Rural Countries*. Proceedings of a Seminar held at the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, 24-28 June 1968. Lesotho: University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, 1969. pp. 133. 10/-. \$ 2.

This report of a seminar held at the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland in June 1968 is unique in a number of ways. In the first instance it was specifically concerned with the educational problems of small countries with low incomes. Secondly, with the exception of three persons, all the participants were actively engaged in the small countries. The issues examined, such as the cost of education, the structure of the education system and the problems of administration, planning procedures, curriculum, agriculture, and youth movements are all commonplace subjects, but the papers and the discussions are informed with a realism born of specific experience. In his closing remarks, J. M. Mohapeloa expressed disappointment that some of the people invited to attend were unable to do so. With all due respect, it probably was to the advantage of the conference that they did not attend. The curriculum discussion group were obviously influenced by the work of Patrick van Rensburgh, but they also were explicit in urging recognition that the level of maturity of the school leaver has a relevance to when and what is taught and what makes for a satisfactory minimum of formal education. The group concerned with the finance of education concentrated largely on practical issues such as payment of fees, reducing the burden on parents of the costs of textbooks, loans instead of bursaries, employers paying for the cost of vocational training, integration of institutions to reduce administrative costs, reduction of the range of subjects in the Junior Certificate and School Certificate syllabuses, and the possibilities of correspondence courses at the school level.

In its conciseness and realism, this report is a refreshing change from the massive volumes characteristic of the mainstream of conferencing about educational development. It is also a challenge to donor countries and agencies, who might well explore the possibilities of giving aid to countries which are not fashionable recipients, but whose needs and whose clarity of purpose are clearly demonstrated in this report.

L. J. LEWIS, London

WAARDENBURG, JEAN-JACQUES, *Les universités dans le monde Arabe actuel. Documentation et essai d'interprétation*. Vol. I: *Texte*. pp. 383. Vol. II: *Statistiques*. pp. 195. The Hague: Mouton, 1966. Hfl. 42.50.

First of all, it is necessary to welcome this painstaking work as an addition to the scanty literature on Arab universities in Western languages. The author defines its aim very modestly, saying it is not a *Gelehrtenbuch* for the specialist but an inducement for the general reader to pursue the study of the subject further.

The first volume is the text and the second is devoted entirely to statistics. The text is in three parts: Part I is "an interpretive essay"; Part II deals with higher education by country, and Part III gives bibliographical lists arranged also by country. The book is based on numerous sources in European languages and Arabic, and on the author's own observation in the field and his discussions with a good number of Arab educationalists. As the sub-title indicates there is a great deal of "documentation" in this book, and there are extensive quotations from University Calendars and similar sources, while statistical material is by no means limited to the second volume. Sometimes one even feels that the text is too loaded with figures, dates and names.

Yet the treatment is lucid and interesting, particularly in the interpretive essay. The author sketches the common features of the universities in the Arab world and indicates their place in the political, social and economic structures of the countries concerned. In the course of the discussion many questions are raised but relatively few answers are suggested. One reads only too often the remark that this or that subject "merits special study." In this way the author confines himself to his terms of reference. Apart from the interpretive essay his account is purely descriptive. The method of treatment adopted by the author imposed upon him a certain amount of repetition. For example, the American University of Beirut and the University of Saint Joseph are dealt with at length both in Part I and then under Lebanon in Part II.

By his own choice the author excluded religious institutions from the study. This is a great pity, because for a proper understanding of Arab tradition in higher education it is necessary to understand its roots in the classical Islamic education which survived till our own times in the well-known Azhar in Cairo, reputed to be the oldest university in the world. Its recent reform made it similar to a state university, but it retained its character as the foremost institution in the Muslem world for the training of *ulema* and religious leaders.

The space allowed for each country and university depended on the age of the institution and the nature of the available material. Thus Lebanon and Egypt between them claim more than one-quarter of the space in the first volume, the former because the earliest two foreign universities were established in it, and the latter because it had the earliest state system in higher education. By comparison Jordan, Kuwait and Libya are dismissed in some six pages altogether.

It would be ungracious to seem to underestimate the author's commendable effort in producing a thorough and accurate record. No book of this nature and size is free from error or beyond criticism. I would venture only one remark. The discussion of the University of Algeria fails to mention that it was a *French* university in which the Algerian students were a negligible quantity, and it remained so till Algeria achieved her independence.

A. L. TIBAWI, London

WEILER, HANS W. (Hrsg.), *Erziehung und Politik in Nigeria. Education and Politics in Nigeria. Freiburger Studien zu Politik und Soziologie*. Freiburg: Rombach, 1964. 294 S. DM 36.

This book is a valuable contribution to the study of education in Nigeria because it brings political and educational relationships out in a way that is still rare, despite the emphasis in the last two decades on the interplay of political, social, economic and educational institutions in planning development. No attempt was made to evolve a systematic statement or model of the interrelationships, because it was realised that the empirical evidence was inadequate to justify any typological generalisation. Nevertheless, apart from its particular value in providing reflections on various aspects of sociological issues in Nigeria, the book contributes to a possible systematic analysis by the manner in which it demonstrates the complexity of the relationships.

The book opens with a brief descriptive introduction to Nigeria (P. and S. Ottenberg), followed by an examination of "Ibo Education and Social Change", which views traditional and modern Ibo attitudes to education with emphasis upon cultural values and traditions and upon their relevance to the educational process. "The Role of Education in British Colonial Policy in Nigeria" (H. Peets) deals with the thesis that education is a decisive factor in the implementation of certain political ideas. James O'Connell provides an account of the "State and the Organization of Elementary Education in Nigeria: 1945-1960" and concludes that the efforts being made in Nigeria to establish a satisfactory system are deserving of praise. K. W. J. Port, "Modern Education and Politics in Nigeria", and H. H. Smythe, "The Educational Foundation of Nigerian Politicians", examine from different angles the more specific relations between education and politics. The former is concerned with the mass factor and the possibility of economic and educational development getting out of step, whereas the latter seeks to establish the more particular pattern of education and politics in respect of the current political leaders. W. Feuset provides a survey of "The Universities of Nigeria and their Contribution to the Development of the Country", while L. J. Lewis provides an overview of the whole formal system with reference to the problems of co-operation and integration of regional and Federal aspirations and the sensitivities arising from personality tensions in professional and political circles.

Published in 1964, the value of this book for an understanding of Nigeria has been enhanced by the problems and difficulties inherent in the unhappy political events which have befallen the country since that date. It is also a valuable contribution of source material for the development of a broader typology, because it raises questions of the relationships between education, other social institutions and the architectonic institution of politics.

L. J. LEWIS, London

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FORTHCOMING ISSUE

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M. CRAFT, Exeter	Social Process, Social Change, and English Teacher Education
D. ANDERSON, London	Commercial Studies in Western Europe
H. HÖRNER, Heidelberg	Entwicklungstendenzen im sekundären und tertiären Bildungsbereich in Schweden
G. F. PEAKER, Grasmere, England	The Aims and Achievements of English Primary Education
J. P. DELVAUX, Kinshasa	Prédiction de la réussite universitaire au Congo-Kinshasa
W. L. LI, Columbus, Ohio	A Demographic Model of Student Progression

TO FRIEDRICH SCHNEIDER

Founder of the *International Review of Education*
in Honour of his 90th Birthday

On 28th October, 1971, Friedrich Schneider will complete his 90th year. There are many reasons why he has earned a tribute here in his honour.

Above all else we must recall that he was the original founder of this *Review*, which has remained to this day the only truly international journal of comparative education. Its publication began in 1931, and so our celebration of Friedrich Schneider's 90th birthday falls together with our commemoration of the *Review's* 40th anniversary. As the opening number appeared, with a Preface by Georg Kerschensteiner, no one could have foreseen what vicissitudes of fortune were to befall the *Review*. From 1934 on, after 3 volumes, it could no longer appear under Schneider's editorship. During the National Socialist period it was carried on by different editors under a slightly altered title, continuing into the Second World War. As soon as the war ended, Friedrich Schneider undertook every effort to resume publication under the old title. It was not until 1947, when conditions had sufficiently normalized, that the fourth, fifth and sixth volumes could be published.

A third start then finally made it possible to fully realize the original 1931 plan. In 1955 the *International Review of Education* was re-established as the journal of the Unesco Institute for Education in Hamburg, commencing once again with Volume 1. Friedrich Schneider, by then a member of the German Commission for Unesco as well, again played a decisive role; together with K. Bigelow, R. Gal, M. J. Langeveld and W. Merck, he was responsible for the editorial work.

The first year of publication of the *Review* (its English title was actually *International Education Review* until the Hamburg period) can be considered also as being the founding year of comparative education, at least in Germany. For it was in 1931-32 that the journal published an extensive essay giving for the first time a precise definition of the concept and programme of the new discipline. The author was Friedrich Schneider.¹⁾

During the period of enforced silence, when he was banned from his activities as an academic teacher and a scholarly editor, Friedrich Schneider embarked on the implementation of this programme, together with the writing of his masterpiece, *Triebkräfte der Pädagogik der Völker*.²⁾ This appeared in 1947 and helped the discipline to achieve the academic standing which it had so long lacked in Germany. In 1961, at the

age of eighty, he wrote the first comprehensive account of the development of the field.³)

It is not possible here to do full justice to the wealth of inspiration which has sprung from Friedrich Schneider's life work. However, the nonagenarian himself has attempted a kind of summation, in his (for the time being?) last book: a biographical outline of his experiences in the discipline over 50 years.⁴) This appeared in 1970, and although not declared by the author as such, it is a significant contribution to the International Education Year.

It closes with a quotation which should also conclude this tribute. On the occasion of Friedrich Schneider's 80th birthday, when a *Festschrift* was presented and an honorary doctorate conferred on him by the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich, where he had last occupied a professorial chair, the Dean, Professor H. G. Beck, said in concluding his eulogy, "The breadth and richness of comparative education, its penetration into the inner life of a great range of cultures, its vitality, the ever-changing reflections and refractions of an idea, the impulse towards as yet undiscovered spheres of education, the blank spaces on the map of international education: all these have sustained in you the freshness of a discoverer and pioneer, and have seen to it that you have remained so young."

GOTTFRIED HAUSMANN, Hamburg

NOTES

1) "Internationale Pädagogik, Auslandspädagogik, Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft: Geschichte, Wesen, Methoden, Aufgaben und Ergebnisse" (International Pedagogy, Foreign Pedagogy, Comparative Education: History, Essence, Methods, Objectives and Results). In four parts. *Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft*, 1, 1931/32, pp. 15-39, 243-257, 392-417; 2, 1932/33, pp. 79-89.

2) *Triebkräfte der Pädagogik der Völker: Eine Einführung in die Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft* (Driving Forces in the Education of Nations: An Introduction to Comparative Education). Salzburg: Müller, 1947. No English or French translation has appeared.

3) *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft: Geschichte, Forschung, Lehre* (Comparative Education: History, Research, Teaching). Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1961.

4) *Ein halbes Jahrhundert erlebter und mitgestalteter Vergleichender Erziehungswissenschaft* (A Half Century of Experience and Involvement in Comparative Education). Paderborn: Schöningh, 1970.

STRATEGIES FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF EDUCATIONAL PLANS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

by IRA J. WINN, Northridge, California

The educational planner can dismiss the social and political factors as extraneous to planning, use his technique to produce a consistent and feasible plan, and let the politicians and administrators do what they like with it. This has been the common solution in all sectors of planning in Latin America until now, and a good many of the plans thus elaborated have served no purpose other than the adornment of ministerial book-cases.

Marshall Wolfe

In some African countries there is not enough political and economic stress put on implementation of plans. The planning becomes limited to setting the targets and not much effort is made toward carrying the plans out. Preparing the plan becomes art for art's sake with very few practical results.

Economic Commission for Africa

Almost all countries of Latin America have educational planning services including the support of the respective governments. But in reality there is an abyss between the words and the facts, between the declarations made in international meetings and the concrete accomplishments. The politicians patronize educational planning for reasons of political prestige and popularity and not because they are convinced of its necessity... [Their] decisions don't have any influence on public opinion and don't have the support of the circles most directly concerned.

*Folha de São Paulo*¹⁾

Educational planning calls for the creation of influential organizations at local, state and national levels that can promote and guide a complex process of development in schools and universities. But there is, particularly in the developing nations, a marked tendency on the part of planning organizations to divorce themselves from problems of plan implementation and to concentrate on the safer, noncontroversial areas of data collection and cost surveying. Too often education projects justify themselves through a massive paper document whose production has become the

raison d'être of the planners and which is the vital sales brochure for the funding agencies. Time and again such plans have proved to have little relevance to important field realities such as the poor quality of teaching and absence of professional support, or the lack of effective administration and close school-community relations. It is no wonder that one development expert has commented that many plans serve no other purpose than to adorn ministerial bookshelves or that a distinguished newspaper in Latin America has been led to editorialize on the mania for planning, under the rubric "The Cursed Heritage."²)

Although there has been much talk of a total "process" of education sector development, there is still little awareness of the implications it would have for planning strategy. Most planning remains fixated on a sequential approach to educational development. This involves the following steps, or some variation of them: (1) data collection; (2) analysis of data; (3) interpretation of the educational situation and a statement of the problem; (4) selection of methods and priorities; (5) formulation of programs and projects; (6) implementation; (7) evaluation. Given this lengthy sequence it is only natural that the concept of "planning" has become confused and identified with five steps prior to project implementation. Data manipulation seems to have a hypnotic effect on planners and few projects so "planned" ever reach a successful final stage. Thus, Waterston's review of the recent history of planning concludes that "even as plan formulation methodology advanced, implementation remained inadequate or even worsened."³)

Pitfalls of Step Planning

The priority placed upon enrollment and cost surveys and the corollary gap between planning and implementation has created serious problems for educational development. It has also given rise to a class of planners who often regard themselves as a step above the ministerial level. On the lowest plane, it is supposed, function the various kinds of manager-workers and teachers whose job it is to carry out the packaged plan, and the temptation is to believe that decisions handed down from the planning tower will be automatically understood, accepted and carried out in spirit and letter. This illusion is especially strong in the developing nations where there are traditions of pyramidal authority and where even the slightly educated show a strong aversion toward low status labor. The trend toward military dictatorship in many parts of the under-developed world makes such misconceptions all the more dangerous; efficiency can all too easily replace the broader humanistic goals of development.

Of course, astute planners try to keep open the lines of communication

as best they can. However, when planning follows the traditional step pattern, it is not unusual that the teachers, guidance specialists, students, librarians, parents, administrators and business leaders who must eventually accept and implement the planners' product are rarely consulted until after the plan is prepared. Almost never are they intimately involved in making the key decisions which will affect their lives and fortunes. As a result, their attitude toward planning and toward the education bureaucracy is often one of indifference or suspicion. By staying remote from the school scene, planners are liable to be identified with politicians and to acquire a generally negative image.

Step planning thus runs contrary to that elementary principle of social change which advocates wide-scale involvement in decision-making by those who will be most affected by the decisions. It tends to establish a data-gathering bureaucracy far removed from the mainstream of practical problems and the activities of the schools. For the most part, of course, this happens because planners are understandably apprehensive about entering the terribly untidy realm of implementation and confronting the common muddle of teacher training with its numerous vested interests and competing power groups. It is far safer and more enjoyable to sit in an office with a tabulating machine than it is to face field realities that make a mockery out of the neat rows of numbers that fill the pages of traditional plans.

Matriculation surveys, teacher projections, cost estimates and so on each have their proper place in the planning scheme. However, the fixation on quantification is not as "scientific" as many planners believe,⁴⁾ and such measures, while useful, do not reach the core problems of educational effectiveness. "Do the teachers stimulate reflective thinking?" may be a much more nebulous problem than that of estimating the number of teachers at some target date, but it is also a more basic question for education than is a body count. Certainly it is one that is highly relevant to the purposes of development.⁵⁾ In short, a focus on data collection does not insure a complete or valid picture of educational reality. Also, because of the high population growth rates in developing nations and the urgency of their needs, a long stage of data manipulation is a luxury they can ill afford. Matriculation figures are not really of great importance in countries where the opening of a school per week would not keep up with population growth. Yet planners continue to act like the fire department that became enamored of the fire. Instead of turning on the water, they hold lengthy deliberations on all the ramifications of the situation.

Requirements of Process-Planning

In process-planning the focus is on solving a variety of immediate educational problems and thus building institutional capability at all levels of education and administration. This work includes – but is not necessarily centred upon – an accurate data collection system. The traditional emphasis on pre-requisite steps is lacking and the process of educational planning becomes much more action-oriented than plan-oriented. The written plan is seen as but one product, one single aspect of a complex process. It is a tool, never an end in itself. The emphasis turns to the process of decision making, to developing the capabilities of key personnel and institutions involved in carrying forward educational change.

For example, it is not enough that a plan should state that an in-service training component will be established in universities and secondary schools to handle so many teachers at a given cost. Process-planning requires that at least the foundations of the in-service program *be built*. The written plan would then describe a process already under way and would begin to answer such questions as: the organizational pattern being established to effect the change (including key people involved); how the system fits into the school year; how master teachers are chosen; what kinds of technical assistance are needed; what kinds of changes are expected in the traditional teaching pattern; how the program is being evaluated.

In process-planning there is always an element of risk, for it assumes that, without taking action and profiting from mistakes, it is impossible to build a realistic plan. Thus one cannot judge the degree to which process-planning has been utilized merely by the existence of a voluminous paper document. Valid indicators are found in (1) the testing process by which plans are formulated and modified; (2) the nature, scope and force of the action programs underway; (3) the rapidity with which ideas are communicated and the flow of the planning organizations in general; and (4) the extent of professional, school – level and community involvement in basic decision making. A sound strategy of educational planning thus means direct confrontation with the thorniest aspects of educational change:

- the total problem of articulation between primary, secondary, and higher education, with basic attention to curriculum revision at all levels;
- gaining the consensus of the interest groups involved on the guidelines envisaged for the schools (the assumption is that it is necessary to define operationally the kind of education agreed upon before getting embroiled in the arithmetic of schools, students, teachers);
- breaking the tradition of expository teaching and vitalizing in-service and pre-service teacher training, which is usually the central obstacle to improving educational quality;

- the improvement of school administration and salary incentives so that operations are economic and functional and personnel of sufficiently high quality to support and implement the guidelines of the new system;
- the problems of selection and admission examinations, as well as the more general question of testing and student flow;
- articulation between school and community so that both are involved in mutually beneficial activities. This implies that the curriculum is made relevant to the life experiences and economic possibilities of most children in the community;
- increasing the level of government financial aid to education and insuring political commitment to a development strategy in which education plays a key role;
- the institutionalization of regularly functioning committees or groups, especially at the local level, empowered to work through and solve all the above problems.

The first priority is to define the qualitative dimensions and objectives of educational change. The key question is: Exactly how and why will the new system envisaged differ from the traditional pattern of education? In the process of defining and confronting problems of educational change, data collection should fit in as an auxiliary aspect. Though statistics in most developing nations are much looser than is desirable, extremely accurate figures are not nearly as important as is often asserted. Indeed, highly reliable matriculation data can be gathered for years without ever coming to grips with the operational problems of school and classroom, and without giving any impetus to educational reform. Reasonable estimates are sufficient for a working outline of educational targets. In addition manpower projections tend to be unrealistic and to divert education toward the production of high level skilled technicians. Such studies neglect the general social development needs of underdeveloped nations, the challenge of increasing automation and the need for an education that simply provides trainable, questioning human beings.⁶⁾

The most important goals of data collection have to do with the establishment of standards for evaluating educational performance and with the setting in which a school program must take shape. The planners should have at their disposal current information on such significant factors as: availability of educational resources in representative communities; teacher attitudes toward the school, teaching and the education hierarchy; opportunities for professional organization of educators; the quality of instruction and school related services (library, nutrition, health, extra-curricular); utilization of existing school facilities and functionality of architecture; patterns and standards of school localization and building maintenance problems; the range of choices open to students and the degree of encouragement given to creative efforts; and the school as an instrument of community involvement and social change. The last point is especially important, particularly as it is rarely given priority in tradi-

tional planning. Community involvement includes collaboration with community delegates and intellectuals who must carry through the educational design.⁷⁾

Phases in Sector Development

The basic strategy question for the planners is: What are the objectives and what kind of process is necessary to reach those objectives in a reasonable time period? A number of practical considerations immediately come into play. To give one example, fiscal and economic capability is, unfortunately, a painful reality within which planners must work. It is senseless to waste needed planning effort on paper projects for educational development that go beyond the wildest hopes and capabilities for growth of the political entities concerned. On the other hand, educational plans should not be based mainly on the traditional pattern of investment in education, which amounts to fiscal penny-pinching. A median course must be found and an accord reached as quickly as possible about government interests and incentives, community support and the possibilities of outside financing.

Nevertheless, the survey of possibilities should definitely not tie down the planners in time-consuming efforts to produce showcase propaganda pieces that purportedly guarantee the viability of their plans. A plan should be a working document and not a sales brochure. Yet the common practice of the great funding agencies is to require as a first step the production of just such a gilt-edged rationale or "proof". Plans have become intricately detailed, voluminous productions, often with lengthy expositions on how and with what force the projected funds will give rise to economic expansion and sector growth. Not only does this beg the question of development, but it openly invites over-dramatisation and vapid planning. The results are well known: a super-abundance of statistical surveys and tortured phraseology principally aimed not at implementation, but at the attraction of foreign resources.⁸⁾

The need for a planning process functioning within reasonable time limits should be apparent. What then are the phases that can be identified in education sector development? In the example that follows, three simplifying assumptions are made: (1) the political entities that will implement the new program are the states, which divide or share responsibility for educational matters with the federal government;⁹⁾ (2) a national education commission and state education commissions (including, perhaps technical assistance counterparts) coordinate the planning process; and (3) there is a reasonably cooperative attitude toward educational development on the part of the governments concerned. Finally, it must be noted

that while the time schedule indicated is meant to serve only as a guideline, and while there is bound to be some variance with each situation, any significant extension of the first two phases described below invariably signals either a faulty coordination of planning or a lack of seriousness about educational development

The first phase of planning should take only 2-3 months. Perhaps several pilot states will be chosen for the first years of the program, in which case the federal government would have to issue a formal call to the states to define their interest in planned educational development. Certain standards for acceptance should be set, such as minimum and rising state support levels to education, ability to train large numbers of teachers and state willingness to appoint and support a full time educational planning team, if such does not already exist. During the first contacts between the interested states and the national coordinating group, emphasis should be on detailed discussion of the requirements of process-planning and on gaining a general view of the development problems of each state. By the end of the three month period, the states should have a definite understanding of the magnitude of the task. They should be committed to a rigorous time schedule and financial incentives should be set forth in agreements for punctuality in producing the functioning school models expected in phases three and four.

As phase one begins to evolve into phase two, the state planning teams should have established liaison with relevant agencies and educational institutions. This includes identifying key people, contacting them, and forming working relationships with education and technical experts throughout the state. With assistance from these sources, the state groups should be surveying the educational system, defining a priority of needs, and locating organizational strengths and weaknesses and serious information gaps.

The second phase of planning may be said to begin in earnest when the state teams have developed beyond the point of establishing rapport and role security, and have come to an operational understanding of their mission. At this point it is crucial that the planning groups neither overdo their efforts in their zeal for reform, or, as is more common, give in to the tendency to procrastinate because of ever-present data gaps or the lack of definite orders from the governmental bureaucracy. By the fifth month of work several important targets should be reached. Curriculum issues should be carefully reviewed and the operational guidelines for the new schools should be taking form. This should be the outcome of a continuing dialogue between national and state planning groups, teachers, school administrators, and representative community leaders. At this point also,

commitments should be made regarding modernization and expansion of the system of teacher training. What institutions will be involved and what changes will be made in the system to produce more effective teachers? How will local schools be linked with universities so as to provide field experience and teaching practice? What provisions will be made for continuing in-service training? How will the reward system be altered to offer incentives to better qualified teachers? The answers to these questions can be the key to the success or failure of the entire educational design; thus teacher education is an on-going task of top priority.

As the third phase of sector development unfolds, the state and national planning commissions may coordinate and concentrate their efforts on a somewhat wider range of problems. Professional teacher organization and school administration are likely targets. By the tenth month of effort, plans should be underway for school localization, using a wedge approach; this dictates a very modest number of new buildings or remodelings, perhaps 3-5, during the first construction year. This system tests and refines the capabilities of both the physical building process and the human resources of training institutions.

The educational plan together with an application for outside financial assistance to the states, now emerges not as an end in itself, but as a product of a healthy planning structure within the states. No state or technical assistance team using process-planning can be trapped on a loan application treadmill, waiting passively for outside initiative and the magic flow of foreign money. Instead, work progresses toward solving structural and directional problems of curriculum development, student guidance, teacher training and administration. The existing system and the existing resources are used as a testing ground. Up to this point outside financing may have subsidized part of the cost of task groups and planning teams, and perhaps technical assistance has been an important part of the picture, but the main flow of outside capital will largely magnify and strengthen a process of evaluation and change whose implementation is already well underway.

The fourth or "ripening" phase of process-planning is a more flexible period of building upon the foundations laid in the initial phases. The process now involves verification, construction, evaluation and reward. By the twenty-first month of effort, each state should, largely by its own efforts, have produced several functioning school models. Each state should also have implemented a number of major reforms in educational policy, in coordination with other sectors of the total development picture. With agreement on the guidelines for educational change and with the development of a reasonably objective system for measuring performance, the

time is now ripe to multiply the product by whatever factor of support is available. In this sense, investment in education becomes a form of model-buying. Purchases are a function of the number of models that meet the reform criteria and fit within the time targets. The large funding agencies should now be ready to make their major investment in the expansion of a proven system. They should also continue their support for upgrading and educational innovation aiming at preventing any slipping back into traditional, dysfunctional paths of education.

Perhaps the rigor of this suggested system of scheduling and performance contracting will seem unrealistic to some. But this is a matter of false perspective that often arises through inadequate consideration of social realities. Certainly to the children of the poorer nations, the vast majority of whom are not served by the schools that purport to be public, speed of educational expansion and curriculum reform is more than a theoretical question. The fact is that traditional development strategies and approaches to planning are not, for the most part, even remotely in phase with the needs imposed by exploding growth. In a very real sense, traditional approaches may actually work to deflate pressures for reform by giving the appearance that a major effort is being made. When that happens, far from facilitating educational growth, planning becomes an organized system of narrowed channels and impediments to educational, economic and social development.

Conclusion

As Coombs has so aptly defined the problem, "...unless educational planning is made an integral part of the whole managerial process of decision-making and implementation, it produces more frustration than positive results."¹⁰ In accordance with this, the planning strategy suggested here aims at producing qualitative change in education by a triple endeavor of evaluation, reorganization and building momentum. Attitudinal shifts and classroom realities are given at least equal priority with structural factors and surveys of need. Unlike traditional step planning, evaluation of reform models and systems is quickly made an operational reality. In addition, huge amounts of capital are not committed until there exists tangible proof of a well-functioning infrastructure.

In process-planning, financial commitment is not merely a first stage target, but a continuous part of a momentum building strategy. Political and financial horizons will widen and receptivity to educational investments will grow faster and more realistically if a variety of decision-makers are directly involved in planning educational growth. Such collaboration develops clearer comprehension of the problems of education and its re-

sistance to change. As a by-product, the central role education can play in the attainment of overall development goals is better understood.

The commitment to funding only that which is viable – and in accord with operational guidelines – serves as an added incentive to educational modernization. Once the process has gone full circle to completion it builds on its own momentum: educational development may then be assessed in terms more realistic and meaningful than mere numbers of classes or enrollments. Reform cannot be considered complete without a truly professional teaching body or with an indifferent community. Instead, the process of planning insures a maximum degree of intellectual ferment and a reform-mindedness within the varied sectors and levels of education and society. Indeed, development in the sense described can only be promoted and implemented as a function of education. It is in this way that the developing nations can impress upon their richer neighbors the fact of their capability as well as their need.

NOTES

- 1) Marshall WOLFE: "Social and Political Problems of Educational Planning in Latin America," in *Problems and Strategies of Educational Planning: Lessons from Latin America*. Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1965, p. 20; United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, Report of the Meeting of the Expert Group on Comprehensive Development Planning, Léopoldville, February–March, 1963, p. 5; "O Preço da ignorância," *Folha de São Paulo*, Suplemento Especial, February 18, 1968, p. 50.
- 2) WOLFE, *loc. cit.*; "Herança Maldita" (editorial), *Jornal do Brasil*, Oct. 6, 1968.
- 3) Albert WATERSTON: *Development Planning: Lessons of Experience*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1965, p. 333.
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- 5) Ivan ILLICH: "The Futility of Schooling in Latin America," *Saturday Review*, April 20, 1968, pp. 57–59; Ira WINN: "Educational Planning and 'The System': Myth and Reality," *Comparative Education Review*, Oct. 1969, pp. 343–50.
- 6) ILLICH, *loc. cit.*; Paul GOODMAN: "Freedom and Learning: The Need for Choice," *Saturday Review*, May 18, 1968, pp. 73–75; Ira J. WINN: "Paradox and Perspective in Technical Assistance to Latin America," *International Review of Education*, 15, 1969, 1, pp. 27–38.
- 7) Warren HAGSTROM: "Poverty and Adult Education," *Adult Education*, 15, Spring 1965, 3, pp. 145–60; Roger GREGOIRE: "Conditions for Effective Educational Planning," *Problems and Strategies of Educational Planning*. Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1965, pp. 58–59; Chester BOWLES: "Self-Help – Not Help Yourself," *Saturday Evening Post*, 236, May 18, 1963, p. 8.
- 8) Bertram M. GROSS: *The Administration of Economic Development Planning: Principles and Fallacies*. New York: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1966, pp. 8–24; Guy BENVENISTE: "Toward a Sociology of National Development Planning," *Journal of Developing Areas*, 3, Oct. 1968, pp. 27–36; Julio LARREA: "Random Thoughts on the Economic Basis of Education in Latin America" *Comparative Education Review*, 7, Oct. 1963, pp. 163–65.
- 9) In non-federal or centralized nations, the problem of organization for educational change will, in some respects (financing, administration, personnel manage-

ment), be much easier. But on the other hand there is a tendency for centralized control to stifle creativity at local levels. This must be resisted to the utmost, for otherwise the implementation of development plans will fail because of the unwillingness of local planning groups and educational agencies to seize the initiative in developing reforms tailored to local needs and conditions. A fine balance must be created between the basic requirements of the national guidelines for reform and local or regional peculiarities. For this reason, and in order to stimulate local initiative, local leadership and community involvement, the educational plan should grow out of a multi-level, continuing dialogue. It should not be formulated at the top and pushed down through the various jurisdictions.

10) Phillip COOMBS: "The Challenge to Educational Planning," *International Development Review*, June 1968, p. 6.

STRATEGIEN ZUR VERWIRKLICHUNG VON BILDUNGSPLÄNEN IN ENTWICKLUNGSLÄNDERN

VON IRA J. WINN, Northridge, California

Wirkungsvolle Bildungsplanung muß zur Förderung einer rationalen Entwicklung des Schulbereichs lenkend eingreifen und auf politischer Ebene eine Bereitschaft schaffen, Grundinvestitionen im schulischen Sektor vorzunehmen. Eine gute Planung bewirkt eine fruchtbare Zusammenarbeit zwischen Erziehern, Öffentlichkeit, Politikern und ausländischen Geldgebern. Dies geschieht dadurch, daß verschiedenen Interessengruppen ein Mitspracherecht zum Planungsprozeß gewährt und die Durchführbarkeit und Effektivität der Pläne unter Beweis gestellt wird. Besonders in Entwicklungsländern besteht jedoch eine starke Tendenz der Bildungsplanungsinstitutionen, sich von den Problemen der praktischen Durchführung solcher Pläne zu distanzieren und sich lediglich auf die weniger umstrittenen Aspekte wie Datensammlung und Kostenanalyse zu konzentrieren. So wird die Erstellung von Bildungsplänen zum Selbstzweck statt zum Mittel, wobei die Geldgeber allgemein eine solche beschreibende Bedarfstellung als ausreichende Unterlage für ihre Durchführbarkeit ansehen. Das Ergebnis ist eine Überfülle von unrealisierbaren Plänen sowie eine Bildungsplanung, die einer gesunden Entwicklung des Erziehungswesens entgegensteht. Demgegenüber wird in diesem Bericht ein Zeitplan für den Aufbau des Erziehungssystems als Alternativvorschlag zu dem herkömmlichen Verfahren angeboten. Dieses Konzept zielt darauf hin, realistische Richtlinien zur Beurteilung des Engagements an einer Ausweitung des Erziehungssektors zu finden und einen Maßstab für die Vitalität des Prozesses der Bildungsplanung zu geben.

MOYENS A EMPLOYER POUR LA REALISATION DES PLANS DE L'EDUCATION DANS LES PAYS EN VOIE DE DEVELOPPEMENT

par IRA J. WINN, Northridge, California

Une planification efficace de l'éducation doit promouvoir et orienter le développement pédagogique rationnel au niveau des écoles et provoquer un engagement au niveau politique vers un investissement fondamental élémentaire dans ce secteur. Une bonne planification produit des rapports de renforcement mutuel entre les éducateurs, le public, les politiciens et les sources financières extérieures. Elle réalise tout cela en facilitant la participation de différents groupes d'intérêts dans le

processus de planification et en faisant ressortir l'aspect pratique et l'efficacité des plans. Mais surtout dans les pays en voie de développement une forte tendance se manifeste de la part d'organismes de planification, qui se désintéressent des problèmes de mise en application de plans, et se concentrent surtout sur les domaines plus sûrs et moins controversés de rassemblement des données et d'analyse des frais. Dresser un plan vendable devient une fin en soi plutôt qu'un moyen, et une telle analyse descriptive des besoins est généralement interprétée par les donateurs comme une preuve réelle de la possibilité d'une mise en application. Le résultat est une multitude de plans impraticables et une planification qui entrave réellement un bon développement de l'enseignement. Ce rapport suggère un schéma temps-phase relatif à l'établissement d'un système pédagogique comme alternative à la pratique traditionnelle. Il a pour objectif de fournir une base plus réaliste pour juger de l'engagement vis-à-vis d'un développement de l'éducation et pour fournir une évaluation de la vitalité du processus de planification de l'éducation.

DAS COUNTERPARTPROGRAMM: LEHRERAUSBILDUNG FÜR BERUFLICHE SCHULEN DER ENTWICKLUNGSLÄNDER

von VOLKER LENHART, Heidelberg

Die Ziele des Programms

Neben den Praktikanten, Hospitanten und Studenten aus den Entwicklungsländern gibt es seit Beginn der sechziger Jahre in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland eine relativ kleine, aber deutlich abgrenzbare Gruppe von Angehörigen dieser Staaten, die sich ebenfalls zu Ausbildungszwecken in Deutschland aufhalten: die Counterparts. Die mit diesem Terminus, der sprachlich lediglich die komplementäre Funktion des so Bezeichneten ausdrückt, angesprochene berufspädagogische Aufgabe erhält ihre Konturen durch die Struktur der von der Bundesrepublik in Entwicklungsländern geleisteten Bildungshilfe. Ein Schwerpunkt westdeutscher Bildungshilfe, für den seit 1956 ungefähr 33% der Geldmittel der sogenannten technischen Hilfe aufgewendet wurden, ist die Förderung von beruflichen Ausbildungseinrichtungen.¹⁾ Aufgrund bilateraler Abkommen werden von der Bundesrepublik (Stand von 1967) 109 fachliche Ausbildungsstätten, von denen die meisten Facharbeiterschulen sind, in 58 Ländern unterstützt.²⁾

Die Lehrer an den Facharbeiterschulen sind Deutsche, die allmählich durch einheimische Fachkräfte abgelöst werden sollen. Die Konzeption ist dabei, daß dieser Lehrernachwuchs aus geeigneten Absolventen der Schulen selbst gewonnen wird, die nach beruflicher Bewährung in den Betrieben oder als Hilfslehrer zu einem zweijährigen Ausbildungsaufenthalt in die Bundesrepublik eingeladen werden, um anschließend als vollqualifizierte technische Lehrkräfte eine Unterrichtsaufgabe in beruflichen Schulen des Heimatlandes zu übernehmen.³⁾

Als Ziele dieser Maßnahmen zur beruflichen Ausbildungshilfe werden u.a. genannt:

1. "Durch die deutsche Hilfe bei der Berufsausbildung soll die Bevölkerung der Entwicklungsländer befähigt werden, ihren Lebensstandard durch eigene Leistungen zu verbessern."⁴⁾ Dieser Zielsetzung stimmen breite Kreise der pädagogischen Öffentlichkeit zu. Hier wird die Emanzipation der vor allem im Hinblick auf ihre ökonomischen Grundlagen noch wenig entwickelten Gesellschaften in der Dritten Welt als Aufgabe der Förderungsmaßnahmen genannt. Dem liegt die auch in den Entwicklungsländern selbst weitgehend akzeptierte Vorentscheidung zugrunde, daß die industrielle Zivilisation, die eine umfassendere Beherrschung der materiel-

len Umwelt des Menschen ermöglicht, mit der Beseitigung unmittelbarer Lebensnot auch die übrigen individuellen wie sozialen Bedürfnisse am besten zu befriedigen vermag.

2. "Im Rahmen der technischen Hilfeleistung hat die Ausbildung von Handwerksgesellen, Facharbeitern, Vorarbeitern und Meistern den Vorrang vor der Ausbildung von akademischem Nachwuchs."⁵⁾ Die vorrangige Ausrichtung der deutschen pädagogischen Entwicklungsmaßnahmen auf die gewerblich-technische Bildung mittleren Niveaus entspringt der Einsicht, daß das Wirtschaftssystem der Entwicklungsgesellschaften zum Aufbau einer industriellen Produktionsweise vor allem auch der qualifizierten Fachkräfte unterhalb des akademischen Standards bedarf. Dem entspricht im Bereich des allgemeinbildenden Schulwesens der in verschiedenen regionalen Entwicklungsplänen als vorrangig bezeichnete Ausbau der Sekundarschulstufe. In den noch nicht entwickelten Ländern herrscht weitgehend ein unverbundenes Nebeneinander von traditionellen Produktionsformen einerseits und aus Industriestaaten verpflanzten hochtechnisierten Herstellungsstätten andererseits. Sowohl für die neue Industrie als auch im Dienstleistungssektor fehlen weitgehend die notwendigen einheimischen Fachleute. Das Gewicht, das diese Erkenntnis bei der deutschen Ausbildungshilfe bekommen hat, dokumentieren zahlreiche Belege. So beginnt etwa die für die Einrichtung der deutschen Facharbeiterschulen grundlegend gewordene Studie von Wissing mit der Feststellung: "Zu den typischen Erscheinungen in Entwicklungsländern gehört ein ungedeckter Bedarf an handarbeitenden Fachkräften."⁶⁾

Insofern die Schaffung einer breiten Gruppe von Verwaltungsfachleuten mittlerer Qualifikation, Facharbeitern und Angehörigen ähnlicher Berufe beim gegenwärtigen Stand der Produktivkräfte sich ökonomisch und berufspädagogisch rechtfertigen läßt, ist dieser Prioritätssetzung zuzustimmen. Kritisch ist dagegen eine besonders in der Anfangsphase der deutschen Bildungshilfe mit dem Schwerpunkt der Ausbildungshilfe zuweilen verbundene politische Intention zu betrachten, die auf einen Mittelstand als gesellschaftlich stabilisierendes Element in Entwicklungsgesellschaften abzielt. "Diese Ausbildungsstätten stellen nicht nur die für die Entwicklung der Länder benötigten geschulten Arbeitskräfte zur Verfügung, sondern tragen auch zur Schaffung eines Mittelstandes bei. Ein wirtschaftlich selbständiger Mittelstand ist als Gegengewicht gegen zu große Macht der dirigistischen Kräfte von großer politischer Bedeutung."⁷⁾ Die Übertragung der Schichtstruktur westlicher Gesellschaften auf Modelle zum Aufbau der Entwicklungsländer – hier also des Gedankens einer als Garant einer marktwirtschaftlichen Ordnung definierten Mittelschicht –

engt das Recht der Angehörigen dieser Gesellschaften auf Selbstbestimmung des eigenen politisch-gesellschaftlichen Rahmens ein.

3. "Die Ausbildung erfolgt in den Grundberufen des Metall-, Elektro-, Holz- und Baugewerbes... Grundlage für die Ausbildung sind die deutschen Berufsbilder und Berufsbildungspläne... Ausbildungsziel ist der Ausbildungsstand der deutschen Facharbeiter und Handwerksgesellen sowie der deutschen Vorarbeiter und Meister. Dieses Ziel wird trotz aller Ausbildungsschwierigkeiten unermüdlich angestrebt, weil die Entwicklungsländer Fachkräfte mit dieser Qualifikation benötigen."⁸⁾

Der Entscheidung, die Lernziele der Facharbeiterschulen anhand der deutschen Berufsbilder zu definieren, liegt unausgesprochen die Meinung zugrunde, die deutschen Ausbildungsrichtlinien repräsentierten industriestaatliche Standards schlechthin, hinter denen zurückzubleiben die angestrebte Entwicklung gefährden würde. Dagegen ist einzuwenden, daß eine Modifikation unter bestimmten Bedingungen durchaus einen entwicklungsfördernden Effekt haben kann. In der Praxis haben sich etwa die deutschen Berufsbilder verschiedener Metallberufe als zu speziell herausgestellt, so daß für das Entwicklungsland eine Kombination von Curriculuminhalten verwandter Ausbildungsziele vorgenommen werden mußte.⁹⁾ Überhaupt ist bei der Planung und Anlage der deutschen Ausbildungsstätten der sozio-kulturelle Kontext des jeweiligen Entwicklungslandes nicht ausreichend berücksichtigt worden, so daß die Schulen noch nicht befriedigend mit dem Bildungssystem und der Wirtschaft der Standortländer koordiniert sind.¹⁰⁾

4. "Die deutschen Lehrkräfte sollen nach angemessener Zeit durch einheimische technische Lehrer abgelöst werden. Diese ausländischen Lehrer werden in Deutschland durch eine pädagogische und fachtheoretische Schulung und ein mehrmonatiges Betriebspraktikum auf ihre Lehraufgabe vorbereitet."¹¹⁾

Die Bestrebung, die Schule nach einer bestimmten Zeit gänzlich in die Verantwortung des Standortlandes zu übergeben, wobei insbesondere die deutschen Lehrer durch einheimische Berufspädagogen ersetzt werden sollen, entspricht der emanzipatorischen Grundintention. Vorwiegend aus ökonomischen Gründen sowie angesichts des Fehlens geeigneter Bildungsstätten für Berufsschullehrer in den Entwicklungsländern selbst ist die Ausbildung dieser Fachleute in der Bundesrepublik vorgenommen worden. Neuerdings werden auch Überlegungen zur Errichtung beruflicher Lehrerbildungseinrichtungen in der Dritten Welt in die Konzeption der verantwortlichen deutschen Stellen aufgenommen.¹²⁾

Im Rahmen der Aufgabe einer Ablösung der deutschen Lehrer durch die Counterparts finden sich bei Durchsicht der bereits vorhandenen Unter-

lagen vier immer wiederkehrende Einzelziele, die mit dem Ausbildungsprogramm verfolgt werden. Erstens soll der Counterpart im Sinne der Typologie von Vente¹³⁾ als "Techniker" industrielles Fachwissen in seinem Heimatland weitergeben. Besonders auf diesem Gebiet erhofft man sich von ihm eine "Multiplikatorwirkung".¹⁴⁾ Zweitens soll er als "Neuerer"¹⁵⁾ gesellschaftliche Innovationsprozesse anregen, und zwar vornehmlich hinsichtlich der mit industriellen Produktionstechniken verknüpften Werthaltungen und Einstellungen. Damit eng verbunden ist als drittes Ziel die Aufwertung der technischen und Handarbeit erfordernden Berufe, deren Ansehen in vielen Ländern gegenüber den sogenannten *white collar jobs*, die sich mit einer literarisch-historischen Bildung erreichen lassen, sehr gering ist. Viertens spielen außen- und wirtschaftspolitische Motive eine Rolle. Neben der "Begegnung mit der deutschen Bevölkerung und [der] Berührung mit unserer Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsordnung"¹⁶⁾ sowie der Betonung der völkerverbindenden Aufgabe der Counterparts finden sich manchmal auch Aussagen, in denen von einer durch die technischen Lehrer einzuleitenden Erweiterung der Exportmöglichkeiten¹⁷⁾ die Rede ist. Da bei derartigen Überlegungen unmittelbar deutsche Eigeninteressen, bes. die der Eigentümer des Produktivvermögens, ins Spiel kommen, besteht die Gefahr, daß die emanzipatorische Intention beeinträchtigt wird.

Die Ausgangsbedingungen

Die Altersstruktur der zur Ausbildung in die Bundesrepublik kommenden technischen Lehrer hat ihren Schwerpunkt in der Gruppe der 22-bis 35-jährigen. 29% sind aber immerhin jünger und 7% älter (N = 627). Die Mehrzahl entstammt nicht der sozialen Unterschicht der Entwicklungsländer. Das drückt sich auch in der Dauer des Schulbesuchs aus. Etwa 50% haben nach Beendigung der Elementarschule Sekundarschulen besucht, sie jedoch teilweise, soweit sie zur Hochschulreife führten, nicht abgeschlossen. In diesen Fällen beruht der Eintritt in die deutsche technische Schule häufig auf einer sekundären Wahl, nachdem sich die angestrebte allgemeine Studienberechtigung nicht erreichen ließ.

Der verhältnismäßig hohe Sozialstatus der Schüler wirft für die Arbeit der technischen Schulen Probleme auf, die sich auch in der Ausbildung der Counterparts fortsetzen.¹⁸⁾ Die Schulen sind als Facharbeiterschulen konzipiert, was sich im Lehrplan und im entsprechenden Curriculum der Lehrerbildung widerspiegelt. Die Berufsmotivation eines großen Teils ihrer Schüler zielt aber nicht auf eine manuelle Arbeit in der Industrie, da diese als statusmindernd empfunden wird. Daraus ergeben sich Schwierigkeiten, die nicht zuletzt den Ausbildungserfolg beeinträchtigen. Schon bald nach dem Anlaufen der Counterpartprogramme zeigte sich

nämlich, daß die Teilnehmer, die die deutschen Schulen absolviert hatten, in der überwiegenden Mehrheit der Fälle keineswegs den als Eingangsvoraussetzung definierten beruflichen Kenntnisstand eines deutschen Facharbeiters aufwiesen. Im Laufe des Programms ausgearbeitete fachtheoretische und berufspraktische Eingangstests, die möglichst sprachunabhängig gehalten und an den Lernzielen der deutschen Lehrlingsausbildung normiert waren, ergaben für die Bewerber, von denen etwa 50% in ihren Heimatländern schon als Hilfslehrer gearbeitet hatten, den fachlichen Leistungsstand eines Lehrlings am Ende des zweiten Lehrjahrs. Dieses Anfangsniveau hat sich immer wieder bestätigt, so daß bei der Lehrerausbildung im Bundesgebiet beruflich-fachliche Kenntnisse auf Kosten der berufspädagogischen nachgeholt werden müssen.

Für eine vergleichende Forschung aufschlußreich ist die Tatsache, daß sich bei den praktischen Tests ein kulturtypisches und ein berufliches Leistungsgefälle abzeichnen beginnt. Im Durchschnitt erzielten die Teilnehmer aus Ostasien bessere Ergebnisse als die Angehörigen mittel- und vorderorientalischer Staaten, deren Vertreter wiederum den Südamerikanern überlegen waren. Die Prüfung der künftigen technischen Lehrer aus Afrika ergab ein uneinheitliches Bild. Eine Analyse der bei diesen Ergebnissen wirksamen Faktoren steht noch aus, so daß man sich vor Generalisierungen hüten muß. Im Durchschnitt erreichten die Bewerber mit handwerklichen Berufen (z.B. Tischler, die die Rangplatzskala anführen) bessere Ergebnisse als die mit ausgesprochenen Industrieberufen (etwa Maschinenschlosser, die am Ende der Skala stehen). Dieses unterschiedliche Ergebnis wird vorwiegend auf die jeweils verschieden große Bedeutung der allgemeinen und fachbezogenen sowie der technologischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Grundkenntnisse für die einzelnen Berufe zurückgeführt.¹⁹⁾

Der Ausbildungsgang

Die Ausbildung der Counterparts wird von Bund und Ländern gemeinsam finanziert und von der Zentralstelle für gewerbliche Berufsförderung der Deutschen Stiftung für Entwicklungsländer organisiert. Die eigentliche Unterweisung erfolgt weitgehend durch Landesstellen in Berlin, Hamburg, Solingen und Mannheim. Aufgrund der Erfahrungen der ersten Kurse bildete sich folgende Stufung im zweijährigen Ausbildungsgang heraus: "4 Monate Sprachschulung und Einführungskurs; 12 Monate gelenktes und beaufsichtigtes Betriebspraktikum einschließlich des berufsbegleitenden Unterrichts; 6 Monate Pädagogikkurs; 2 Monate Schlußseminar."²⁰⁾

Jeder Kurs umfaßt 50 bis 60 angehende technische Lehrer. Wichtigstes

Erfordernis ist zunächst ein rasch erworbenes Fundament in der deutschen Sprache, das die sinnvolle Teilnahme an der weiteren Ausbildung ermöglicht. Der von Mitarbeitern des Goetheinstituts in Mannheim durchgeführte Lehrgang ist ein Intensivkurs, bei dem alle modernen methodischen Hilfsmittel vom Film bis zum Sprachlabor eingesetzt werden. Während allgemeine Grundkenntnisse mit befriedigendem Erfolg vermittelt werden können, bereitet der Einbau der deutschen technischen Fachsprache in den Lehrgang noch Schwierigkeiten. Obwohl für diesen Bereich bereits Lehrmittel vorhanden sind – etwa eine technische Bilderfibel oder Tonbildreihen, die wichtige Arbeitstechniken optisch und sprachlich vergegenwärtigen – leidet der Unterricht vor allem an der unzureichenden technischen Informiertheit der deutschen Sprachlehrer. Oft fehlt ihnen ein Einblick in die betreffenden technologischen Sachzusammenhänge. Abhilfe könnte hier nur geschaffen werden, wenn sich die deutschen Lehrer bereitfänden, in der Mannheimer Zentralstelle an einem Einführungskurs teilzunehmen, der ihnen den anschaulichen Hintergrund des differenzierten technischen Sprachinstrumentariums erschließen könnte.²¹⁾

Der Sprachlehrgang wird gelegentlich von besonderen Lehrveranstaltungen – wie Vorträgen, Diskussionen, Filmvorführungen oder Betriebsbesichtigungen – unterbrochen, die dem Counterpart die deutsche Lebens- und Sozialwirklichkeit nahebringen sollen. In die didaktische Gestaltung dieser Sonderveranstaltungen gehen verschiedene Intentionen ein: Sie sollen dem Counterpart das Einleben in die fremde Umgebung erleichtern, ein objektives Bild der deutschen Verhältnisse vermitteln, zugleich aber auch Anlaß zu kritischen Betrachtungen angesichts der unterschiedlichen politisch-gesellschaftlichen Grundvorstellungen der Teilnehmer bieten und für den ganzen weiteren Ausbildungsweg fördernd und motivierend wirken.

Ein wichtiges Teilstück, das aber bisher den in seinen betriebs- und berufspädagogischen Intentionen noch am wenigsten definierten Ausbildungsabschnitt bildet, ist das Betriebspraktikum. Es wird in deutschen Betrieben, die je nach dem Beruf des Counterpart ausgewählt sind, durchgeführt. Ein weiteres Ziel – neben einer Vervollkommnung der praktischen beruflichen Fertigkeiten – ist die Einübung einer allgemeinen Arbeitshaltung, die sich in Planungsvermögen, Fähigkeit der Zeit- und Arbeitseinteilung Pünktlichkeit u.a. niederschlägt. Oft sieht sich der technische Lehrer erstmals beim Praktikum den Bedingungen fremdbestimmter Arbeit im modernen, wirtschaftlich arbeitenden Industriebetrieb ausgesetzt. Betriebliche Realität und Erwartungen der Counterparts differieren erheblich. Die Folge sind zahlreiche Frustrationen und Konflikte: Klagen über veraltete Maschinen, Arbeitsverweigerungen, hohe Fehlzeiten auf

Seiten der technischen Lehrer, Beschwerden, Ablösungsforderungen und Verweigerung der weiteren Mitarbeit auf Seiten der Betriebe.

Aus der Vielzahl der mit dem Praktikum verbundenen Probleme soll die Frage nach dem Status des technischen Lehrers als Beispiel herausgegriffen werden. Die Counterparts nehmen in der Regel mit einer aus ihrer Erfahrung erklärlichen Eigenperzeption ihres Sonderstatus das Praktikum auf. Im Betrieb sehen sie sich teils tatsächlich, teils angeblich mit herkömmlichen ausländischen Praktikanten, mit Gastarbeitern oder – bei Versetzung in die Lehrwerkstatt – gar mit wesentlich jüngeren Lehrlingen auf eine Stufe gestellt. Aus einem solchen Statusverlust entsteht eine ausbildungshemmende Verhaltensunsicherheit. Um dieser entgegenzuwirken, schuf die Zentralstelle auf Anregung der Teilnehmer ein besonderes Statussymbol, ein Stoffabzeichen "Technischer Lehrer", das auf dem Arbeitsanzug getragen werden sollte.²²⁾ Dieser Bezeichnung entsprach aber keine definierte Rolle im betrieblichen System, und das mit dem Wort "Lehrer" assoziierte besondere Prestige rief außerdem bei den Arbeitskollegen eine übersteigerte Erwartung gegenüber dem fachlichen Leistungsvermögen des Counterparts hervor, so daß diese zur Statussicherung gedachte Maßnahme, die inzwischen wieder aufgegeben wurde, eine völlige Konfusion bei der vom Praktikanten angestrebten und ihm zugedachten Rollenerwartung bewirkte.

Da besonders von den Regierungen der Entwicklungsländer und den deutschen Projektleitern im Ausland auf eine Beibehaltung des Praktikums als einer zentralen Ausbildungsphase gedrängt wird, kann auf die Dauer nur eine genauere didaktische Strukturierung der Praktikumsinhalte und -methoden die Schwierigkeiten beheben. Schnuer schlägt für diese Klärung folgende Prinzipien vor: "Wenn das Betriebspraktikum seinen Sinn behalten soll, muß der technische Lehrer an Tätigkeiten eingesetzt werden, die 1. für ihn überschaubar sind, 2. einen praktischen Verwendungszweck besitzen, 3. in einem sinnvollen und arbeitspädagogisch begründeten Zusammenhang seiner Gesamtausbildung stehen, und 4. hinreichend Lernmotivationen für eine Übernahme und Weitergabe in seiner Heimat enthalten."²³⁾ Als praktische Maßnahmen werden die Umwandlung des ersten Teils des Praktikums in einen nach pädagogischen Gesichtspunkten gestalteten schulischen Lehrgang und eine intensivere Beratung der Teilnehmer im Betrieb durch die Mitarbeiter der Landesstellen vorgesehen.²⁴⁾

Das Praktikum mit seinem begleitenden fachtheoretischen Unterricht mündet in die berufspädagogische Ausbildung. Ziel dieser Ausbildung ist die Rücksendung eines Lehrers, der die für die deutsche Facharbeiterprüfung geforderten Kenntnisse beherrscht, pädagogisch über eine ausreichende Unterrichtssicherheit verfügt und praxisorientierte Einblicke

in die Allgemeine Pädagogik, Didaktik und Pädagogische Psychologie erhalten hat. Die einzelnen Fächer der pädagogischen Ausbildung sind aus dem Wochenstundenplan ersichtlich.²⁵⁾

	Montag	Dienstag	Mittwoch	Donnerstag	Freitag
vor- mittags	Einführung in die Wirt- schaftskunde mit Sprach- übungen	Praktische Fachkunde mit metho- dischen Übungen	Einführung in die Päd- agogik und Allgemeine Unterrichts- lehre	Technologie und Tech- nisches Rech- nen mit me- thodischen Übungen	Allgemeine Unterrichts- lehre, Lehr- probenaus- arbeitung und Durch- führung
nach- mittags	Technologie und Tech- nisches Rech- nen mit me- thodischen Übungen	Praktische Fachkunde mit metho- dischen Übungen	Einführung in die Schüler- psychologie	Lehrübun- gen, Lehr- proben, Be- sichtigungen, Lehrpläne	Technisches Zeichnen mit methodischen Übungen, Tafelzeich- nen

Vier Schwerpunkte sind festzustellen: die berufskundlichen Fächer; die pädagogischen Disziplinen; die methodisch-didaktischen Übungen, in denen gelehrt und geübt wird, das fachliche Wissen auf die Unterrichtssituation umzudenken und umzusetzen, und schließlich die praktischen Lehrproben. Sofern sie vor deutschen Berufsschulklassen durchgeführt wurden, ergaben sich erfreuliche Rückwirkungen für die deutschen Schüler. Angesichts des sicher agierenden Lehrers aus dem Entwicklungsland wurden trotz gelegentlich auftretender Sprachschwierigkeiten bei den Berufsschülern viele Vorurteile gegenüber ausländischen Arbeitskollegen und Praktikanten ausgeräumt.²⁶⁾

Die gesamte Ausbildung schließt mit einem vier- bis sechswöchigen Seminar ab. Neben dem allgemeinen Erfahrungsaustausch kehren in ihm auf neuer Ebene einige Inhalte des Einführungslehrgangs wieder. Im Schlußseminar April/Mai 1966 wurden in Vorträgen, Diskussionen, Seminarübungen und Besichtigungen etwa folgende Themen behandelt: "Counterpart und Schule, Beruf und Arbeit, Unfallverhütung und Erste Hilfe, Technische Information, Gewerbeförderung und Arbeit der deutschen Entwicklungshilfe, Organisatorische Maßnahmen zur Durchführung der technischen Hilfe."²⁷⁾ Es wurde versucht, diese Veranstaltungen mit Übungen im deutschen Sprachunterricht zu kombinieren.

Die berufliche Bewährung der Counterparts

Die Wiedereingliederung der Counterparts in ihr Heimatland ist nicht so schwierig wie bei anderen Praktikanten und Studenten aus Entwicklungsländern, da sie an ihre ursprüngliche Schule zurückkehren und somit einen ihnen bereits bekannten und gesicherten Arbeitsplatz haben. Dennoch bleiben sie trotz vertraglicher Verpflichtung nicht immer an ihren Ausbildungsstätten. Eine 1966 bei 15 Schulen durchgeführte Umfrage ergab,²⁸⁾ daß von 192 zurückgekehrten Counterparts 49 (= 25%) nicht mehr an den Entsendeschulen tätig waren. Von diesen unterrichteten wiederum 20 (= 41%) an vergleichbaren Berufsschulen ihres Heimatlandes, so daß der Ausbildungserfolg erhalten blieb. Insgesamt waren also 85% der zurückgekehrten Counterparts noch als technische Lehrer tätig.

Über die berufliche Bewährung der zurückgekehrten Counterparts liegen nur sehr unvollkommene Daten vor. Eine deutsche Beobachtergruppe monierte die mangelnde Initiative zur Weiterbildung sowie zur Einarbeitung neuer Lehrmittel und Anwendung der aus Deutschland zugeschickten Arbeitsunterlagen im Unterricht.²⁹⁾ Eckensberger und Claus³⁰⁾ sammelten von deutschen Lehrern im Ausland vorwiegend kritische Äußerungen über die fachlichen Kenntnisse und die Arbeitsmotivation der Counterparts, die von Steinhilber³¹⁾ befragten deutschen Projektleiter (die Erhebung ist wegen des zu geringen Umfangs der Stichprobe allerdings nicht repräsentativ) waren mit den fachpraktischen Fähigkeiten ihrer Counterpartkollegen vollauf, mit den fachtheoretischen Kenntnissen nur bedingt zufrieden. Der methodisch-didaktische und der allgemeinpädagogische Wissensstand wurde eher negativ beurteilt. Eine wissenschaftliche Untersuchung des beruflichen Einsatzes der Counterparts bleibt als Kontrolle der Gesamtausbildung und als Grundlage für Nachkontaktprogramme dringend erforderlich.

ANMERKUNGEN

1) *Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe*, hrsg. von K. KRUG und Rolf E. VENTE, Teil II: Entwicklungshilfe der Industrieländer, Bd. A. Die Entwicklungshilfe der Bundesrepublik, A 50, 01, 58. Lieferung, September 1967. Baden-Baden: Lutzeyer, 1967, S. 3.

2) Nach der Zusammenstellung bei Günther SCHNUR: *Die Ausbildung von Technischen Lehrern aus Entwicklungsländern in der Bundesrepublik – Berufspädagogische Voraussetzungen und Probleme*. Diss. Heidelberg 1969, Anlage 8. Diese Dissertation, der auch die vorliegende Darstellung die wichtigsten Informationen verdankt, ist für den Fragenkreis grundlegend.

3) "Ergänzungsrichtlinien für die Aus- und Fortbildungsprogramme im Rahmen der gewerblichen Berufsförderung für Entwicklungsländer," *Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe* Bd. IIA, 3, 37. Lieferung, Mai 1965, S. 75–86.

4) "Grundsätze für die deutsche Hilfeleistung bei der Berufsausbildung in Entwicklungsländern", *Die berufsbildende Schule*, 16, Wolfenbüttel: Heckners Verlag, 1964, S. 487.

5) Ebenda, S. 487.

6) Jürgen WISSING: *Modell einer Facharbeiterschule für Entwicklungsländer*. Weinheim: Beltz, 1961, S. 2; "Entwicklungspolitisch ausgerichtete Ausbildungshilfe muß sich den erkenn- und absehbaren personellen und fachlichen Erfordernissen der verschiedenen Entwicklungsländer bzw. -regionen anpassen. Diese aber liegen in der Breite und in der Tiefe bei den meisten Entwicklungsländern mehr im Bereich der handwerklichen Berufe, etwa des Facharbeiters oder des Agrartechnikers, der Reparatur- oder Dienstleistungsaufgaben u. dgl. als in höheren Kategorien." In: "Durchführung von Aus- und Fortbildungsvorhaben für Angehörige der Entwicklungsländer. Stellungnahme der Bundesregierung," *Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe*, Bd. II A, 53, 3, 25. Lieferung, Februar 1964, S. 52; vgl. "Förderung fachlicher Ausbildungsstätten in Entwicklungsländern," *Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe*, Bd. II A, 56, 1, 29. Lieferung, Juli 1964, S. 1-7; vgl. Alfons GUMMERSBACH: *Berufspädagogische Gedanken zur Bildungshilfe für Entwicklungsländer*. Ratingen: A. Henn, 1967.

7) "Technische Hilfe der Bundesrepublik Deutschland für die Entwicklungsländer", *Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe*, Bd. II A, 50, 22. Lieferung, Oktober 1963, S. 6; zum Gesamtproblem der Mittelschichten in Entwicklungsländern vgl. René KÖNIG; Ahmed MUDDATHIR (Hrsg.): *Probleme der Mittelschichten in Entwicklungsländern. Dargestellt an den Ländern Jugoslawien, Türkei, Spanien, Venezuela und den neugegründeten Staaten Westafrikas*. Köln: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1964.

8) "Grundsätze für die deutsche Hilfeleistung . . ." (Anm. 4) S. 487.

9) Vgl. SCHNUR: *Die Ausbildung von Technischen Lehrern aus Entwicklungsländern*, (Anm. 2) S. 78-85.

10) Vgl. Lutz H. ECKENSBERGER; H. J. CLAUS: *Unterrichtsprobleme an technisch-gewerblichen Ausbildungsstätten in Entwicklungsländern*. Stuttgart: Klett, 1968, S. 14-15; "Grundsätze für eine Bildungshilfe der Bundesrepublik Deutschland an die Entwicklungsländer". Verabschiedet vom Wissenschaftlichen Beirat beim Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit am 28. Mai 1965, *Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe*, Bd. II A 11, 23, 41. Lieferung, Sept. 1965, S. 1-30, bes. S. 22; zu den allgemeineren Problemen der Bildungsplanung in Entwicklungsländern vgl. Hasso von RECUM: *Bildungsplanung in Entwicklungsländern. Die Regionalpläne der UNESCO. Einführung und Dokumentation*. Braunschweig: Westermann, 1966; Jürgen H. WOLFF: *Bildungsplanung für Entwicklungsländer. Ein Modell und seine Anwendung auf den Kongo - Kinshasa*. Bielefeld: Bertelsmann, 1969.

11) "Grundsätze für die deutsche Hilfeleistung . . ." (Anm. 4) S. 487.

12) Vgl. die Einrichtung eines von der Bundesrepublik unterstützten Instituts zur Ausbildung von Berufsschullehrern in Thailand, mit dessen Aufbau 1969 begonnen wurde.

13) Rolf E. VENTE: *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Ausbildung von Angehörigen der Entwicklungsländer in Industrieländern. Die technische Hilfe für Entwicklungsländer*. Bd. 2. Baden-Baden: Lutzeyer, 1962.

14) Alfred STEINHILBER: *Die Ausbildung ausländischer Lehr- und Fachkräfte (sog. Counterparts) in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Diplomarbeit. Mannheim, 1967.

15) VENTE: *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen* . . . , S. 14.

16) "Richtlinien über die Durchführung der Aus- und Fortbildungsvorhaben für Angehörige der Entwicklungsländer." Vom 5. März 1964. Erarbeitet von der Bundesregierung und den Länderregierungen unter Beteiligung der Bundesanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung, *Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe*, Bd. II A, 53, 3, 35. Lieferung, Febr. 1965, S. 34.

17) Deutsche Stiftung für Entwicklungsländer: *Bericht zur Pädagogischen Arbeitswoche 1966 und allgemeine Gedanken zum Problem der Ausbildung von Counterparts für technische Schulen in Entwicklungsländern*. DOK 315. Mannheim, 1966, S. 15.

18) Nach SCHNUR: *Die Ausbildung von Technischen Lehrern aus Entwicklungsländern*, (Anm. 2) S. 108-116.

19) Ebenda S. 127-145; vgl. Deutsche Stiftung für Entwicklungsländer: *Bericht zur Pädagogischen Arbeitswoche, 1966*, Anlage 2, S. 1-6.

20) Deutsche Stiftung für Entwicklungsländer: *Bericht zur Pädagogischen Arbeitswoche, 1966*, S. 5.

- 21) SCHNUR: *Die Ausbildung von Technischen Lehrern aus Entwicklungsländern*, (Anm. 2) S. 154-162.
- 22) Nach SCHNUR: Ebenda, S. 188-189.
- 23) Ebenda, S. 175.
- 24) Ebenda, S. 186-187.
- 25) Ebenda, S. 207.
- 26) Ebenda, S. 218.
- 27) STEINHILBER: *Die Ausbildung ausländischer Lehr- und Fachkräfte*, (Anm. 14) S. 65-66.
- 28) Deutsche Stiftung für Entwicklungsländer: *Bericht zur Pädagogischen Arbeitswoche, 1966*, Anlage 2, S. 4.
- 29) SCHNUR: *Die Ausbildung von Technischen Lehrern aus Entwicklungsländern*, (Anm. 2) S. 238-240.
- 30) ECKENSBERGER, CLAUS: *Unterrichtsprobleme an technisch-gewerblichen Ausbildungsstätten*, (Anm. 10) S. 62-63.
- 31) STEINHILBER: *Die Ausbildung ausländischer Lehr- und Fachkräfte*, (Anm. 14) S. 73.

THE COUNTERPART PROGRAMME: TEACHER TRAINING FOR VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

by VOLKER LENHART, Heidelberg

The counterpart programme of the German Federal Republic, which is aimed at improving vocational education in the developing countries, takes its shape from the Federal Government's overall provisions for educational assistance. Since 1956 about 33% of the sum spent on technical assistance has been used for the support of vocational training facilities (mostly technical schools) in 58 countries. The teachers at these technical schools are Germans, but their places will gradually be taken by native experts – the counterparts. These teachers are to be recruited from qualified graduates of the schools, who, after a period of practising their trade, are invited to spend two years in the Federal Republic of Germany for further training.

This programme has four main aims: first, the counterpart should pass on his acquired industrial expertise to others in his homeland. Secondly, he should initiate processes of social innovation. A closely allied aim is the improvement of the status of technical and skilled occupations, which in many countries are regarded as inferior to white collar jobs. The fourth goal (and the most problematic) is the pursuit of Germany's own interests, motivated by considerations of economics and foreign policy. The training is divided into four months of introductory language tuition, twelve months of practical experience, six months pedagogical training and a final seminar. Of these, the practical experience phase is thus far the least developed. There is very little information on the professional performance of the counterparts after their return. Their reabsorption into their home country, however, seems to be straightforward, since they return to the school that sent them and thus have a safe job which they already know. Nevertheless, in the mid-sixties a survey showed that 25 per cent of the technical teachers who returned were no longer working at their original school, although half of these were teaching at other vocational schools, and thus continuing to use their training.

LE PROGRAMME "COUNTERPART":
LA FORMATION D'ENSEIGNANTS POUR ECOLES PROFESSIONNELLES
DANS LES PAYS EN VOIE DE DEVELOPPEMENT

par VOLKER LENHART, Heidelberg

Le programme "Counterpart", qui a une mission pédagogique-professionnelle, entre dans le cadre de l'assistance éducative accordée par la République fédérale d'Allemagne aux pays en voie de développement. Quelque 33 pour cent des ressources financières dépensées depuis 1958 à la prétendue aide technique ont été consacrés dans 58 pays au développement d'instituts de formation professionnelle - la plupart d'entre eux étant des écoles d'ouvriers spécialisés. Dans ces écoles d'ouvriers spécialisés, les enseignants sont Allemands, mais seront peu à peu remplacés par du personnel indigène qualifié: les "counterparts". Les enseignants seront recrutés parmi les diplômés qualifiés de ces écoles et seront invités, après un stage de pratique professionnelle, en République fédérale d'Allemagne à un séjour de formation de deux ans.

Le programme de formation poursuit quatre buts principaux: le counterpart doit d'abord, après son retour, enseigner dans son pays ses connaissances dans le domaine industriel. Il doit en même temps encourager des processus sociaux d'innovation. A cela est liée étroitement en troisième lieu, la revalorisation des professions techniques et celles qui nécessitent un travail manuel par rapport aux fonctions appelées de "commis de bureau" et qui sont plus appréciées dans de nombreux pays. Le dernier but (et le plus problématique) est de promouvoir les intérêts allemands en politique extérieure et économique. La formation comprend un cours de langue de quatre mois, un cours pratique d'un an dans une industrie, une formation pédagogique de six mois et enfin un séminaire terminal. La phase la moins sûre de toutes au point de vue de la pédagogie professionnelle est celle du stage pratique dans une industrie. On ne dispose que de peu de renseignements sur les capacités professionnelles des counterparts une fois de retour dans leur pays. Leur réadaptation dans le pays se fait cependant assez facilement, car ils retournent à l'école qui les a formés et y trouvent ainsi un lieu de travail assuré et connu. Une enquête faite dans les années 1965 fait ressortir que 25 pour cent des enseignants techniques qui sont retournés dans leur pays n'enseignent plus dans l'école qui les a envoyés. Les succès de cette formation restent cependant acquis, car la moitié d'entre eux enseignent de toute façon dans d'autres écoles professionnelles.

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION AND CONTEMPORARY LIBERALISM IN THE UNITED STATES: A SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW

by D. C. MORTON and D. R. WATSON, Manchester¹⁾

The greater the degree of internal structural and cultural differentiation of a society, the less likely it is that educational institutions will promote all groups' values "equivalently". As an established empirical generalization, it seems that in modern societies some groups' values and skills predominate over those of other groups. These groups, who have a consequent advantage in school, are those which have an economic and power advantage in modern society, i.e. the dominant groups.²⁾ This paper constitutes an attempt to demonstrate sociologically the full significance of this empirical generalization for the education of children from subordinate groups. First, we examine the concepts of "compensatory education" and "liberalism".

What is Compensatory Education?³⁾

During the past decade, increasing emphasis has been placed by educationists and applied social scientists upon the "disadvantage" and "deprivation" of children from certain socio-economic groups. This emphasis has been particularly marked in the USA, but is also increasingly noticeable in Britain. These concepts of "disadvantage" and "deprivation" are often ill-defined and diffuse, but seem to centre upon an alleged lack of "language development" in these children. Educational programmes have been developed to "compensate" for these perceived "deficits".⁴⁾ Most such "compensatory programmes" are related to the pre-school education of children, being rooted in psychological research into "early childhood development". In general, the emphasis upon linguistic and perceptual deficits in compensatory education programmes seems to have developed from the interests of psychologists, who sometimes came into this field of research from that of remedial education for mentally-handicapped children. The programmes generally aim at "compensating" children through pre-empting the growth of deficits by exposing the children to an "enriched", stimulating, pre-school environment. The main objective is to equip such children to compete with more "privileged" groups of children in the school system, from the earliest possible age. These programmes feed into dominant psychological theories of the development of skills and "intelligence" and their relatedness to success within the educational system, which in turn is supposed⁵⁾ to be causally related to success in the "wider society".

The Liberal Ideology

This ideology implies a view of society, as well as being a set of explicit political beliefs and directives, which we believe to be widespread in both the USA and Britain.⁶⁾ We shall be primarily concerned with the former aspect. The liberal ideology advocates social change in piecemeal fashion, within the existing framework of social institutions. It denies the need for basic institutional reorganization, upheaval or revolution. Thus the liberal ideology is in a sense a variety of conservative ideology rather than of radical-socialist ideology, although recognizing the "need" for limited institutional change. In the case of increasing claims for civil rights in the USA,⁷⁾ the extreme conservative argues that Negroes are in their present situation vis-à-vis other groups of Americans, because they "deserve to be", by virtue of their alleged inferiority, laziness, apathy and lax morality. The radical socialist claims that Negroes are in their present position because American social institutions are fundamentally racist, and that their plight is inevitable, given that type of social structure. His implied ameliorative action involves basic structural changes, such as the setting up of a separate black state founded upon Negro institutions and culture. The liberal adopts the position of the "reasonable man" by taking an allegedly middle path, which assumes the fundamental adequacy of American institutions and denies the need for radical change, but acknowledges that "something needs to be done" if the system is to function equitably.

The liberal ideology is epitomised by non-violent, constitutional, legal and administrative "solutions", whereas radical ideologies are often associated with violent and revolutionary "solutions". Thus Samuel Lubell⁸⁾ has claimed that "in the South the first need has long been to end all discrimination *by law*". Karl Mannheim⁹⁾ has shown how the liberal perspective involves an identification with bourgeois groups, a humanistic morality (see Dr. M. L. King Jr.'s statement below) and stresses individualism and the importance of rationality in social problem-solving – a rationality embodied in bureaucratic action and administrative routine.¹⁰⁾ Liberal solutions tend to avoid those sectors of society which are "emotionally-charged" or constituted of so many "contradictions" as to be unmanageable by bureaucratic-administrative rationality.

In the mid-1960's *laissez faire* conservatives and segregationists in Congress were finally overcome by the liberals on the civil rights and poverty issues. During the first half of the decade, poverty and related problems became more visible to the public.¹¹⁾ Urban poverty in particular was increasingly viewed as a threat to the established social order. In Conant's dramatic words: "We are allowing social dynamite to accumulate

in our large cities.”¹²) The civil rights movement came to be perceived, rightly or wrongly, as one of the primary sources of pressure for rapid social change. Civil rights commentators, protesters, and others stressed not only the high levels of poverty and unemployment of the largely Negro, urban centres, but also the part played by educational institutions in perpetuating such problems. Thus education became a prime concern of civil rights groups in the northern cities as well as in the segregated south.

In the light of growing public concern, more and more governmental officials came to see the institutions of education not only as a primary focus of civil-rights workers’ demands but also as the means of redressing many grievances through breaking “the cycle of poverty”. P. Meranto¹³) reports the then Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare as linking poverty, unemployment and poor education with rising crime and delinquency (that is with growing social disorder)¹⁴) and as expressing the hope that better education would break these links. In this context, the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which embodied the liberal ideology, provided Congress with a vehicle for at least partially satisfying the needs of the poor “without appearing to ‘knuckle-under’ to the demands of civil rights groups”, and led to a dramatic increase in Federal aid to primary and secondary schools, from about \$ 500 million in 1965 to \$ 1800 million in 1966.¹⁵)

As part of this movement towards accommodating these threats to order through adjusting the institutions of education, the function of compensatory education became more clearly and explicitly defined. As already indicated, the liberal accepts the legitimacy of the existing social order and defines those groups who implicitly or explicitly challenge the adequacy of the social system by their non-conformity to dominant norms and values, as being ill-equipped to maximise the advantages supposed to be available to them within the present system. Such non-conformity and expressions of discontent are often “explained” as being symptoms of maladjustment.¹⁶) John Horton lucidly elaborates these criteria of maladjustment and points to their political implications.¹⁷)

Because the liberal accepts the general inviolability of the social order, he often regards problems as being moral in nature, as in this passage by Martin Luther King, Jr.:

By non-violent resistance the Negro can also enlist all men of goodwill in his struggle for equality. The problem is not a purely racial one, with Negroes set against whites. In the end it is not a struggle between people at all, but a tension between justice and injustice. Non-violent resistance is not aimed against oppressors but against oppression. Under its banner, consciences, not racial groups, are enlisted. . . . The way of non-violence means a willingness to suffer and

sacrifice. It may mean going to jail . . . it may even mean physical death. But if physical death is the price a man must pay to free his children and his white brethren from a permanent death of the spirit, then nothing could be more redemptive.¹⁸⁾

The liberal maintains his ideology with its implicit emphasis on the essential morality of the social order by adopting individualism as a sufficient mode of both understanding and solving the "social problems" and "social evils" which he perceives. Thus Samuel Lubell¹⁹⁾ asks "What are the conditions that are needed for racial peace to become attainable? The key requirement, I believe, is to replace racialism with individualism. What is indispensable is . . . that we restructure our own thinking to be able to treat each Negro as a recognisable individual and not as an anonymous black face. . . . Until that comes to pass, the social framework for orderly evolutionary racial progress will be missing."

Morality and individualism are combined in the liberal's belief in the God-given or constitutionally-guaranteed "rights of the individual", and in his moral condemnation of those in the dominant group, such as some employers and landlords, who visibly deny such rights to members of minority groups. He regards all men as being created equal, with equal rights, but also extends this belief to the assumption that all men are similar. Thus he assumes that all Americans, whether Negro, Jewish, Puerto Rican, or Sioux Indian can come to conform to and identify with the so-called "American Dream" of achievement and success. Since the liberal identifies himself with the image of social order embodied in the American Dream, he easily assumes that all men not only can, but should, so conform and identify.

The Relation of Liberalism to Compensatory Education

It is our contention that the ideology of compensatory education is a specific expression of the liberal ideology. From this standpoint the formulation of social problems in psychological terms such as "maladjustment", "linguistic or sensory deprivation" and "poor motivation" can be seen as the scientific counterpart of the individualistic approach to social problems which characterises the liberal perspective. The technical terminology of psychology thus reflects the liberal's conviction that problems are rooted in individuals rather than in the overall social order.

Liberal convictions that the social order is both legitimate and right are buttressed by several other concepts which focus attention elsewhere. A common "ameliorative" policy advocated by liberals is the "special areas approach". By implying that "the problem", whether that of poverty or

educational disadvantage, is limited to certain areas and to a small minority of the total population, such an approach tends to deflect attention from the full extent of the problem and its roots in the overall social system. This approach is exemplified by such concepts as "the inner city" and "educational priority areas", which together focus attention away from rural and small-town problems and the educational disadvantages encountered by working-class children everywhere.²⁰⁾

As a variant of conservative ideology, the liberal perspective involves an implicit identification with the dominant, privileged strata of society,²¹⁾ commonly referred to as "the Establishment".²²⁾ For example, Bayard Rustin's address²³⁾ to the Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions contains many transparent and explicit indications of his identification with "the leadership group", whom he distinguishes from "the simple people on the street". Such identification usually leads to the liberal's implicit acceptance of the dominant group's values and skills as those of society as a whole. The ethic of professionalism, which includes ideals of vocation, service and selflessness that are part of the moral position of liberalism, represents a major example of a dominant group value. Horton suggests that professionals under the guise of "scientific neutrality" or "professional detachment", assume that their own particular group values and perspectives constitute the core values and perspectives of the majority of Americans. In particular, it is reasonable to assume that social workers and educators increasingly construe professional/upper middle-class values as the core values of society as a whole.²⁴⁾ This general orientation is expressed in the use of such phrases as "culturally deprived".²⁵⁾ In C. Wright Mills' parlance, the vocabulary and assumptions of social pathologists are socially "situated" in the dominant groups of society.²⁶⁾

An important instance of the tendency of professionals to assume a widespread consensus with their own "establishment values" is the fact, noted by many observers, that seemingly objective and scientific IQ tests are far more "culture-bound" than "culture-fair".²⁷⁾ Alfred Binet,²⁸⁾ who developed the first scale of IQ tests in 1905, made it perfectly clear that by 1908 he was aware that his tests measured the effects of cultural training upon "intelligence" rather than "intellectual capacity", despite his efforts to avoid this danger. Professor F. L. Goodenough of the University of Minnesota, who in 1926 herself devised a widely-used performance test which she believed to be "culture-fair" has since admitted to being mistaken. Writing with D. B. Harris²⁹⁾ in 1950 she stated "... the search for a culture-free test, whether of intelligence, artistic ability, personal-social characteristics, or any other measurable trait is illusory, and ... the naive assumption that the mere freedom from verbal require-

ments renders a test equally suitable for all groups is no longer tenable." She even apologised for her own earlier study.

In effect, such tests implicitly over-generalise in that they assume that the norms, values, orientations and skills which constitute the intelligence of middle-class people are the only valid measurer of the intelligence of people of all groups in the society and therefore provide an "objective" basis for comparing all people. Professor Allison Davis³⁰) aptly crystallises this issue as follows:

The lifelong process by which culture helps to guide, develop, limit and evaluate all mental problem-solving has not received sufficiently serious attention from either test-makers or educators. They continually make the error of regarding middle-class culture, and even more narrowly, middle-class school culture, as the "true" culture, or the "best" culture. More than 95% of our teachers and professors are middle-class in their socio-economic status. Like all other cultural groups, teachers and professors regard that particular version of culture (those mores, emotional patterns, and social values) which they have learned from their own families, friends, and teachers, as the "best" and only "true" culture. This attitude is powerfully reflected in school curricula, in intelligence tests, and in teachers' judgments of their pupils.³¹) It is an attitude which is fatal to the development of the full mental capacity of either the teacher or the pupil.

In what ways do the values and other elements of the culture of the middle-class become expressed in supposedly objective and fair tests? Among many general predisposing factors mentioned by Eells and his collaborators is the nature of the vocabulary and grammar taught and used in schools, which is that commonly used within middle-class groups, including the teaching profession, and which may be unfamiliar to the children of non-middle-class parents, amongst whom different "codes" and orientations to the use of language predominate. The work of Bernstein and his colleagues seems to substantiate this point.³²)

In spite of Binet's failure and Professor Goodenough's assertion, many testers continue to construct what they claim to be culture-free or culture-fair tests.³³) Many items which supposedly test apprehension of spatial relationships are often claimed to be culture-fair even when they rely heavily upon language in giving directions pertaining to the item. Eells points out that such directions often utilise abstractions with which a middle-class child is likely to be more familiar.³⁴) One such item, intended for nine year old children, is:

Mark the group of three letters that has the most loops:

B T B D W D F M F H F L

Eells reports that proportionally twice as many low status group children made errors in answering this item, and gives scores of examples of similarly biased items. We suggest that the concepts and grammatical structure in the directions would be more familiar to a higher status nine year old.

Another test item which contains cultural bias is referred to by Klineberg.³⁵⁾ In one portion of the National Intelligence Test the subject must supply the missing word in the following sentence: "... should prevail in churches and libraries"; the correct answer being "silence". As Klineberg points out: "Anyone who has visited an American Negro church in the south of the United States, knows however, that silence is neither the rule nor the ideal." On the basis of their experience, Negro children would be less likely than others to answer this item "correctly".

Bernstein's research into social class differences in the use of language and toys, during early childhood, indicates differences in the cultural meanings which are realised through language by different socio-economic groups. These differences favour the middle-class child, since the meanings and modes of realisation employed in school are those most familiar to the middle classes. Bernstein also claims that experiments and tests which lead to "unfavourable" comparisons of working-class with middle-class children tend to compare the groups solely in terms of the presence or absence of middle-class cultural elements. This gives rise to a "deficit-system" view of working-class children and the notion that they are in need of "compensation".³⁶⁾ Bernstein finally attacks the concepts of compensatory education for focusing attention upon the child's home and "sub-culture" as the source of his educational "disadvantages", thereby distracting analytical and practical attention from the intrinsic bias of the school in favour of middle-class children.

Possible Unforeseen Consequences of the Implementation of Liberal Policies

This variety of "liberalism" may well contain many limitations. Let us trace what may be the wider social repercussions if compensatory education programmes advocated by liberals are successfully implemented. We can also draw some parallels with liberal policies outside education. Liberal educationists tend to overlook social institutions outside the bounds of formal education in their explanations of and solutions for the problems they address.³⁷⁾ Other liberals, whilst still considering only formal institutions, often discuss a wider range of them.

As Rustin points out, the "technological revolution" in the USA, as shaped in part by the dominant groups,³⁸⁾ is evidently leading to a general contraction of the labour force. At the same time, compensatory education programmes have the manifest aim of equipping people to compete more

successfully for these contracting opportunities. Hence, it may well be that such programmes, if successful in increasing the numbers of qualified and highly motivated school-leavers, will also succeed in intensifying the struggle for increasingly scarce job opportunities. Robert K. Merton has already pointed out, in his essay on anomie, the unforeseen consequences of limited opportunity structures in society. They engender large numbers of people whose aspirations have been "blocked", leading to various forms of crime, delinquency and rebellion, which, of course, are directly counter to the *manifest* aims of education as embodied in liberal ideology.

This increased competition for jobs may lead to the development of new patterns of racial prejudice and discrimination, or new adaptations of existing patterns.³⁹⁾ As Merton and others have indicated, to imbue different groups of the population with the same qualities (e.g. the skills and motivation to compete for jobs), is not necessarily to remove intolerance, discrimination and other "irrational" barriers to equality.⁴⁰⁾ It has been pointed out by the Political and Economic Planning Report on "Racial Discrimination in Britain" that discriminatory practices in employment tend to be greatest in the case of *highly-qualified* minority group members. Thus, what are, in the case of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants regarded as virtues ("ambition", "willingness to compete", "determination to make good", "self-confidence") became perceived vices when displayed by, say, Jews ("self-seeking", "cut-throat", "ruthlessness", "over-confidence", "superciliousness"). In this, and other more basic ways, the liberal "solutions" of assimilation and acculturation may not only leave white prejudice untouched, but also leave the Negro's hatred of the white man and the oft-postulated autonomous social and cultural identity of the Negro out of account.⁴¹⁾

In many respects, therefore, the liberal educator's solution unwittingly implies many changes of a fundamental (or radical) nature in many institutional arrangements, such as the occupational structure and the provision for leisure, which fall outside the framework of formal educational institutions. For instance, if everyone is to "make good" occupationally within a context of full employment, then each individual's working week would have to be shortened and his leisure time increased, given the declining total demand for labour. Thus, liberal policies which purportedly tread a middle-path in social change, ultimately imply many derivative changes which have been characterized as "radical" and recommended by such radicals as Paul Goodman – changes which the middle path is designed to avoid. Needless to say, liberals do not follow through these implications.⁴²⁾ Without these derivative changes, the "liberal solution"

alone is little more than an articulated tokenism, the long-term short-comings of which have been attested to by Killian and Grigg:⁴³⁾

White liberals may regard each token step as a gain for which all Americans should be thankful. But in the context of intergroup relations, each of these steps will be a victory for Negroes, and a defeat for the dominant white group. But such small symbolic victories will not signify the termination of the power struggle, either in the communities in which they occur, or in the larger American Society. In spite of temporary victories or temporary defeats, the drive of Negroes for identity will continue for a long time. There will be respites following periods of struggle and stress. Token victories will not eliminate the substratum of dissatisfaction which underlies the Negro's struggle, but they will encourage renewal of the struggle.

Hence, liberal values in education may not only be doomed to failure (in their own terms) but may actively produce results which liberals would regard as problems.

Some liberals, largely outside the field of education, perceive a need for the creation of jobs, and suggest that governmental agencies should assume this function. But many of these recommendations, when examined in detail, would, if implemented, merely tend to reinforce occupational stratification on ethnic group lines. For example, Bayard Rustin⁴⁴⁾ suggests that young Negroes, who he alleges are sitting in Central Park, smoking marihuana and drinking wine, could be put to work by City Hall, renovating and maintaining the park. He also suggests employing Negroes as "assistant teachers," to take over the disciplinary, supervisory and custodial duties of the qualified professional teacher. This is only one step removed from the table-waiting, shoe-shining, Redcap image of the Negroes' place in society.

Perhaps the most telling limitation of the liberal position is that members of subordinate groups may, as Horton puts it, "have difficulty in recognizing themselves in the role in which they are cast by the liberal story." It may be that even Rustin's position, where he speaks of his solving the problems of "the simple people on the streets" denotes a lack of rapport with his less privileged fellow Negroes' own perception of their plight. As Horton says:⁴⁵⁾ "[The liberal sociologist] probably speaks least of all for the Negro. The liberal sociologist will have some difficulty describing the world from the view-point of Negro 'rioters' in Los Angeles and other cities.⁴⁶⁾ In any case, he will not agree with anyone who believes (in fact or in ideology) that the Negro may have a separate and self-determining identity." Similarly, as Carmichael and Hamilton put it: "... The white liberal must view the racial scene through a drastically different lens from the black man's."⁴⁷⁾ As an example of this, Silberman quotes an

East Harlem Negro adolescent's attitude towards the social workers who attempt to implement the liberal's point of view: "They're all around the neighbourhood, and most of them are rat fink types. They act like they think we're not human. They think they've got all there is, and all they've got to do is convert us to think and do whatever they think and do." If the Negroes or lower class people do not endorse the liberal's view of their dilemma, it follows that there is little probability of their long-term co-operation with white liberal policies. "Because of the middle-class orientation of the integration movement, and because of its subconscious racism, and because of its non-violent approach, it has never been able to involve the black proletariat," says Stokely Carmichael, in a recent lecture on Black Power.⁴⁸⁾

According to Carmichael and Hamilton,⁴⁹⁾ "The goal of black self-determination and black self-identity – Black Power – is full participation in the decision-making processes affecting the lives of black people..." They maintain that existing liberal organizations, both black and white, compromise this goal.

The passivity and dependency of subordinate groups has been fostered by a variety of factors. The bureaucratic implementation of liberal policies has meant that already powerless members of subordinate groups are confronted by a monolithic structure of associated administrative bodies with unified interests. And, as Silberman points out,⁵⁰⁾ the whole history and nature of American social welfare has been one of social workers doing things for, by, to and because of, but never *with* their clients.

Indeed, one of the characteristics of bureaucratic organization is that officials tend to develop interests of their own, including the perpetuation of the organization's existence. By their focus on individual "maladjustment" officials avoid dealing with the basic structural preconditions of problems and thus continue to produce the "clients" who are the *raison d'être* of their welfare organization. A frequent liberal rationalisation for the non-participation of the "clientèle" is that there are barriers to communication. Better communication, however, would only reveal the previously latent conflicts. One cannot assume that a general consensus already exists which improved communication would make manifest. The liberals' "community consensus" may not exist if the clientèle are admitted as being part of the community.

The changes brought about by administrative bodies or legal measures may be even less significant than even the liberals hope for. The liberal Samuel Lubell, has unwittingly made the point for us:⁵¹⁾ "Individuals may continue to fear, hate or shun the Negro, but that should be their own private affair and not be enforced or institutionalized by law. A barber's

wife in Greenboro expressed the distinction to be drawn when she said, 'I don't believe in intermarriage but I can teach my children to avoid that. We don't have to keep abusing the coloured people to avoid that'." In Weberian terms, discrimination may remain institutionalised by virtue of convention instead of law.⁵²⁾

*Sociological Orientations for Practice*⁵³⁾

To prescribe or devise specific educational techniques would be both sociologically elliptical and space-consuming. Therefore, we shall limit our comments to (a) recommending a few immediate, short-term measures for redressing some of the present inadequacies and (b) suggesting some sociological foundations upon which a more "universalistic" practice may be built.

a) First, from a general point of view, knowledge regarding how educational processes affect large categories of children must be disseminated; theoretically at least, the mass media contain much potential in this area. Existing knowledge on educational disadvantage simply never reaches subordinate group members. However, in approaching the mass media, one obviously comes up against barriers of ideology, as well as financial and other vested interests. Mass media in nations where the ideology of democratic equality of opportunity is supported at the institutional level have a political vested interest in ignoring educational equality. There is a need for the creation of greater consciousness among subordinate group members of their own collective position, in order to intensify critical pressure upon the establishment. On the other hand the media for fostering such consciousness reflect the interests and perspectives of the establishment themselves. From a practical point of view, one can only say that the dilemma and fate of the education of subordinate groups is but one aspect of a wider power struggle. This means that our suggested orientations for practice within education will have little effect unless wider structural reorientations, which our suggestions imply, are effected. Related to the role of the mass media is the gap between educational theory and practice, between researchers and teachers.⁵⁴⁾ Researchers in education (especially sociologists) have for some time been aware of certain aspects of the dominant group orientation of formal education, but most teachers have been unable to avail themselves of the full significance of these findings.

As short-term measures, one might suggest such things as staff-student critical seminars (with students in a numerical majority, as they are in the classroom) on improving the education of both parties, plus compulsory⁵⁵⁾ and subsidized refresher courses held in colleges and universities at regular

intervals for practising teachers. These courses would be explicitly geared to apprising teachers of the dominant group orientation of formal education, how this orientation comes about, and to the presentation of research on how teachers inculcate this orientation. More extensive libraries for teachers should be made available in each school, with budget provision for the ongoing addition of relevant research reports, manuals, and other volumes.

Moreover, parent-teacher associations and other links with parents might be extended, but on the parents' terms, not the teachers'. This is also of crucial importance in achieving a more permanent solution, as we will see below. Parent-teacher associations have usually been heavily oriented (in terms of key personnel, etc.) to the teachers, and their views, perspectives and plans. PTA's in the past have all too easily been the mere mouthpiece of the local "teaching establishment"⁵⁶; they have been perceived as such by minority group members, and have done little to elicit genuine feedback from a representative cross-section of the parents. It is also notable that most PTA's have excluded the one group who can provide true experiential links between parents and teachers – the students themselves. Much softening of long-hardened bureaucratic and procedural arteries seems called for, as well as a very substantial redistribution of power and the authority to make decisions.

b) However, all such recommendations are of a short-term, makeshift character. To begin truly to redress the problem of dominant-group bias in formal education, one must embark upon fundamental structural reorganization while possibly using the above measures and principles as an initial lever. In a recent paper, Bernstein⁵⁷ has provided some insights into possible means of making such changes fully effective. He advocates basic social reforms to encourage ways in which subordinate group parents can relate their spheres of competence to the child's educational experiences. This means orienting these experiences to the local subcultural community, not only in order to render formal education consistent with and relevant to the child's total life-situation, but also so that parents, through their competences, can become more fully involved in educating their children.

For teachers, not only does this involve accepting the experiences of the local community members as valid and worthwhile, but above all, it means that teachers should *know* the culture and social structure of their communities, and should be involved in them in ways other than simply performing their present job within the school. Teachers must cease to view the local community simply as the source of all educational deficits and seek to accept and relate to the skill orders, moral symbols, cultural

meanings and sensitivities of the local community. In the past, only lip-service has been paid to this principle, partly because to go beyond lip-service involves not only basic changes in the organization of the school and its relation to the local setting, but also assumes fundamental changes in teachers' professional commitments and ideology.

Fantini⁵⁸) puts the question this way: "How can an educational process be developed that can deal effectively with diversity?" An important step is the recognition that children are motivated within their own experiential framework as conditioned by their immediate social context as a whole. In relation to IQ testing, Havighurst⁵⁹) has claimed that

...middle-class and lower-class children bring to the intelligence-test situation widely disparate cultural experiences by virtue of their social class experience, and that middle-class children get more out of themselves in the ordinary school test situation than do lower-class children. An intelligence test which is to get at the "real" problem-solving ability of children must draw its problems entirely from experiences which are common to all or nearly all the children to be tested; at the same time, such a test must be given under conditions which motivate lower-class children to do their best and which teach them to expect that they will be rewarded for doing their best.

It may very well be that such "culture-fair" IQ tests are an impossibility and that any IQ test is bound to compare groups in terms of a set of standards not equally espoused by all groups. The orientation of IQ tests towards *individual* performance may well in itself imply a positive valuation of individualism which some groups clearly espouse more than others.

The fundamental reorientation of the structure of the school (both internally and in relation to its wider social context), whilst involving basic changes, is not impossible. We shall deal first with the teacher-pupil relationship. According to Bernstein,⁶⁰) most working-class children do possess in their *passive* vocabulary the vocabulary used by middle-class children. The use of what Bernstein calls a "restricted (linguistic) code" does not mean that most working-class children do not use or implicitly grasp the basic linguistic rule system as such. Nor, for that matter, does anything in the structure of dialects prevent children from learning to use universalistic meanings (i.e. meanings which are relatively freed from implicit reference to the specific context referred to).

However, the existence of a restricted code does mean that, owing to differences in working-class as opposed to middle-class values and socialization experiences, the social conditions under which a working-class child will linguistically realize universalistic meanings will differ from those presently expected by a middle-class teacher. Moreover the nature of the context referred to also helps dictate whether the working-class child will

linguistically realize relatively universalistic and elaborated meanings, compared to his realization of more particularistic, more context-bound meanings in other contexts.⁶¹⁾

Bernstein and Henderson's research on induction of children into the moral (person) orders and skill (object) orders helps specify the conditions and contexts in which children of varying class background will orient themselves to the elaborated explication of meanings.⁶²⁾ Teachers must make the effort to grasp these contexts, and to establish their specific manifestations in their community, using data related to the specific community setting in which the teacher is working; Bernstein's researches provide an invaluable framework for interpreting such data.

This is where the parents come in, in all sorts of ways. They can teach the teacher many things about their children and their experiences. Once the teacher appreciates the relevance of such knowledge, he can then begin to use it – hopefully, by more adequately relating his teaching to the child's experiences – to build upon the child's tacit understanding of the linguistic rule system in order that the child learns to realize orders of relevance and relation, universalistic meanings, and public modes of thought in *new* conditions and contexts. The task of "context-creation" does not in itself make working-class children into middle-class children. Any teaching relationship, formal or informal, uses techniques of context-creation. It is simply that teachers must create teaching contexts which are relevant to the experiences of working-class children. This is not "compensatory education"; it is simply "education". Working-class children need not be segregated temporally or spatially for this to be achieved.

But it does require basic changes in the existing school setting, since at present the conditions and contexts used as starting-points for the educative process are far more consonant with the socialization and out-of-school experiences of middle-class children and are therefore less effective in triggering working-class children's imaginations and capacities. To counteract this bias requires the fullest appreciation of varying social backgrounds and contexts, and their relation to the child's experiences. It involves the teacher learning to build experiential bridges on the basis of this appreciation. As Bernstein says: "We should start knowing that the social experience the child already possesses is valid and significant, and this social experience should be reflected back to him as valid and significant. It can only be reflected back to him if it is part of the texture of learning experience we create".⁶³⁾

Bernstein also makes the point that such "context-creation", if it is to be effective, cannot be of the "piecemeal" kind, but must be a continuous, consistent and systematic process. As research has shown, any possible

advantage gained in a special pre-school compensatory education programme for the three-to-five age range will almost certainly be lost if the educational contexts of the child after age five show no consonance with his previous experiences. Bernstein implies that the primary stage of education should be seen as an irreducible unit based on systematic, co-ordinated sequencing of learning. From this point of view, the traditional administrative infant-junior division in Britain, and the growing middle-school division in the USA not only reflect the piecemeal bureaucratic approach to social problem-solving but actually work against the aims of educators who show concern for children from subordinate groups.

To dissolve the present administrative divisions requires a basic restructuring, not only of the present school system but also of teacher education which at present is based upon the tacit assumption that these administrative divisions are clearly recognizable and valid in terms of child development and educational methods. A reorientation would, in fact, necessarily force those teachers who consider themselves to be experts on (for example) "the primary stage" to consider the educative process in a wider and, from an educational point of view, more fruitful developmental context. Redistribution of power, in a direction favouring the parents and students, would also serve to guide teachers into such a re-orientation.

In a broad sociological frame of reference, then, it is crucial that both research and action recognize that subordinate group members live, function, and are motivated within the experiential framework which is appropriate to their immediate social context. This of course, will often include exposure to the stigma of discrimination as well as other components of subordinate-group status.⁶⁴

We contend that failure to take this diversity of life experiences and values into account, is in all probability a major factor underlying the failure of many antipoverty and other welfare programmes (including those of compensatory education), in spite of rapidly increasing expenditure on these programmes during the middle 1960's.

NOTES

1) The authors wish to thank Mr. E. C. Cuff for his assistance in the proof reading of an early draft of this paper, and the Bernard van Leer Foundation of Holland and the New World Foundation of New York for their financial assistance.

2) See, for example, the reader edited by A. H. HALSEY, J. FLOUD, and C. A. ANDERSON: *Education, Economy and Society*, New York: Free Press, 1961, for some of the material which established this empirical generalization.

3) See E. W. GORDON: "Programs of Compensatory Education", in M. DEUTSCH *et al.*: *Social Class, Race and Psychological Development*, New York: Holt, Rinehart

and Winston, 1968; H. L. MILLER: *Education for the Disadvantaged*, New York: Free Press, 1967; A. H. PASSOW: *Education in Depressed Areas*, New York: Teachers College Press, 1963; H. REES: *Deprivation and Compensatory Education*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1968.

4) For an outline of the data cast in terms of these alleged deficits, see the social psychologist T. F. PETTIGREW: *A Profile of the Negro American*, Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1964, Chapter 5. Pettigrew also makes reference to compensatory programmes in this chapter (see pp. 125-6).

5) For a more cautious assessment of this widespread supposition, see C. A. ANDERSON: "A Sceptical Note on Education and Mobility", in A. H. HALSEY, J. FLOUD and C. A. ANDERSON: *op. cit.*, and S. M. LIPSET and R. BENDIX: *Social Mobility in Industrial Societies*, Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1959, chap. VII.

6) Here we are really referring to the modern form of the liberal ideology, which, as will be seen, assumes certain relationships to the state and other powerful bureaucracies. Nineteenth century liberalism tended, relatively speaking, to be more anti-bureaucratic, anti-clerical and anti-elitist than its modern counterpart. In this section we stress the basic components of modern liberalism in ideal-type form.

7) Of course, neither liberals in the general sense nor "compensatory educationists" concentrate solely upon a specific group (e.g. Negroes) as opposed to other "underprivileged" groups. We cite the case of "underprivileged Negroes" as one of many examples from groups of low socio-economic status upon which a political position may be assumed.

8) S. LUBELL: *White and Black: Test of a Nation*, New York: Harper Colophon, 1964, pp. 190-191.

9) K. MANNHEIM: *Ideology and Utopia*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960.

10) This administrative bias is by no means to be simply equated with governmental intervention. It also extends to "liberal" policies fostered by private enterprise, such as the Ford Foundation programmes. "The Ford Foundation," says C. E. SILBERMAN, "which is sponsoring large scale 'gray area' programmes in five cities, plus a state-wide project in North Carolina, has bet millions on a grandiose fusion of paternalism and bureaucracy"; see his *Crisis in Black and White*, New York: Vintage Books, 1964, pp. 351-356.

11) Among those who contributed to this was M. HARRINGTON, through his book *The Other America*, New York: MacMillan, 1962.

12) See J. B. CONANT: *Slums and Suburbs: A Commentary on Schools in Metropolitan Areas*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961, p. 10. In relation to liberal policies of large-scale corporate bureaucracies in the private sector, see R. A. CLOWARD and F. FOX PIVEN's article "Corporate Imperialism for the Poor," *Nation*, 16 October 1967, pp. 365-7. Cloward and Piven attribute the efforts of large-scale department stores and insurance companies in this respect to their vested interests in establishing social order so as to reduce huge damage to their property in ghetto riots. See also A. SINFIELD: "Poverty Rediscovered", *Race*, 1968, pp. 202-9, on the "special areas" approach.

13) See P. MERANTO: *The Politics of Federal Aid to Education*, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1967, p. 36.

14) Our insertion. For an account of how similar concerns for social order and discipline pervaded the movement towards providing universal secondary education in England, see D. V. GLASS: "Education and Social Change in Modern England," in HALSEY, FLOUD and ANDERSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 394-5.

15) P. MERANTO, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

16) M. D. FANTINI, in his article "Beyond Cultural Deprivation and Compensatory Education", *Psychiatry and Social Science Review*, 13, 1969, pp. 6-13, testifies to the prevalence of these "adjustment criteria" in the schools (pp. 6-8), but since he, unlike the present authors, is not explicitly concerned with an ideology analysis, he does not note the broad ideological roots of such an assumption. So he does not note the prevalence of its application to structural situations outside formal education.

17) J. HORTON: "Order and Conflict Theories of Social Problems as Competing Ideologies", *American Journal of Sociology*, May 1966, pp. 701-13. See also C. WRIGHT MILLS: "The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX, 1942, pp. 165-80.

- 18) MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.: "The Meaning of Non-Violence", *Dialogue*, 1, 1968, 2, pp. 3-4.
- 19) S. LUBELL, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
- 20) See A. SINFIELD, *op. cit.*, for a critique of the special areas approach, and see B. BERNSTEIN and D. YOUNG: "Social Class Differences in Conceptions of the Uses of Toys," *Sociology*, 1, 1967, pp. 131-40, and B. BERNSTEIN and D. HENDERSON: "Social Class Differences in the Relevance of Language to Socialisation," *Sociology*, 3, 1969, pp. 1-20, among many other contributions testifying to the middle-class bias of the formal educational system, such as H. S. BECKER: "Social Class Variations in the Teacher-Pupil Relationship," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 25, 1952, pp. 451-65; A. V. CICOUREL and J. I. KITSUSE: *The Educational Decision-Makers*, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963.
- 21) See the paradigm presented by J. HORTON, *op. cit.*, p. 706, and his comments on p. 705 and 709.
- 22) See K. MANNHEIM, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
- 23) Tape-recording of B. RUSTIN: "The Negro Revolution," Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.
- 24) See P. GOODMAN's essay on vocational guidance in *Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals*, New York: Random House, 1962, for a critical attack upon social work policies based on such assumptions.
- 25) That non-middle class cultures exist and are widespread in American society is well documented by such studies as Oscar LEWIS's *La Vida*, New York: Random House, 1966, and "The Culture of Poverty," *Scientific American*, 215, Oct. 1966, and B. JACKSON: *Working Class Community*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.
- 26) See C. WRIGHT MILLS: "Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive," *American Sociological Review*, V, 1940, pp. 901-13; and "The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists," *op. cit.*
- 27) See K. EELLS, A. DAVIS, *et al.*: *Intelligence and Cultural Differences*, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1951, p. 5 and 26, and O. KLINEBERG, *Race and Psychology*, Paris: UNESCO, 1958.
- 28) See K. EELLS, *et al.*, *ibid.*, chapter V.
- 29) See F. GOODENOUGH and D. B. HARRIS: "Studies in the Psychology of Children's Drawings," *Psychological Bulletin*, Sept. 1950.
- 30) See K. EELLS, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 26, and C. E. SILBERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 267-8, for a very similar statement.
- 31) See H. S. BECKER, *op. cit.*, for validation of this point (our footnote).
- 32) See B. BERNSTEIN and D. HENDERSON, *op. cit.*
- 33) PETTIGREW, *op. cit.*, in his chapter on Negro American Intelligence plays down the questioning bias in IQ tests. Although paying lipservice to the "class linked" nature of IQ tests, Pettigrew treats the tests as being *to all intents and purposes* valid indicators of intelligence. M. D. FANTINI also implicitly accepts IQ tests as valid measures of intellectual ability and development (*op. cit.*, p. 8).
- 34) See K. EELLS, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-6.
- 35) See O. KLINEBERG, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- 36) Liberals, in their ideologies and policies, often ignore factors relating to IQ tests that traditional conservatives stress - e.g. arguments for the genetic basis of IQ test performance. These contradict the liberals' heavy emphasis on "environmentalism," which is the assumption underlying most compensatory education programmes. On the alleged genetic basis of IQ test performance and possible implications for educational technique, see A. JENSEN's: "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?," *Harvard Educational Review*, 39, 1969, pp. 1-123.
- 37) FANTINI's article, *op. cit.*, is a good example of this myopia. He speaks of a "reformed educational system."
- 38) See B. RUSTIN, *op. cit.*, and R. K. MERTON, "The Machine, the Worker and the Engineer" in R. K. MERTON, *op. cit.*, on how the "technological revolution" is often used as a weapon by employers against the demands of workers.
- 39) See R. K. MERTON's essay "Social Structure and Anomie" in MERTON, *op. cit.*, and also L. KILLIAN and C. GRIGG, *Racial Crisis in America*, Prentice Hall, 1964, p. 114, for a similar theme regarding segregation.
- 40) See R. K. MERTON's essay "The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy," in MERTON, *op. cit.*

Fundamentally conservative policies, in the past, have resolved this contradiction by educating subordinate groups to dominant group values, especially values recognizing the legitimacy of the existing overall social order and the legitimacy of the subordinate groups' "special", i.e. separate, lowly position in that social order. See, for example, J. DOLLARD: *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, New York: Harper, 1949.

41) As SILBERMAN (*op. cit.*, p. 316) says, "... The Negroes' failure to 'acculturate' is due only partly to ignorance or indifference; they do not acculturate because they regard doing the things implied by that term as treason to their race - as 'going along with Mr. Charlie's program'."

42) WILLARD WALLER, in his article "Social Problems and the Mores", *American Sociological Review*, 1, 1936, pp. 922-33, brings out the contradictions in such "liberal-humanitarian" approaches to social problem-solving. Liberal-humanitarians define certain problems in terms of their humanitarian mores (sense of justice, etc.). But WALLER says that really to solve social problems a change in the more fundamental "organizational" mores would have to be effected - that is a change in the values (e.g., the reverence for private property) which are the foundation of the American social order. Humanitarians, in spite of their adherence to humanitarian mores, balk at such basic change; they want the organizational mores to be left intact, even if this means not solving the problems which they seem so concerned about from the perspective of their humanitarian mores. See G. MYRDAL: *An American Dilemma*, New York: Harper and Row, 1962, on how such value conflicts affect the social situation.

43) L. KILLIAN and C. GRIGG, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

44) B. RUSTIN, *op. cit.*

45) See J. HORTON, *op. cit.*, p. 712.

46) See J. COHEN and W. MURPHY: "Burn, Baby, Burn": *The Los Angeles Race Riots, August 1965*, London: Gollancz, 1967, for a similar argument (our note).

47) See S. CARMICHAEL and C. V. HAMILTON: "Black Power": *The Politics of Liberation in America*, New York: Vintage, 1967, p. 61.

48) CARMICHAEL's lecture is transcribed in D. COOPER: *The Dialectics of Liberation*, London: Pelican, 1968, pp. 150-74 (quotation from p. 162).

49) S. CARMICHAEL and C. V. HAMILTON, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

50) See C. E. SILBERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

51) See S. LUBELL, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

52) We are indebted to Mr. M. A. Atkinson for this point.

53) For an outline (though lacking in rigour) which at some points parallels our proposals, see FANTINI, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

54) It has often been noted that the (hopefully) research-based principles which are taught to student teachers never come to be used by the practising teacher, nor are they by any means always used even by the education lecturer. B. BERNSTEIN, in his paper "A Critique of the Concept of Compensatory Education" to be published in F. WILLIAMS (ed.): *Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme*, Chicago: Markham, in press, has said that the simple principle "Work with What the Child Can Offer" has never been fully implemented in practice.

55) Or, if one shies from compulsory courses, one might compromise to the point of providing strong incentives for teachers to attend such courses - e.g. gearing graduation from such courses to salary increments, or paying above-average salary for course attendance.

56) Those parents who did participate with any kind of influence were usually middle-class. FANTINI, *op. cit.*, points out the "public relations" role of PTA's as well.

57) B. BERNSTEIN: "A Critique...", *op. cit.*

58) M. FANTINI, *op. cit.*

59) See K. ELLS, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

60) B. BERNSTEIN: "A Critique...", *op. cit.*,

61) BERNSTEIN and HENDERSON, *op. cit.*

62) *Ibid.*

63) B. BERNSTEIN: "A Critique...", *op. cit.*

64) The stress on the participants' own terms, the terms of their own values and life-experiences, rather than those of the dominant groups are, in part, what differentiates the "left-wing" ideological stance from liberal stances stressing "maximum

feasible participation". If one stays within the dominant group notions in liberal policies espoused by community agencies and administrations, maximum "feasible" participation is, in fact, very low indeed, as SILBERMAN points out (*op. cit.*, chapter X).

KOMPENSATORISCHE ERZIEHUNG UND GEGENWÄRTIGER LIBERALISMUS IN DEN VEREINIGTEN STAATEN: EINE SOZIOLOGISCHE ANALYSE

von D. C. MORTON und D. R. WATSON, Manchester

Ziel dieses Artikels ist es, die Beziehungen zwischen der "Theorie" der kompensatorischen Erziehung und der politischen Haltung, die allgemein als "Liberalismus" bezeichnet wird, aufzuzeigen. Es wird behauptet, daß der Liberalismus in den Vereinigten Staaten nach 1960 wieder auflebte und gegen Mitte der sechziger Jahre zur dominierenden Ideologie der Politik wurde. Liberalismus wird hier als eine Variante konservativer Ideologie angesehen, deren Anliegen es ist, die bestehende soziale Ordnung sowie die Machtposition der herrschenden Gruppen aufrechtzuerhalten, und der daher auch als die politische Grundhaltung dieser Gruppen betrachtet werden kann. Individualismus, Rationalismus, Verwaltungsmaßnahmen zur Lösung von Problemen sowie das Engagement im bestehenden System sind die Prinzipien bzw. Hauptmerkmale des Liberalismus. Es wird davon ausgegangen, daß durch die Ideologie, Hypothesen, Begriffe, Strategien und Testverfahren kompensatorischer Erzieher unter dem Anschein "wissenschaftlicher Wertfreiheit" implizit liberale Werte und eine Identifizierung mit den herrschenden Gruppen zum Ausdruck kommen. Andere Komponenten dieses Ansatzes sind Psychologismen und "Unparteilichkeit", sowie Verwaltungsprogramme, die eine Anpassung des Individuum an das bestehende System und damit nur Teillösungen anstreben. Ausgehend von einer genaueren Untersuchung der liberalen Haltung kompensatorischer Erzieher in bezug auf Maßnahmen zur Bekämpfung der Armut wird von den Verfassern die Möglichkeit unbeabsichtigter Nebenwirkungen dargestellt. Empfohlen wird eine soziologische Orientierung zur Reform von Erziehungsstrukturen, -kontexten und -praktiken, die als Gegenwicht zu der bestehenden Wertorientierung dienen könnte. Diese grundlegende Umstrukturierung beinhaltet die Schaffung von pädagogischen Voraussetzungen, die es den Kindern benachteiligter Schichten ermöglichen würden, sich in sinnvoller Weise in den Erziehungsprozeß zu integrieren.

EDUCATION COMPENSATOIRE ET LIBERALISME CONTEMPORAIN AUX ETATS-UNIS: UNE ANALYSE SOCIOLOGIQUE

par D. C. MORTON et D. R. WATSON, Manchester

Le but du présent article est de démontrer les relations entre la "théorie" de l'enseignement compensatoire et le point de vue politique qu'on appelle d'habitude le "libéralisme". Les auteurs affirment que le libéralisme aux Etats-Unis s'est

ranimé au début des années 1960, et était devenu l'une des idéologies de plus en plus dominante dans la politique de parti avant le milieu des années soixante. On considère le libéralisme comme une variante de l'idéologie conservatrice, qui implique un engagement à conserver l'ordre social général déjà existant et la position des groupes dominants au sein de cet ordre. On peut donc considérer le libéralisme comme le point de vue de ces groupes dominants. Ce point de vue insiste sur l'individualisme, le rationalisme, la modération, les solutions administratives et en général un engagement dans le cadre du système actuel. L'article soutient, en outre, que l'idéologie, les hypothèses, les concepts, les stratégies et les techniques d'évaluation des éducateurs compensateurs expriment implicitement leur opinion libérale sur les valeurs et s'identifient avec les groupes dominants sous l'apparence d'une "neutralité scientifique". Le psychologisme, l'"impartialité" et des programmes administratifs mettant l'accent sur l'adaptation de l'individu au système social, ainsi que des solutions fragmentaires sont quelques-unes des parties composantes de cette opinion. Après avoir examiné avec plus de détails la position libérale des éducateurs compensateurs dans les programmes contre l'indigence, on suggère quelques conséquences possibles non prévues de leurs stratégies. On suggère ensuite quelques orientations sociologiques pour former une nouvelle structure des cadres, des contextes et des pratiques pédagogiques, qui, comme on l'espère, aideront ainsi à neutraliser cette orientation des groupes dominants. Cette formation d'une nouvelle structure de base entraîne la création de contextes pédagogiques qui permettront aux enfants provenant des groupes défavorisés une intégration réelle dans le processus éducatif en cours.

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE AND EDUCATIONAL OBSOLESCENCE: CHALLENGES TO ADMINISTRATORS AS MANAGERS OF CHANGE

by RICHARD H. P. KRAFT, Tallahassee

Vocational-technical education has changed over the years and must continue to do so. Early vocational education aimed to teach people how to do what they needed to know in order to earn a living. The majority of these efforts were agricultural. Later, with the movement of population from the farm to the city, vocational education had to shift to subjects related to urban life and work. These were mainly manual labor skills. Since then the need has shifted from manual skills to more complex ones. Automation has forced the replacement of hundreds of thousands of people by machinery. A further change, the full impact of which is still to come, is the trend to a shorter work week with more leisure time for everyone. This will have a great impact on vocational-technical education.

A primary concern of those involved with problems of vocational curricula must be: When do we offer what we are to offer? When we consider the future supply of skilled workers and the numbers of young people who will seek lower-grade jobs in the service industries, we are considering primarily persons who are unlikely to attend a four-year institution of higher learning. Because of this we should give serious consideration to offering meaningful courses in vocational education at the secondary level as well as in community centers for post-secondary education.

It seems that vocational education is caught in a vicious circle:

- The persons who are likely to benefit most from vocational education come mainly from families where the parents did not go on to higher education.
- The same persons tend to have lower average earnings and to be concentrated in the larger cities rather than in the suburban areas where the more affluent migrate.
- Education is still funded to a large extent from local sources - mainly property taxes. Property values in the central city are often lower *per capita* than in the suburban areas; therefore, expenditure per pupil is lower in the city, although the kind of education best suited to urban needs is more costly.

Federal funds have helped to overcome this problem, primarily through a series of acts devoted to vocational and technical education. The first

of these was the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, and it has been followed by the George-Barder Act of 1946, the Vocational Education Acts of 1963 and 1968, and others.

Technological advances have brought great gains and at the same time have created serious problems. A major problem is the imbalance between the type of labor force the new technology increasingly requires and the skills and qualifications of most workers in the present labor force. Far too many possess only meager education and training, while the demand grows for broader education and more specialized skills, while thousands of jobs are being eliminated, new ones are being created in areas unknown only a few years ago. Many of these jobs are unfilled for lack of qualified workers.

Given today's relationship between manpower needs and technological change, it is rather alarming to observe that technological developments have not become a primary research concern within colleges and schools of education, nor is there a consensus regarding the impact of technological change on curriculum. In fact there is little agreement on the interpretation of the very term "technological change."¹

For many years higher technical education as well as vocationally oriented training have ignored technological changes; they have persisted in preparing students for a world viewed from an inherited, often locally-oriented outlook. Only recently have educators recognized the need for a positive attitude toward space-age technology; thus constructive ideas have been developed regarding the adjustment of vocational and technical curricula in order to prepare students for their role in the world of tomorrow.

Perhaps the most important aim of this article is to impart a sense of urgency concerning the attitudes and measures to be adopted by educators and administrators. The system of vocational and technical education must be endowed with the necessary capacity for change and innovation so that it can respond adequately to the legitimate pressures and demands from modern society.

Recent technological changes in the past few years have forged a much closer relationship between education and the economy than in earlier decades. Education is now more visibly related to the rate of economic growth as well as the life-time earnings of the labor force. A further aspect is the connection between occupational structure and the extent and character of vocational-technical education. As industry undergoes rapid changes in its occupational structure and as technological change and automation raise the skill level of jobs, the educational system also must undergo a dynamic expansion. On theoretical grounds alone we are temp-

ted to suggest that changes in the occupational structure of industry do have measurable effects on technical education institutions because the new demand for educated personnel quickly transforms itself into higher enrollments.

Another important point concerning vocational-technical education is the fact that a changing technology and changes in the occupational demand mix might greatly alter the profile of manpower projections. Indeed, the manpower requirements approach, as applied to our educational system and economy, seems to be inadequate in every way. It is perhaps feasible to use economic growth forecasts or "targets" to predict the sectoral distribution of output and employment in some future year. It is another matter, however, to convert the sectoral distribution of employment to a breakdown of the total labor force by occupation. The distribution of the labor force by level of schooling as computed from the distribution of workers by occupation seems to be a further impossibility. This general method of educational planning – using estimates of manpower requirements, stratified by educational level, in conjunction with data on existing stocks and expected retirement rates, to generate a plan of necessary enrollment levels in various types of educational institutions, has been used frequently in the past. However, most such attempts have yielded far from satisfactory results.

Let us keep in mind: the manpower requirements approach has lost momentum. It is failing today due less to maliciousness than to mindlessness: the failure or refusal to think seriously about educational and economic goals, the reluctance to question established practice. This mindlessness is not the monopoly of individual "flying manpower specialists"; it is diffused remarkably evenly throughout many countries whose educational leaders find it hard to believe that quantitative manpower criteria are inappropriate guides to educational planning. But for a long time countless specialists in the educational planning field have argued that manpower requirements models which ignore the costs of educational policy relative to expected benefits are inappropriate. The main limitations of the manpower requirements approach are inherent in the implicit assumption that the demand for labor is inelastic.

Since it ignores costs, manpower planning is only a partial method of analysis. It may be true that employers will need workers of specific skills, but are they willing or able to pay for them? Decisions to train additional workers or to expand educational facilities under conditions of scarcity require the balancing of costs *and* benefits.²⁾

There is also, of course, the long-range problem of technological change, which alters the demand for various types of trained people. To some

extent the more technically progressive firms and industries may be used to guide future projections, but even these will not provide a complete picture. If men are trained to be flexible among jobs, the difficulties caused by technological change may be reduced in part and men will be able to change occupation with a minimum of retraining.

Economists who have taken an increasing interest in education over the last ten years are in complete agreement with Beeby, who welcomes the application of economic theory to the realm of education:

The economic approach² is an excellent means of encouraging education to move closer to reality, as so many educators have for long been demanding; the scientific methods of economics bring them a degree of precision which has a happy effect on educational discipline; economics, by demonstrating scientifically that education can be investment as well as consumption, offers a conclusive argument to induce society to accept an extra financial effort in favor of education.³

It is exactly in this arena that the manpower approach fails in fully-developed countries. It is a well-publicized fact that in the past years economic plans always came first; educational plans were prepared only after the general economic targets were set. But education, which is the development of human capital, cannot be isolated from society, culture or economics. And so-called educational plans which exist mainly of manpower projections are bound to fail because they overlook the fact that education has repercussions on all activities within a dynamic society.

To the educational decision-maker, the relationship between labor and technological changes should be of great concern, as he must understand the implications of curriculum revisions in the light of technological changes and the far-reaching consequences of unemployment. The introduction of new techniques of production eliminates some jobs (affecting labor requirements) and also eliminates whole occupations (creating changes in skill levels). However, it must not be overlooked that at the same time new jobs and new occupations are being created.

Current labor market data suggest that "there are basically no inherent, long-term difficulties in the technological disemployment problem, provided responsible managements give warnings of employment changes or facilitate adjustments internally through retraining or transfer, and provided a high level of aggregate effective demand is maintained by government through its fiscal and monetary policies."⁴ Thus, for the economist with deep interest in the economics of education, it is reassuring that the most significant employment implication of automation is not mass unemployment but, rather, new areas of employment.

Focusing on automation and its effects on the occupational structure, we are forcefully reminded that, in the United States, government-sponsored research into the future of machine counterparts as substitutes for human information-processing has been lacking. Until recently, data on the technological and economic availability of these counterparts also has been overlooked. Research in this direction will provide the basis upon which predictive instruments for future changes in occupations and job contents can be built. Only when a matrix of all information processes and machine counterparts has been developed can the forecasting of future changes in technology be undertaken.

Studies of specific skills and responses which technological processes at the various stages of automation require of skilled personnel may provide the information that is needed. A cross-technology investigation of required responses will permit the identification of broad skill categories which, in turn, could be used for developing suitable guidelines for vocational training and technical education.⁵⁾

Much, but not all, of the current educational planning work in the United States is dominated by the social demand approach.⁶⁾ The usefulness of this approach for curriculum planning in vocational-technical schools and in colleges and universities is limited by the uncertainties in the relationship between particular occupations and the education that they require. Changes in technological processes as well as in educational methods may require a change in the educational input for particular occupations. Factors such as the appeal which various curricula have for students, e.g., preference for arts or sciences instead of engineering, necessitate a revision of forecasts, and the constraints in this sector may again lead to a revision of the curricula.

The foregoing remarks should not be interpreted as advocating that no projections should be made. After all, educational plans have to be based on some quantifiable ideas of what the future will be like. What we oppose is the establishment of a more or less artificial "link" between educational output and future manpower needs. While educational planners still rely heavily on quantitative manpower forecasts, it is well documented that the recent development has moved away from the quantitative manpower concept of directing or manipulating human resources and toward a social demand approach which attempts to organize human capital through economic market forces.

In the eyes of many industrialists the status of vocational-technical education is in flux at the present time. Some firms are quick to see that the educator is a valuable ally, while others remain more wary. Although industry, seen as a whole, is recognizing rapidly that the efficiency of

production is, in the end result, merely the efficiency of the producers, there is still the fear that the processes of education may bring forth some undesirable by-products. After all, many industrialists remember that the enterprise of education has a strong literary tradition and that while it has prepared men for responsible administrative positions, many institutions have either positively despised the skill of the profit-oriented manager, or deliberately kept themselves in ignorance of the market forces and of economic laws.

These are all examples of an antithesis between labor and the learned that runs deeply through the whole of human society. The deep gap between the "vocational" and the "academic" is by no means a figment of the imagination. It is real, and a great number of educators and educational administrators are deeply concerned as they see it widening.

How does this gap affect the training and education of skilled labor in a changing labor market? First of all, it must be recognized that occupational training is a respectable task for post-high school institutions, such as junior colleges. It sometimes seems as if certain segments of the American system of higher education price themselves out of the market by unduly emphasizing the academic programs.

The higher-order tasks in American society become more and more complex with each passing year, while the lower-order tasks are being relegated to machines. The vast array of middle-order tasks soon will furnish the livelihood of the majority of American citizens. The development of regional vocational-technical centers and junior colleges is dependent on how successfully they are able to solve the problems of education and training for these middle-level tasks.

The system of vocational training and technical education must somehow provide a continuous spectrum of education to match the occupational spectrum. For example, in many engineering colleges a trend has developed in which extreme specialization is avoided, since many of these colleges regard the vast spectrum of jobs at the technical level as consisting of clusters of jobs. Curricula in these institutions usually are planned for one or more of those clusters.⁷⁾

The important point is that there are all kinds of technical jobs between the extremes. The gap between the professions and skilled trades cannot be filled by one kind or level of qualified personnel. It is at this point that many educational planners and junior college administrators in charge of curriculum commit a grave error. In their determination to be "academically respectable", they plan programs only for engineering technicians, raising the level to a point where it barely differs from that of a college of engineering. Many administrators tend to defend this curriculum by

arguing that the public image of American technical education is one in which occupational training hardly belongs to the educational world at all. It is seen, instead, as a minor ancillary of the world of industry.

Confronted with often conflicting calculations regarding the future occupational structure of the labor force, the educational planner-administrator will have to solve the problem of translating labor requirements by occupational categories into requirements by educational qualification. This is difficult, since there seems to be no stable relationship between the occupation a person has and the schooling he has received. Louis Davis is very much concerned about solving this problem and outlines some suggestions for the development of predictive instruments which might help the educational planner-administrator in initiating appropriate curricular changes. He distinguishes between short-term and long-term changes in occupations and skills. In order to obtain the necessary data, he proposes an intelligence network which would consist of "information links with a selected sample of representative employers, private employment agencies, unions, and governmental agencies. This intelligence network would provide reports about changes in selected jobs and their contents."⁸)

For the educational planner-administrator, *long-term changes* in occupations and skills are even more significant. In his paper Davis points out that the "identification of long-term changes requires the development of predictive instruments having cross-technology capability and linking technology with economic feasibility. This would require us to begin with a . . . formulation of an automation taxonomy."⁹)

In a study by the author a quite different approach was used. Age-earnings-education profiles were constructed showing that the rate of monetary return was higher at the technician level than at the engineering level. Even though some of the data are inadequate, it is tempting to conclude that the large earnings-differential might well lead to a higher demand for educational services at the intermediate (technician) level. In view of the forecast of a changing skill profile, the need for a better differentiation between appropriate functions of vocational-technical education centers, comprehensive high schools, and junior colleges should be emphasized, because this seems to be an urgent requirement in order for educational services to meet industrial needs.¹⁰)

The literature on the economics of education and, more specifically, on technological changes, is abundant. However, there is a shortage of relevant empirical material. Thus, our survey of education and occupation¹¹) had two aims: to stress data collection and, as a consequence of the empirical aspects of our research, to formulate new conceptual tools.

During the interview phase officials of a representative number of firms expressed their conviction that technical curricula must reflect the most up-to-date knowledge in particular subjects. In order to take into account both the increase in the amount of knowledge and the rapid change in its nature, a continuous revision of courses is required. At the same time, there is a limit to the amount of material which a course can accommodate.

This dilemma has reinforced the idea that the role of post-high school vocational-technical education is not to offer even more knowledge but, instead, to select from the vast stock of knowledge that which is essential, as well as to enable the student to develop the aptitude for acquiring and using knowledge on a continuing basis.

In order that there be a receptive audience for new developments, the educational planner-administrator needs to cultivate the right attitudes in his faculty. When the educator accepts innovations these will be more easily incorporated into the regular process of education itself. It is only in this way that teaching can become an instrument not only for the dissemination of knowledge, but also for its production, especially in higher education.

Our survey revealed that most educators and administrators in industry and technical institutions had given careful thought to the relationship between education and technological change and development. However, at present, technological changes have not induced smaller and middle-size firms to make any special investigation. They expressed the opinion that it is not possible to distinguish technological changes from other simultaneously influential factors behind movements in the manufacturing industry. The economists in the firms that were surveyed agreed that there are no instruments to aid in predicting the kind and extent of educational changes that will be necessary in the future. They felt that the lack of a systematic frame of reference has contributed to the issues regarding technological change and the ensuing curricular changes as they are affected by various broad policies and policy decisions.

Almost all interviewees (90%) in this research complained that in vocational training and in technical education, "change is too slow in getting accepted". Complete diffusion of successful innovations appears to take a decade after the first introduction. However, other representatives mentioned that the rate of acceptance has increased considerably in recent years. This acceleration can be observed not only in the introduction of primarily technical innovations, but also in organizational changes and in curriculum materials.

Somers is of a similar opinion and calls for an analysis of procedures usually adopted in reaching decisions on the initiation of new vocational-

technical educational programs. He reports that:

... the established procedure for beginning a new course is for the school's director or coordinator to utilize the services of an advisory committee, either a standing group or one appointed ad hoc for this purpose. The committees are to be composed of employer, union, and public members. Although the pressure for establishment of the course may initially come from the school staff, from a group of employers in the community, or from students who wish to enroll in such a course, it is the responsibility, first, of the advisory committee and then of the implementing school officials to evaluate the real present and future need for such a course on the basis of the best labor market data available.

Having determined the need, the decision to go ahead will presumably depend on costs and available budget, and on such practical considerations as the availability of space and equipment. Once the school authorities are convinced of the wisdom of the new course, they must then persuade local and state education boards.¹²⁾

Interestingly, all our industrial respondents associated the major problems in vocational-technical education with the absence of appropriate mechanisms to initiate changes and with the need to develop attitudes which would make innovations more acceptable. Educators at post-secondary institutions have been encouraged to think of change as a continuous rather than an intermittent process, a "rolling" adjustment to technological changes. It also seems to be fully recognized that scientific and technological changes not only affect the content of educational materials, but also the attitudes and habits which are to be developed. In view of possible curricular revisions, it is felt that vocational-technical institutions primarily provide generalized basic courses rather than specialized subjects with currently fashionable names and content. Strengthening mathematics and the physical sciences will have to serve the needs of technological changes, including automation.

A large number of educational planners and administrators in vocational technical institutions and junior colleges felt that technical education need not be aimed at meeting the technological changes which determine the manpower requirements of the various industrial groups. More than 90 per cent of this group expressed their strong feeling that technical education - including the training of highly qualified technicians - should focus on establishing a broad intellectual foundation which then would enable the student to analyze and solve problems he encounters at work.

This view ran contrary to the opinions expressed by the first-, second-, and third-level supervisors and top-level industrial officers who were interviewed. Over 70 per cent of these respondents indicated that technical education beyond the high school should meet the *specific* needs of indus-

try. And 60 per cent added that short-term needs ought to be served by vocational-technical institutions.

During the past few years, the engineering profession has been increasingly faced with new and complex problems. All result in a need for educational program-planning. Manufacturing processes are becoming extremely complex; advances require the young technician or engineer to have an education based both on the engineering sciences and the pure sciences. The scientific training of past years was founded on the pattern of slow evolution of individual development in pace with the existing rate of transition from discovery to application. This pattern just does not exist anymore. Thus:

... the coupling of this factor with the ever-increasing fund of knowledge results in an unquestioned need to reorganize training methods to incorporate more of the scientific approach to engineering. This includes not only an increase in emphasis on fundamental principles and mathematical tools, but also instruction in the use of these principles and tools in their application to engineering problems.¹³⁾

More than 75 per cent of the educators and administrators who were interviewed in the study indicated that they anticipate automation – or, for that matter, any technological change – will be unlikely to come all at once as a tidal wave but rather will come as a succession of groundswells that will reach different operations and industries at different times and with different impacts. The respondents mentioned three built-in brakes that should hold the spread of automation in the manufacturing sector to a pace that will not overtax the firms' abilities to absorb it. These three governors are: (1) the technical limitations of the design of automatic applications, (2) the limited economic feasibility of automation, and (3) managerial inability to understand fully and take advantage of the opportunities which automation presents.

In designing a "proper" program, engineering faculties find themselves in a dilemma since their students are destined to engage in widely varied types of work. After all, engineering students may be divided roughly into five general groups:

- The engineer-scientist: these engineers are creative and devote their major attention to the discovery of new facts about engineering systems and to the recognition of those scientific facts which will lend themselves to engineering development.
- The creative engineer: these are the individuals who actually design new engineering systems and put newly discovered principles to use.
- The functional engineer: these are the engineers who employ orthodox methods and established principles in the design of conventional details of manufacturing

plants and public utilities, and they build, operate, and maintain these plants and the related equipment.

- The engineer technician: engineers in this group devote their attention to the more routine tasks such as testing, inspection, and analysis.
- Engineering graduates in non-engineering work: a large number of engineers in each of the above categories find themselves, perhaps ten years after graduation, in administrative, executive, or ownership posts in industry, government, and utilities.¹⁴⁾

Since management realizes the need for highly qualified technical personnel, to be trained in general management, much of industrial management training is carried out internally by the larger manufacturing firms. Only a small number of the educators contacted (10%) expressed doubts about the quality of this training. The majority felt that, at present certain firms can impart more knowledge to their technicians and engineering staff than can academic institutions. However, as the rate of technological change in such industries as manufacturing, contract construction, communication and public utilities increases, the need for more cooperation between them and technical institutions should grow.¹⁵⁾

Several engineering colleges have designed a core of courses in engineering science common to all engineering curricula. It was interesting to find that 50 per cent of the respondents saw great merit in emphasizing general principles, whereas the other half of the sample opposed the core curriculum on grounds that specialities should not be incorporated into a common course and taught to engineering students as a whole. A more fundamental, or undergraduate, instruction would be desirable, but a "single basic curriculum" would be unrealistic because of the diversity of sciences on which engineering practice rests. Other colleges of engineering were criticized by industry for having offered courses or clusters of courses which have little or "no reference to the application of special knowledge in industry".¹⁶⁾

All large firms in the sample provide special technical training for their qualified employees. Only 10 per cent of all company officials saw any danger in the reliance on internal technical training, but 65 per cent of the academic staff members pointed out that there are two basic dangers. First, on-the-job training too often tends to be of a very narrow kind; and, secondly, it may hinder the assimilation of new ideas and adaption to change by the company.

There seems to be a general consensus among educators and administrators that the need for a broad and well-structured technical education curriculum does not arise solely from humane idealism, but rather from urgent, pragmatic economic needs. The adjustment of the educational

structure to technological change is believed to be an essential foundation for any attempt to prepare this country intelligently for the educational tasks that lie ahead.

This represents a potentially serious philosophical conflict between the new manpower interest in education and the traditional view of education's role in a democratic society. Under the latter view, the purpose of education is to enable the individual to equalize his full human potentialities for his own sake; according to the social demand approach, however, industry as well as cultural and public institutions are to be staffed with persons having the requisite education and skills.

One of the major tasks of educational planners is to convince statesmen, educators, and administrators that this conflict is not irreconcilable and that the two objectives can be balanced.

The survey data indicate that technological change and, in particular, the development of automation, have not led to serious consideration of *closer cooperation* between industry and vocational-technical training institutions and higher technical education. More than 20 per cent of all answers received from academic staff members indicated that the main function of technical education should be the development of fundamental knowledge, a role not easily reconciled with specific industrial requirements. In a similar vein, a substantial proportion of industrial officers (19 per cent) demonstrated their indifference to vocational-technical education and did not seriously consider how institutions of technical education might assist them in acquainting future staff members with technological change.

The economist who wants to assist educational administrators in decision-making needs predictive models suitable for testing. The development of such instruments should make it possible to predict the effects of technological changes on occupations. Our position is that a mathematical systems model is necessary. Such a model is not easy to construct because of the scarcity of explicit, quantitative data on variables involved in technological change. In fact, many economists believe that it is impossible to derive a complete, closed, and predictive systems model.

In sum, this article has stressed three points. First, if the educational planner-administrator wants to adjust curricula in response to technological changes, planning strategies not only must throw new light on the efficiency of firms with regard to their personnel policies, but also must take a comprehensive look at educational qualifications, the cost of education, and the problem of poor utilization of educated labor in various segments of industry.

Secondly, to be realistic, educational planning involving detailed occu-

pational and educational data must review its outdated approach of assigning rigid educational requirements to technical occupations. Research shows that in engineering jobs no single educational qualification or "avenue" stands out as the "optimum" education for that particular occupation.

Finally, the administrator in charge of curriculum revisions must realize that firms invest in and plan the use of their educated, highly-qualified personnel in much the same way as in their physical capital. Large companies have recognized that it is of the utmost importance to predict the rate of progress of automation and the accompanying changes in skill input.

We conclude that more refined forecasting techniques, particularly long-term ones that identify the impact of technological changes on the demand for various kinds of highly-skilled labor, are needed. At the same time, a regular evaluation of the *relevance* of technical curricula to the educational input into the labor market is required.

NOTES

1) "Technological change" is defined here in its more technically precise form; it considers two dimensions of change: (a) the technical dimension, and (b) the economic-social dimension.

"Technological change" is not to be identified with science and discovery. Science gives us knowledge and power for action. It tells us what we can do. Research seeks out the practical and the more or less practicable. Technological change, however, reflects the actual adoption of new methods and products; it is the triumph of the new over the old in the test of the market and the budget.

"Technological change", in contrast to discovery, is a complex, economic and social process which is influenced by a range of decisions by business enterprises, labor organizations and workers, national and local governmental agencies, the educational system, households, and by the values and attitudes of the whole community. No single body makes a decision as to the rate of technological change in the society, no law can increase it by simple decree.

John T. DUNLAP (ed.): *Automation and Technological Change*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1962, p. 4.

2) For a discussion of the responsiveness of the educational system to industrial manpower needs, see Richard H. P. KRAFT: "Vocational-Technical Training and Technological Change." *Educational Technology*, 9, 7, July, 1969.

3) C. E. BEEBY: *The Quality of Education in Developing Countries*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966, quoted in: *Educational Planning*. Paris: UNESCO ED/ICEP/3, June, 1968, p. 104.

4) Colin A. GANNON, et al.: *An Introduction to the Study of Technological Change and Its Consequences for Regional and Community Development*. Evanston: The Transportation Center at Northwestern University, March, 1967, p. A-146.

5) Louis E. DAVIS: "Discussion of the Impact of Automation on Occupational Distribution, Job Content, and Working Conditions." Mimeo. Berkeley: University of California, Department of Industrial Engineering and Operations Research, January, 1965.

6) Four definitions for social demand as abstracted from some of the recent writings in the field are: (1) Social demand for education means the effective demand for places in formal education. (2) Social demand for education is the eminent need

of the democratic society (present and future) for the improvement of human capacity by formal and nonformal education. (3) Social demand for education is an expression of securing equal changes for all individuals to get all the education they can absorb; or, similarly, (4) social demand for education means the demand derived from the principles of giving all individuals an equal opportunity to get all the education they ask for. Friedrich EDDING and Jens NAUMANN: "A Systems Look at Educational Planning", in Richard H. P. KRAFT (ed.): *Education and Economic Growth*. Tallahassee: Educational Systems Development Center, 1968, pp. 130-160.

7) Typical job fields or clusters are: civil technologies, mechanical technologies, electrical-electronics technologies, and industrial technologies.

8) DAVIS, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

9) *Ibid.*, p. 10.

10) Richard H. P. KRAFT: "Inter-firm Correlations: The Contribution of Educationally Heavy Inputs to Increasing Profitability", in KRAFT (ed.): *Education and Economic Growth*, pp. 112-129.

11) Richard H. P. KRAFT: *Education and Occupation: Manpower and Changing Industrial Skill Requirements*. Tallahassee: Educational Systems Development Center, 1968.

12) Gerald G. SOMERS: "The Response of Vocational Education to Labor Market Changes", *Vocational Education, Supplement to the Journal of Human Resources*, 3, 1968, pp. 53-54.

13) Herbert S. PARNES: "Manpower Analysis in Educational Planning", in PARNES (ed.): *Planning Education for Economic and Social Development*. Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1963, p. 73.

14) Herman A. ESTRIN (ed.): *Higher Education in Engineering and Science*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963, p. 52.

15) A recent survey showed that 21 per cent of manufacturing firms advertise in local newspapers to make adjustments to the shortage of qualified personnel. Only 17 per cent, however, contact the local school system and ask school officials to establish specific training programs. For specific data see KRAFT, *Education and Occupation, op. cit.*, p. 40.

TECHNISCHER WANDEL UND VERALTETE ERZIEHUNGSMETHODEN: HERAUSFORDERUNG AN DIE BILDUNGSPLANER ALS INITIATOREN VON REFORMEN

VON RICHARD H. P. KRAFT, Tallahassee

Obwohl sich in den letzten Jahren ein Dialog zwischen Wissenschaftlern und Bildungsplanern angebahnt hat, beschränkt sich die Bildungsplanungsarbeit für die technische Berufsausbildung zum großen Teil noch auf allgemeine historische Untersuchungen oder auf die Analyse von Alternativvorschlägen. Der Artikel vertritt die These, daß der Bildungsplaner klare, wegweisende und umfassende Modelle brauche, die sich testen lassen und die eine Verbindung zwischen Technologie und Wirtschaft herstellen. Aufgrund dieser Modelle könnten langfristige, technologische Wandlungen festgestellt werden. Nicht alle Bildungsplaner sind bereit, ihre Pläne den berufspraktischen Anforderungen anzupassen. Hieraus ergibt sich das Problem, wie ein System entwickelt werden kann, das die Nachfrage nach beruflicher Qualifikation mit den Planungszielen einer technischen Berufsausbildung in Beziehung bringt.

Folgende drei zentrale Zielvorstellungen, die sich auf die Bildungsplanung im technischen Berufsbereich beziehen, ergeben sich hieraus: zu gewährleisten, daß der Politik die Tat folgt; im Bereich der Verwaltung ein besseres Verständnis für technologische Entwicklungen, einschließlich der Automation zu erreichen, und

letztlich das Hauptaugenmerk auf diejenigen Umweltfaktoren zu richten, die durch Planungsentscheidungen beeinflusst werden und ihrerseits wiederum Einfluß auf solche Entscheidungen ausüben. Sofern durch die neuen technologischen Entwicklungen die Notwendigkeit langfristiger Planung betont wird, kann ein Systemansatz, wie er in dieser Abhandlung umrissen wird, eine methodische Grundlage für eine interdisziplinäre, planungsorientierte Forschung liefern. Der Artikel endet mit Kommentaren über die Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der beruflich-technischen Bildungsplanung und deren Einbeziehung in einen umfassenderen sozialen Rahmenplan.

CHANGEMENTS TECHNOLOGIQUES ET VIEILLISSEMENT DES
METHODES PEDAGOGIQUES:
DEFIS AUX ADMINISTRATEURS, INITIATEURS DE CHANGEMENTS

par RICHARD H. P. KRAFT, Tallahassee

Bien qu'un dialogue ait eu lieu au cours de ces dernières années entre analystes scientifiques et planificateurs de l'éducation, une bonne partie du travail de planification de l'éducation technico-professionnelle se limite encore à des études générales de données historiques, ou à l'analyse de programmes de remplacement. On a émis la thèse que l'administrateur-planificateur a besoin de modèles quantitatifs, suffisamment frappants et dignes d'avenir qui pourraient être testés et lieraient la technologie à la vie économique. Ces modèles pourraient être utilisés pour identifier les changements technologiques à long terme. Tous les administrateurs ne sont pas disposés à examiner ces modèles et être contraints de suivre les exigences du but "occupationnel" de leurs programmes. Le problème se pose alors de savoir comment élaborer un système qui faciliterait la "syndromisation" d'exigences professionnelles et d'objectifs de la planification de l'éducation technico-professionnelle.

Quant aux objectifs d'un processus de la planification de l'éducation professionnelle, il convient de considérer les trois points principaux suivants: s'assurer que l'éducation suit la politique imposée, développer chez les administrateurs une meilleure compréhension des problèmes technologiques, y compris l'automation; s'intéresser en tout premier lieu aux rapports d'environnement qui sont affectés par les décisions de planification et qui, à leur tour, les affectent. Dans la mesure où les récents développements technologiques soulignent la nécessité d'une planification à longue portée, une interprétation du système tel qu'il est décrit dans ce rapport peut fournir une base méthodologique de recherche interdisciplinaire et orientée vers la planification. L'auteur termine par des commentaires sur les possibilités et limitations de la planification de l'éducation professionnelle et son intégration dans une structure plus large de planification sociale.

COMMUNICATIONS – BERICHTE – COMMUNICATIONS

ENSEIGNANTS ITALIENS:

ATTITUDES RELATIVES A LEUR POSITION ET A LA REFORME DE L'ECOLE MOYENNE

Pour la première fois en Italie, une recherche sociologique a été effectuée sur un échantillon assez large de professeurs pour établir quelques généralités à partir desquelles on peut définir certaines caractéristiques du corps enseignant italien.¹⁾

En partant d'une analyse exhaustive de la littérature sociologique sur ce sujet, on a d'abord formulé des hypothèses; puis l'enquête les a soumises à vérification.

La première hypothèse a trait au milieu géographique et consiste à vérifier si et dans quelle mesure le conditionnement du milieu (lieu d'enseignement) a plus d'importance que le conditionnement professionnel (préparation, intérêts communs, type de travail, etc.).

Les autres hypothèses concernent le choix professionnel (a-t-on choisi l'enseignement par manque d'autres possibilités de travail ou bien comme profession à laquelle on accède parce qu'on n'est pas satisfait d'une occupation précédente, ou parce qu'on y est poussé par tradition familiale?); l'origine sociale (les professeurs sont-ils tous issus des classes moyennes?); les activités extra-scolaires, pour se rendre compte si elles tendent à l'amélioration des professeurs; l'acceptation ou le refus par le professeur de la société et de la profession exercée; les communications interpersonnelles et les conflits au sein de l'organisation scolaire entre professeurs, proviseur et parents d'élèves; l'attitude que les professeurs prennent face à la réforme de la nouvelle école moyenne (*scuola media*); la définition du rôle du professeur tel qu'il le voit lui-même et tel qu'il est vu par les autres en considérant surtout l'action éducative des autres centres d'éducation concurrents des écoles.

Pour étudier ces thèmes, on a rédigé un questionnaire comportant environ 80 questions qui ont été posées au cours de colloques d'une durée moyenne de deux heures, à 720 professeurs par une équipe d'enquêteurs. L'échantillon comprenait des professeurs d'écoles moyennes: 480 de Milan et 240 de Bari, et un nombre égal d'hommes et de femmes, de professeurs titularisés et non titularisés provenant de la ville et du département. L'échantillon déterminé au hasard a été ensuite étudié dans ses éléments objectifs: âge, état civil, matières d'enseignement, titres, position dans le milieu scolaire, nombre d'années d'enseignement, lieu de résidence. Les données ont été comparées et cette comparaison, tout en mettant en lumière certaines différences entre la composition du groupe des 480 professeurs du Nord et celle des 240 du Sud a permis de constater que les deux sous-échantillons étaient structurés de façon suffisamment homogène pour permettre une analyse significative des résultats.

Dans cet article, nous nous sommes limités à trois des aspects considérés par la recherche: les motifs du choix professionnel, pour nous permettre de saisir le degré de conscience professionnelle des professeurs; la façon dont ils utilisent les activités extra-scolaires en vue de leur perfectionnement professionnel, et enfin l'attitude qu'il prennent vis-à-vis de la réforme scolaire, car il nous semble que de cette attitude dépend, en dernière analyse, le succès de la réforme elle-même, donc le renouvellement du système scolaire italien tout entier.

Le choix professionnel

Une des questions concernant le choix professionnel est de savoir si on a choisi l'enseignement à défaut d'une occupation correspondant mieux aux aspirations personnelles. Dans ce cas, l'enseignement constitue une "profession de remplacement" et les raisons qui déterminent ce choix sont dites de type "instrumental". Dans le cas contraire, l'enseignement est choisi comme une valeur en soi – indépendamment des avantages qu'il peut procurer – le choix est dit alors de type "expressif".

Dans l'échantillon considéré par l'enquête, 60% environ des interviewés ont choisi l'enseignement pour des motifs instrumentaux (ou en majeure partie instrumentaux), 25% seulement ont fait un choix de type expressif (ou en majeure partie expressif). Dans les 15% restants, les motifs du choix sont divers. Le pourcentage des motivations instrumentales est plus grand dans le Sud (64,2%) que dans le Nord (56,5%), tandis que les choix expressifs atteignent 28,3% dans le Nord et se limitent à 22,1% dans le Sud.

Compte tenu de la complexité des situations individuelles, cette différence entre le Nord et le Sud peut s'expliquer par le fait qu'il existe moins de possibilités de travail dans le Sud. Cependant, il semble évident que, dans le Nord comme dans le Sud, la nécessité de se procurer un revenu est plus déterminante, dans le choix professionnel, que ne l'est ce qu'on appelle "la vocation pour l'enseignement". Le sexe, par contre, n'intervient pas lui-même pour rendre un choix instrumental plutôt qu'expressif : c'est-à-dire qu'il n'est pas exact que les femmes se vouent plus à l'enseignement par don et mission que ne le font les hommes.

60% des professeurs interviewés estiment, en outre, qu'aucun facteur extérieur n'a influencé leur choix. Pour les 40% restants, au contraire, au moins un facteur extérieur y aurait contribué : la famille et le milieu, dans le cas du choix instrumental, l'exemple de professeurs en service, dans le cas du choix expressif.

Un autre point important pour la compréhension des motifs à la base du choix professionnel concerne l'enseignement en tant que second choix professionnel.

Plus du tiers des personnes interviewées ont eu auparavant une activité autre que l'enseignement à l'école moyenne. 30% ont eu des activités variées (ce sont, pour la majeure partie, des employés) et 7% des activités scolaires (maîtres de classes élémentaires et assistants universitaires). Les motifs allégués pour justifier le changement de profession sont, dans l'ordre : la sécurité économique, une meilleure qualification, un horaire moins chargé, l'amélioration sociale. On peut noter que la tendance à abandonner l'occupation précédente est plus accentuée dans le Nord, mais ceci ne constitue pas une caractéristique particulière du corps enseignant, car la mobilité professionnelle est plus élevée dans le Nord.

Enfin, un troisième point de grand intérêt dans la comparaison des choix professionnels concerne la tradition familiale du professeur. Deux tiers environ des sujets de l'échantillon ont au moins un parent (père ou mère) ou un grand-père dans l'enseignement (instituteur ou professeur).

Cette constatation peut peut-être expliquer certaines particularités sociales concernant le style de vie, les modes d'expression, les valeurs culturelles, etc. propres à la catégorie des professeurs et liées au type d'éducation reçue. La légère prédominance de la tradition familiale, qu'on peut observer dans le Sud, peut signifier un attachement plus grand à la tradition, mais il pourrait s'agir également d'une mobilité professionnelle moindre, propre aux régions méridionales et être la conséquence d'un nombre moins élevé de possibilités dans le choix d'occupations autres que l'enseignement.

Les activités extra-scolaires

L'opinion courante est que l'enseignement devrait constituer une occupation limitée normalement à un maximum de 18 heures par semaine, parce que le professeur a besoin de temps pour préparer ses cours et se tenir au courant des disciplines qui forment l'objet de ses activités professionnelles. Au contraire, il ressort de notre recherche que le travail extra-scolaire accompli par les professeurs se répartit comme suit: 35% en leçons privées, 18% en activités en rapport avec l'université et les centres culturels, 16% en professions libérales, 13% en activités éditoriales, 10% en activités dans les écoles du soir ou autres, 7% en collaboration avec des entreprises, 6% de traductions.

Sur les motifs donnés par ceux qui ont déclaré avoir une seconde activité professionnelle (44% de l'échantillon), le motif de l'évasion comprend 31% des cas, suivi par celui des nécessités économiques (24%); tandis que l'*aggiornamento* (recyclage) culturel intéresse seulement 23% des cas.

Dans le cas des femmes, on a pu constater aussi que 6 femmes sur 7 doivent remplir des obligations domestiques. Néanmoins, on a noté qu'elles ont tendance à accorder une plus grande importance aux occupations professionnelles qu'à celles de la famille.

La participation aux associations représente sans aucun doute une activité parallèle à celle de l'école que les professeurs pourraient utiliser pour acquérir une plus haute qualification professionnelle. L'enquête a montré, au contraire, un absentéisme notoire qui prouve le peu d'intérêt manifesté par le corps enseignant pour cette forme possible de recyclage professionnel.

50% déclarent être inscrits à des syndicats, toutefois 12% seulement de l'échantillon entier participent assez régulièrement à la vie syndicale. Il apparaît donc que le mobile que constitue la défense des intérêts est primordial tandis qu'on attribue une très faible valeur aux raisons de participation et de formation: en fait, la vie syndicale se réduit à une simple délégation de pouvoir.

Aux associations culturelles adhèrent 20% des interviewés. Le niveau de participation est assez élevé; cependant, un très petit nombre indique, comme motif de leur adhésion, une relation entre les activités de l'association et celles de l'enseignement.

Que les professeurs ne soient pas conscients d'une certaine autonomie professionnelle, cela ressort surtout de leur très faible adhésion aux associations professionnelles: 10% seulement en font partie et la moitié de ceux-ci ne les fréquentent même pas avec régularité. Leur participation est motivée avant tout par la possibilité d'utiliser les services qui leur sont offerts, constatation qui vaut aussi pour la participation aux associations récréatives ou sportives. On note, au contraire, chez les 10% inscrits, une participation plus grande à des associations confessionnelles.

Ainsi, la participation aux associations est loin d'être importante, semble-t-il, et ne représente pas un moyen bien accepté dont on se sert pour se perfectionner au point de vue professionnel. Cette lacune n'est naturellement pas justifiée par le fait que le petit nombre de professeurs qui participent aux associations y assument souvent les fonctions directives: ils exercent, certes, une influence particulière sur la société, mais n'améliorent pas, pour cela, leur propre qualification professionnelle.

L'information pourrait représenter un moyen valable d'*aggiornamento* utilisable de façon individuelle et sans obligation d'horaires particuliers. Toutefois, si l'information des *mass media* est assez suivie (80% lisent un quotidien et 50% environ deux ou trois périodiques par semaine; on va au moins une fois par mois au cinéma et on suit assidûment les programmes de radio ou de télévision), l'information cul-

turelle, par des conférences ou des débats, est peu utilisée, car 25% seulement présentent une information culturelle élevée. De plus, l'information spécialisée offerte par des revues pédagogiques intéresse moins de 20% de l'échantillon et l'intérêt n'augmente que pour les livres traitant des disciplines spécifiques de l'enseignement.

On pourrait espérer enfin que l'*aggiornamento* du corps enseignant puisse se faire par des cours de recyclage. 30% seulement des professeurs interviewés ont participé au moins à un tel cours et un peu plus de 10% à deux cours au moins. On donne, en général, comme motif de participation, l'approfondissement des connaissances en matières spécifiques. 25% ont déclaré y avoir participé sur l'ordre des proviseurs, particulièrement dans le Sud, ou dans le cas des femmes titularisées qui enseignent en province. L'ordre du chef de l'institution a été le motif déterminant dans 63% des cas. Il est intéressant de noter que 3% seulement affirment avoir participé à des cours de recyclage pour améliorer leur position sur l'échelle du classement professionnel.

60% des interviewés n'ont jamais participé à des cours de recyclage d'aucun genre : 20% par manque de temps, motif donné surtout par les femmes limitées par leurs activités domestiques ; 15% en ont été empêchés par les proviseurs ; 13% les jugent inutiles ; 6% ont trouvé des difficultés d'horaires ; le reste enfin (6%) en a ignoré l'existence.

Parmi ceux qui ont participé aux cours de recyclage, la moitié seulement en a été réellement satisfaite ; cela s'est avéré vrai surtout dans le Sud. 20% environ se sont déclarés totalement insatisfaits ; 20% enfin ont exprimé des motifs de mécontentement relatifs aux cours ayant pour objet leurs matières d'enseignement. Un petit groupe (8%) approuve les contenus, mais non l'organisation des cours. 70% des interviewés affirment que ces cours devraient être obligatoires, à condition qu'ils soient compris dans l'horaire de l'école, sinon ils devraient être facultatifs ; 60% environ estiment qu'ils devraient avoir lieu pendant l'année scolaire et 30% seulement conseillent la période des vacances comme favorable à ces cours.

Il semble, en général, que les professeurs ont une image plutôt négative des activités de recyclage organisées sous forme de cours et manifestent une certaine résistance pour y participer à cause du manque de temps ; on reconnaît tout de même, en général, leur nécessité.

L'attitude face à la réforme de l'école moyenne

La réforme de l'école moyenne représente une transformation substantielle des buts des institutions scolaires ; elle concerne le changement de la nature même des fonctions éducatives de l'école qui, d'un établissement pour une élite, est devenue un lieu auquel tous ont accès, même pour une réflexion critique sur l'action de formation entreprise par les différents centres d'éducation ; école orientative et non plus sélective, qui donne une formation à la masse des citoyens et non plus à quelques dirigeants, qui vise avant tout au développement de la personnalité intégrale de l'homme et non plus, principalement, à l'accès à un patrimoine culturel élaboré par d'autres.

Il est naturel qu'à un changement aussi radical des buts corresponde nécessairement une transformation non moins radicale des méthodes et des contenus de l'enseignement, à laquelle les professeurs ne sont pas tous en mesure de s'adapter avec une égale rapidité. Dans le but de mettre en lumière les diverses attitudes des professeurs face à la réforme, nous en considérerons d'abord quelques éléments parti-

culiers, puis nous l'examinerons dans son ensemble, en considérant le comportement adopté à son égard.

L'échantillon étudié par l'enquête révèle que 90% sont mécontents des équipements et des installations scolaires, tandis qu'un peu moins seulement de la moitié estiment que l'école nouvelle est effectivement adéquate à la société d'aujourd'hui. Les observations positives sont plus marquées dans le Sud que dans le Nord, où le mécontentement plus grand a peut-être pour cause une plus grande importance du rôle joué par le milieu social.

Que l'école doive se proposer un objectif éducatif plutôt que des buts de pure instruction, c'est l'avis de deux tiers au moins des interviewés, avec une nette prédominance des femmes, chez qui on recueille jusqu'à 90% d'avis favorables. De même, 90% estiment qu'il faut évaluer les élèves sur la base du développement effectivement atteint et non sur les connaissances acquises; cependant, quand il s'agit d'admettre la possibilité d'arrêter le déroulement du programme pour s'adapter aux plus faibles, 10% seulement y sont disposés.

38% des interviewés sont opposés à l'école à plein temps, tandis que 37% sont favorables à une école qui, outre l'enseignement donné l'après-midi, comprendrait aussi le repas. Un groupe de 25% voudrait, au contraire, que les élèves, occupés toute la journée à des activités scolaires, puissent rentrer à la maison pour le repas de midi.

Un autre élément caractéristique de la nouvelle école moyenne est le conseil de classe à l'égard duquel l'attitude générale est positive; son fonctionnement apparaît cependant insuffisant. 60% de l'échantillon y sont totalement favorables, avec prédominance de professeurs non titularisés (et plus jeunes), à cause surtout de la possibilité d'une évaluation plus harmonieuse et plus compréhensive de la personnalité de chaque élève et aussi d'une connaissance plus grande des conditionnements auxquels les élèves sont sujets. 25% seulement y sont partiellement favorables, parce que le conseil de classe tomberait facilement dans un excès de bureaucratisation, ou parce que des facteurs contingents, comme le manque d'espace ou la fréquence excessive des réunions, empêchent que les objectifs soient réalisés de la manière désirée.

En ce qui concerne le fonctionnement effectif du conseil de classe, 20% apparaissent pleinement satisfaits, car on y prend en considération la situation familiale des élèves, on facilite une meilleure action pédagogique et éducative, on unifie et rend possible la collégialité dans l'enseignement et on peut enfin traiter des cas les plus délicats. Les raisons qu'allèguent 37% des professeurs pour ne se déclarer que partiellement satisfaits, se réduisent au comportement négatif de quelques collègues et au fait que tous les buts recherchés ne sont pas atteints. De plus, dans les réunions, on procède quelquefois avec superficialité et hâte, et souvent les professeurs montrent une incompréhension manifeste des principes didactiques qui régissent l'école nouvelle. La hâte avec laquelle se déroule le conseil de classe engendre le formalisme, les commérages des collègues suscitent la défiance dans leurs rapports, tandis qu'une certaine tendance à revenir aux anciens scrutins conduit finalement à faire abstraction des problèmes concrets.

En concluant cette analyse sommaire de quelques aspects particuliers de la réforme, on peut dire que les professeurs acceptent en principe cette dernière, mais assument plus difficilement les responsabilités qui en découlent. Ceci apparaît surtout évident si on considère que 10% seulement des enseignants se révèlent posséder un bon degré de recyclage vis-à-vis des techniques et des exigences imposées par l'école nouvelle; 45% sont insuffisamment au courant et 15% ne le sont pas du tout.

Dans le but de mieux préciser, dans son ensemble, la position des professeurs face à la réforme, on a réduit à quatre les principes formels qui la caractérisent : extension de l'obligation scolaire jusqu'à 14 ans, individualisation de l'enseignement, fonction éducative et non sélective de l'école, démocratisation du milieu scolaire. On a demandé aux interviewés quel est le principal changement apporté à la réforme même, et on a cherché à ramener les réponses à l'un ou l'autre des principes susdits.

42% environ ont donné un jugement d'ensemble favorable et ont indiqué un des quatre principes formels comme caractérisant le changement causé par la loi qui a institué l'école moyenne unique. Ils estiment que l'école nouvelle réalise une meilleure promotion sociale, est effectivement éducative, permet une socialisation politique plus intense, assure une meilleure démocratisation du milieu scolaire et en particulier des rapports entre professeurs et élèves, permet enfin la réalisation de cet enseignement individualisé qui est la condition nécessaire pour rendre l'enseignement conforme aux besoins de chacun.

30% des interviewés refusent la réforme. Il faut tenir compte toutefois du fait que quelques-uns, comme on le verra, rejettent la réforme parce qu'ils l'estiment insuffisamment novatrice. Quels que soient les motifs invoqués, ils se réduisent, en substance, au fait que le niveau moyen de l'enseignement s'est abaissé. En outre, il s'agirait d'une réforme imposée par l'extérieur à laquelle ne correspond pas une réforme adéquate de l'école élémentaire qui prépare les élèves aux méthodes nouvelles. En tout cas, la disparition des spécialisations au niveau de l'enseignement défavoriserait l'élève lui-même. De plus, le principe de la démocratisation des rapports et celui de l'individualisation de l'enseignement mèneraient à des résultats plutôt négatifs dans la perspective d'une formation réellement sérieuse de la personnalité humaine.

28% d'entre eux présentent une attitude ambivalente, acceptant certains aspects de la réforme tout en refusant d'autres : ils sont donc indifférents. Cette école nouvelle devrait être accessible à tous, tout en restant sélective surtout pour l'étude du latin ; d'autres affirment encore qu'il s'agit là, sans aucun doute, d'une fort belle réforme, malheureusement irréalisable en pratique, car elle obligerait à un trop grand travail de mutation.

Pour permettre aux interviewés de préciser ultérieurement leur position, on leur a demandé quelle serait la modification la plus importante qu'ils désireraient apporter à l'école nouvelle et on a classé leurs réponses en : propositions "novatrices", quand les indications proposent un changement sans, pour autant, ramener les structures nouvelles au modèle scolaire précédent ; proposition "applicatives" quand on se limite à souligner la nécessité d'appliquer intégralement la loi institutive ; propositions "régressives", quand on voudrait explicitement ou implicitement revenir en tout ou en partie à l'ancienne école moyenne.

27% des personnes interviewées, et surtout les professeurs non titularisés, présentent des propositions novatrices. Ils voudraient que la scolarité obligatoire soit reportée à l'âge de 16 ans, que soient instaurées la gratuité effective de l'instruction et l'école à plein temps, que soient introduites de nouvelles méthodes d'évaluation, que soient supprimées les matières facultatives et que d'autres, au contraire, comme l'éducation sexuelle, soient introduites pour tous.

Les propositions applicatives, soutenues par 34% de l'échantillon, avec un pourcentage plus grand dans le Nord, se réfèrent à la réduction du nombre des élèves par classe, à l'institution de classes spéciales (pour les moins doués) et "différentielles" (pour ceux qui ont des légers troubles psychiques) et à l'introduction d'activités

complémentaires (*doposcuola*), à une plus grande disponibilité des moyens audiovisuels, ainsi qu'à une formation adéquate et à un meilleur recyclage des professeurs.

39%, représentés surtout dans le Sud par des professeurs titularisés, voudraient que soient réalisées les propositions régressives. La scolarité obligatoire équivaut, en effet, pour eux, à une limitation de la liberté, tandis que la facilité avec laquelle les élèves sont reçus aux examens semble injuste: il faudrait plutôt en revenir à l'école sélective, en tenant compte du cas des enfants qui doivent continuer leurs études.

En comparant cette double série de réponses relatives aux changements produits par la réforme et aux modifications que les professeurs voudraient y apporter, on obtient un schéma typologique très significatif. Grâce à lui, on peut définir l'attitude qu'adoptent les professeurs vis-à-vis des critères visant à créer une école destinée à satisfaire aux exigences éducatives de tous les citoyens.

On a appelé réformiste celui qui accepte la réforme et qui, en même temps, exprime une proposition de type novateur, car il voudrait que l'école nouvelle soit modifiée ultérieurement par une série d'améliorations qui changeraient quelques-uns des aspects structureaux de celle-ci.

Est intégré celui qui accepte la réforme et se borne à en proposer la pleine application. Ce type de professeurs est celui qui a trouvé coïncidence entre un idéal scolaire personnel et celui que propose le législateur; c'est pourquoi on l'appelle "intégré". Celui qui, au contraire, accepte la réforme mais l'associe à une proposition de nature régressive est dit conformiste puisqu'il reste ancré aux schémas de l'école ancienne.

Celui qui se préoccupe des aspects spécifiques et techniques de l'enseignement, sans s'engager pourtant par rapport à la réforme considérée dans son ensemble et dans ses principes formels, est appelé techniciste; tandis que l'épithète de légaliste sert à désigner celui qui, tout en montrant une grande indifférence vis-à-vis de la réforme, pense qu'il est de son devoir de la réaliser parce qu'ainsi le veut la loi.

Le traditionnaliste se distingue des précédents en ce sens qu'il ne s'exprime ni pour ni contre la réforme, mais en appelle au passé, tout simplement parce qu'il est enclin à ne pas changer, et non à cause d'un choix rationnel précis comme le fait au contraire le type conformiste. Incohérent aussi est le formaliste qui refuse la réforme, mais en même temps cherche à la réaliser à cause des prescriptions législatives, comme le fait aussi le légaliste qui lui, par contre, est favorable à la réforme elle-même.

Les deux types les plus caractéristiques de la typologie sont le novateur radical et le conservateur engagé. Le premier refuse la réforme parce qu'il la considère comme un succédané cherchant à éviter un changement effectif du système scolaire; le second, au contraire, veut revenir intégralement à l'école ancienne et se montre imperméable à toute forme de changement éducatif ne comportant pas un retour au passé.

Il ressort de ce schéma que les "conservateurs engagés" représentent le groupe le plus important. Il peut être intéressant de noter qu'ils sont répartis également au Nord et au Sud, avec toutefois une légère majorité au Nord. Ceux qui acceptent la réforme représentent 42,9% au Nord et 41,4% au Sud, les indifférents, 26,9% au Nord et 30% au Sud; tandis que les opposants constituent 30% au Nord et 28,3% au Sud.

On a pu construire ainsi le schéma.

Proposition	Attitude devant l'école moyenne		
	Acceptation	Indifférence	Refus
Novatrice.....	Réformiste 15,1%	Techniciste 7,1%	Novateur radical 4,7%
Applicative.....	Intégré 19,4%	Légaliste 11,3%	Formaliste 3,9%
Régressive.....	Conformiste 7,8%	Traditionnaliste 9,7%	Conservateur engagé 21%

Conclusions

Comme il ressort de l'exposé ci-dessus, les différences entre le Nord et le Sud, en ce qui concerne l'attitude des professeurs face à la réforme, ne sont pas significatives. On peut généraliser cette constatation et la référer aussi aux autres aspects examinés au cours de l'enquête. C'est-à-dire que les professeurs présentent, en substance, la même attitude, si bien qu'on peut dire que le conditionnement professionnel prévaut sur le conditionnement du milieu et que la socialisation professionnelle a une incidence plus grande que n'en a le milieu.

Dans le Sud, en effet, les choix professionnels de type instrumental prévalent et les professeurs acceptent en majorité de se sentir des "employés". Dans le Nord, prévalent les professeurs qui mènent des activités extra-scolaires. Mais ces différences trouvent leur raison d'être dans des causes d'ordre structural (possibilités plus grandes dans le choix d'occupations différentes) et non d'ordre culturel.

Si on ne trouve pas de divergences substantielles entre le Nord et le Sud, des différences notoires apparaissent, par contre, entre jeunes et vieux, au moins en ce qui concerne l'attitude vis-à-vis de la réforme. Ceux qui l'approuvent sont, en majorité, des jeunes, tandis que les opposants se trouvent surtout parmi les groupes d'âge supérieur à 35 ans, et il semble que sur eux le nombre d'années d'enseignement et la tradition familiale influent de façon déterminante.

D'autres corrélations significatives sont celles exprimées par le fait que les professeurs classés comme légalistes et traditionnalistes sont orientés davantage vers les valeurs instrumentales tandis que les réformistes, les intégrés et les conformistes, c'est-à-dire ceux qui acceptent la réforme, sont plus orientés vers les aspects humains. Il y a encore connexion entre le fait que l'on accepte la réforme et l'intérêt pour le recyclage et entre celui-ci et l'intérêt pour les innovations. De toute façon, on note un degré moins élevé de recyclage parmi les traditionnalistes et les conservateurs engagés.

Les innovateurs radicaux sont ceux qui acceptent, en plus grand nombre, de traiter de sujets qui "engagent". Mais, en général, on peut dire que le fait d'accepter la réforme est en corrélation avec une disponibilité à traiter en classe des sujets de fond, étrangers au programme. L'enquête a démontré aussi que plus un professeur partage les principes formels de la réforme, se déclare disposé à discuter avec les élèves, lit de nombreuses publications culturelles, pédagogiques et scientifiques, a fait son recyclage et continue à le faire d'après les contenus et les méthodes de la nouvelle école moyenne, plus son niveau de communication interpersonnelle avec les élèves est élevé et plus aussi il s'engage à traiter de sujets cruciaux impliquant directement et ouvertement sa conception du monde.

C'est pourquoi on peut conclure, semble-t-il, en faisant remarquer que si la communication interpersonnelle avec les élèves et le fait de traiter des sujets qui "engagent" le professeur constituent la qualité requise la plus pressante des nouveaux étudiants, relativement peu nombreux sont les maîtres capables de faire face à la pression exercée par les masses qui déferlent à l'école, car relativement peu nombreux sont les professeurs qui acceptent la réforme et s'y adaptent.

NOTE

1) Cf. V. CESAREO: *Insegnanti, Scuola e Società: Una ricerca sui professori delle scuole medie di Milano e di Bari*. Milano: OPPI, 1969. L'enquête, dirigée par Vincenzo Cesareo, a été menée dans le cadre du Séminaire de sociologie de l'éducation, de l'Oeuvre pour la Préparation Professionnelle des Enseignants (OPPI) de Milan et s'est insérée dans une recherche plus vaste sur les professeurs des écoles élémentaires moyennes et secondaires, approuvée par le Conseil National des Recherches (CNR) auquel s'est joint ensuite le Centre de Formation et d'Etudes pour le Midi (FORMEZ) pour la partie de l'enquête se rapportant à la province de Bari.

VINCENZO CESAREO et MARIO REGUZZONI, Milan

TEACHER TRAINING IN THE USSR

The Soviet Government and the Communist Party have always regarded teacher training as a matter of great national importance, and have always given it particular emphasis. At present 2,670,000 teachers work in general secondary schools.

Teaching is one of the most honourable and esteemed professions in the USSR. Teachers' work is being constantly furthered. The best teachers are awarded the honorary title of Honoured Schoolteacher (of the Union or an autonomous Republic). Today some 300,000 teachers have received government awards and the Order of Lenin, the most important government decoration, has been given to more than 30,000 teachers; 77 teachers have been honoured with the high title of Hero of Socialist Labour. 30,000 teachers were awarded the title of Honoured Teacher of the Republic.

A national holiday ("Teacher's Day") has been celebrated in the USSR since 1965 on the first Sunday of October. The Soviet people consistently display their confidence in and respect for the Soviet teachers by electing them to the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and of the Union Republics and to local Soviets.

The Soviet Government does much to improve the teachers' material well being. Teachers' salaries have been increased more than once and pensions have been raised as well. The last salary increase (21% on the average) was made in the summer of 1964. In 1970 the salary of the teachers of the 4th form was increased, as subject teaching was introduced, beginning with this form.

The decree "On Measures for Further Improvement in the Work of General Secondary Schools", adopted in November 1966 by the Central Committee of the CPSU and by the USSR Council of Ministers, emphasizes that all organs of the Party, Komsomol, Soviet and Trade organizations must work to enhance the teacher's authority and help them in bringing up and training the young generation. The decree also stresses that conditions favourable to efficient teaching should be pro-

vided, that teachers should continuously develop their professional skills and that laws concerning the protection of the working conditions and privileges of educational workers should be strictly followed. The By-law on School Life adopted in September 1970 by the USSR Council of Ministers also stresses the leading role of the teacher in the whole educational process.

At present the USSR has a wide network of intermediate and higher institutions training teachers for primary and secondary schools.* Nursery and primary school teachers are trained at teacher training schools, with a four year course for students having an eight year school education and a two year course for those with a complete secondary education.

The following institutions of higher education train teachers for secondary schools: teacher training institutes, universities and some specialized educational institutions such as conservatories, art institutes, foreign language institutes and physical culture institutes.

Teacher training schools are specialized secondary educational institutions which train the teacher for elementary schools and kindergartens. The general educational and professional training of the students includes such subjects as history of the Communist Party, physiology and hygiene for schoolchildren, psychology, principles of pedagogy as well as special subjects such as the Russian language with methods of teaching it, arithmetic with its methods, and the fundamental principles of other sciences included in the primary school curriculum. A large amount of time is devoted to drawing, singing, physical culture and workshop activities.

A future teacher is trained in photography and cinema laboratories to supply him with necessary practical skills and habits, including the use of simple visual aids.

A primary and kindergarten teacher is trained to play a musical instrument (piano, violin, accordion, etc.). Applicants are tested for their abilities in music, and only those with satisfactory results may apply for admission. At present special courses for studying technical teaching aids are being established. A very important aspect of the students' training in teacher training schools is teaching practice in kindergartens and primary schools.

The introduction of a general eight years of compulsory schooling and the transition to ten years of compulsory schooling increase considerably the necessity for teachers with an all-round education. The quality of work in the senior secondary grades depends greatly on the knowledge the pupils receive at the primary schools. Only highly qualified teachers can ensure that solid knowledge is provided by the primary school. Due to this concern a number of teacher training institutes have organized special faculties for training primary school teachers at the level of higher education. To date such faculties have been organized in twelve teacher training colleges and the experiences in their work are being carefully studied.

In the 1969-70 academic year there were 411 teacher training schools with 292,000 students. About 100,000 students were trained in the departments of primary edu-

* Soviet children begin school at the age of seven. The Soviet school may be divided into the following types:

- a) elementary school, comprising forms 1-3;
- b) incomplete secondary school, comprising forms 1-8;
- c) complete secondary school, comprising forms 1-10.

Higher education is provided at universities and specialized institutes (teacher training, agricultural, construction, etc.).

cation in teacher training institutes. The students of these departments study more social subjects and are trained carefully in principles of education. They study more thoroughly the fundamentals of the sciences related to their specialisation.

Teacher training institutes are a completely new type of higher educational establishment founded in our country after the October Socialist Revolution. There are no educational institutions of this kind in other countries. The main institutes of this sort were founded in the thirties; however some of the oldest, such as the Lenin State Pedagogical Institute in Moscow and the Herzen State Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad were established as specialized educational institutions as early as 1918. Teacher training institutes prepare highly qualified teachers for all grades of secondary school (forms 4–10). At present, teacher training institutes prepare teachers of all specialities corresponding to the subjects taught at school. Two of these institutes (in Moscow and Leningrad) also provide specialized training for teachers working with handicapped children.

In the 1969–70 academic year there were 205 teacher training institutes in the USSR, including 101 in the Russian Federation, 32 in the Ukraine, 19 in Kazakhstan, 16 in Uzbekistan, 7 in Byelorussia, 8 in Georgia, 4 in Armenia, 3 each in Azerbaijan, Moldavia, Kirghizia and Tajikistan, 2 in Latvia and Lithuania, and 1 in Turkmenia and Estonia. Among the 205 institutes, eleven prepare teachers of foreign languages.

In 1970, teacher training schools graduated 84,000 teachers, while teacher training institutes graduated 156,000 teachers. The theoretical training of teachers at teacher training institutes covers social and philosophical, specialized and general educational subjects. All students, regardless of their future specialization, study the history of the CPSU, political economy, dialectical and historical materialism, scientific atheism, and the foundations of scientific communism.

A student's training further includes a number of pedagogical subjects, which are supplemented by seminars and various kinds of teaching practice at school. This training starts during the first year with the study of general and educational psychology. Lectures are given on the subjects, supplemented by seminars on scientific methods for the study of children's mental growth and subsequent observation of their activities at school.

The course on the history of principles of education is at present delivered before the course on modern pedagogical thought. In the historical course, students study the principles of education of the ancient world, the development of the pedagogical ideas of famous European educationists such as Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, French philosophical materialists of the eighteenth century – Helvetius and Diderot, as well as Herbart, Spencer, Diesterweg and Owen. The students also become acquainted with the development of school and educational principles in Russia from the earliest times up to 1917; they study the pedagogical views of Lomonosov, Radishev and representatives of the Russian revolutionary democratic pedagogy – Belinsky, Herzen, Chernyshevsky, Dobrolubov, as well as the pedagogical theories of Ushinsky, Tolstoy and others.

The course in pedagogy is divided (beginning with the 1970–71 academic year) into two parts. The first part, called "Introduction to Pedagogy", is offered to the first year students and includes such topics as: The Teacher and his Role in Society; Pedagogy as a Science; Child Development and Education; The Aim of Education; The System of Public Education in the USSR. The second part, titled "School Pedagogy", is offered to the second year students after the course in history of education and covers the main problems of didactics, principles of moral education

and the general bringing up of school children. These courses are followed by courses on teaching methodology in the subjects of the students' specialisation.

Teaching practice plays an important role in teacher training. During the first and second years of studies, students work in schools as assistant class superintendents on a voluntary basis, carrying out various tasks in cooperation with the pupils within the framework of out-of-school activities.

The first practical work provided for in the curriculum after the first year of studies takes place during the summer at Young Pioneer camps in the countryside where the students act as teachers and supervisors. Teaching practice during the last two years of studies is organised at schools under the guidance of methodologists and experienced teachers. Students acquire teaching experience in their subjects while working as subject teachers, class superintendents, and as organizers of out-of-school educational activities. Normally, they are given a free hand by the end of the practice period. According to the present five-year curriculum, school practice is allotted six weeks in the fourth year, and twelve weeks in the fifth and final year.

Students of certain faculties, such as geography, biology, mathematics and others, also acquire specialized practice. For example, students of biology work at their agricultural plots and mathematics students work with computers.

Special seminars chosen by students play an important role in senior courses. Students choose a topic for their investigation, on modern pedagogical thought, psychology or methods of teaching. The students of the third and fourth years are offered special seminars on various topical subjects, corresponding to the scientific interests of their instructors and professors.

To graduate from teacher training institutes, students are required to submit a diploma project on a topic concerning educational principles or methods of teaching. The projects are often based on course papers or special seminars but contain more scientific generalizations and are of a research character; they sometimes report on educational experiments carried out independently by the students. For example, during the last few years many students wrote papers on particular aspects of programmed instruction, preparing their own teaching aids and testing them in class. The diploma projects are sometimes scientific in nature and are based on the student's research at a student scientific society (SNO). They are regarded as state examinations in the principles of pedagogy and the methods of teaching.

In recent years a new course of studies has been introduced at some teacher training institutes to train teachers of different subjects in a foreign language. For example, the physics and mathematics faculties of the Lenin State Pedagogical Institute in Moscow have organized special courses for training teachers of these subjects in English and French.

In addition to colleges, universities also train secondary school teachers, though no more than 15-20 per cent of the total. There is a difference between the training provided at universities and at teacher training institutes: the training of teachers is the sole concern of the institutes, while universities train specialists for both scientific research and teaching activities. In comparison to teacher training institutes, the universities provide students with a narrower but more thorough specialized training in a particular branch of science, and the students undertake research on a much wider scale.

The educational and methodological training of students for future school work is given less emphasis at universities than at teacher training institutes. The courses

in psychology, educational theory and methodology are much shorter, as well as the period of teaching practice in schools.

At present, in view of the higher standard of instruction at schools and the introduction of optional courses in senior forms, the need for highly qualified teachers increases, which makes the universities' contribution ever more important.

Higher teacher's training in the form of evening and extramural tuition is provided by the corresponding faculties and departments of teacher training institutes. There is one independent teacher training institute (in Moscow) which provides exclusively extramural tuition. Graduates of evening and extramural departments enjoy the same rights as those of the full-time intramural faculties. The students of evening and extramural departments are given an additional paid vacation of from 10 to 40 days and during their state examinations they are freed from their work for two months while retaining their pay.

In 1966, evening and correspondence courses enrolled 446,500 students in teacher training institutes and 54,100 in teacher training schools. In 1938, a system of extension and refresher courses through special institutes in every region and Autonomous Republic, as well as through teachers' methodological societies at school and district levels, was established in the USSR. These institutes develop long term plans for the further professional development of teachers. According to these plans, teachers are invited, at least once every four or five years, to attend a particular type of extension and refresher course. Professors and lecturers in teacher training institutes and universities, experienced teachers, principals and vice-principals of secondary schools, and workers in public education are encouraged to work at these institutes. For the further professional development of teachers the institutes organize consultations on all subjects and on the main types of educational work. They hold seminars, organize practical work, and provide lectures on present day teaching problems and various types of new methods. Through local publishing houses, the institutes issue booklets on valuable teaching experiences, methodological letters and instructions for improving teaching.

Recently universities and certain other higher educational establishments have been greatly assisting schools in improving teachers' qualifications and in bringing their knowledge up to date. At present, many institutes (agricultural, medical, technological, etc.) render great scientific and methodological assistance to teachers of biology, physics, chemistry and other subjects.

The development of science and engineering raises many new problems to be solved by the Soviet schools and, naturally, the requirements which school teachers must meet grow incessantly.

At the present time a number of new problems related to the development of a general scientific foundation for teacher training have attracted the attention of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR, the Ministry of Education and all the workers in the field of public education. There must be exactly stated and scientifically grounded requirements for training teachers of various subjects. These requirements should be based on those functions which a teacher is to perform at school. Such functions as class tutorship, methodological work and instruction of parents require a thorough study. The economies and planning of teachers' training demand serious elaboration.

Scientific investigation of these problems is undertaken by both the economic and pedagogical sciences. It includes working out scientific principles for determining the required number of pedagogical staff, for the distribution of pedagogical establish-

ments, and for setting various limits and standards for financial and material support for the pedagogical and educational enterprise.

Working out a scientific basis for the syllabi of the teacher training institutions is of primary importance. Up to now the syllabi present a not very well-balanced combination of courses on particular pedagogical and social topics, and any strict logical sequence in offering them to students is lacking. Especially underdeveloped are problems related to the content and the system of teaching pedagogical subjects at teacher training institutes and to the content and methods of conducting practical work.

In this respect the scientific development of syllabi and curricula by the methods of net planning, graphs and matrices undertaken by some specialists in higher technical education establishments and already used there, should be applied to working out syllabi and curricula for the system of teacher training.

The forms of supervision provided both in teachers' training and in those educational establishments where practical work is held, still need serious and profound research.

Until recently problems of pedagogical work and methods of teaching future teachers in the teacher training institutes have not received due consideration. A special council in charge of research work in the field of pedagogical science and methodology has been recently established by the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the USSR.

The main problems with which the Council is concerned deal with the organization of the teaching process and methods of instruction in the system of higher education. They include: principles of the theoretical and practical forms of teaching and how to combine them, methods of lecturing and of conducting practical, laboratory and seminar classes, the problem of checking and evaluating students' knowledge, the use of technical teaching aids (particularly in teaching pedagogical subjects), developing forms and methods for students' independent work, the organization and method of guiding research and finally forms and methods of assisting students in their social and cultural development. All of these problems require extensive research, and are crucial to improving the system of teacher training in the USSR.

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UNIVERSITY EXPANSION IN PERU

One of the factors limiting Peruvian development is a lack of trained personnel. An attempt is underway to solve this problem through a considerable increase in resources devoted to higher education.¹⁾ This expansion is raising a number of questions related to the best use of resources. A discussion of these issues should be helpful not only for Peru, but also for other countries seeking to alleviate the shortage of technicians in the same way.

University Expansion

The first university in the Western Hemisphere, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, was founded in Peru in 1551. The country did not maintain this early

lead, however, and by 1955 there were only five universities: two in Lima, and one each in Arequipa, Cuzco and Trujillo. Since 1955 the number of universities has been increased, and in 1970 there were 33 in 21 cities.²⁾

Table I shows that during the same 5 year period the number of students approximately sextupled. The growth has been accompanied by roughly a doubling of the percentage of the gross national product (GNP) devoted to education and also of the percentage of the educational budget allocated to universities.³⁾

TABLE I
Growth of Selected Aspects of Education in Peru, 1955-1970

	1955	1960	1965	1970
National Universities	4	10	21	21
Private Universities	1	0	8	12
University Students	17,900	30,500	61,800	104,000*)
Secondary Schools	500	775	1,376	-
Secondary Students	112,200	198,300	379,600	-
Primary Schools	12,345	15,260	20,348	-
Primary Students	1,000,700	1,389,700	1,950,000	-

*) Figures for 1969.

Source: For 1955-65, *Diagnóstico del Sistema Nacional de Educación, 1955-1965*. Lima: Oficina Nacional Inter-Universitaria de Planificación, 1967. Later data are from the same Oficina Nacional, though there is an obvious lag of compilation in the case of the primary and secondary level. Also, statistics vary by source on all of these items - even on the number of universities - but differences are not great.

The expansion is expected to continue. One estimate, made in 1968, places the number of students in 1980 at 600,000 and another estimate for 1980, made several years earlier, has already been surpassed.⁴⁾ It is difficult to forecast governmental expenditures and the creation of new universities, but judging from primary and secondary enrollment, there will be a great demand for university facilities in the future.

The need for education has long been recognized, but resources have only recently been diverted to the education sector. What factors account for this and the tremendous growth which has resulted?

An important reason is that citizens are becoming increasingly eager for economic development, and the government is anxious to show that something has been accomplished. Education is thought to be valuable in facilitating the development process, and educational expansion demonstrates that the administration in power is doing something constructive.

Many Peruvians want not only more and better education, but more widely distributed educational facilities as well. The residents of the provinces are concerned that the high degree of centralization be modified. Also, many in the capital of Lima believe that if the nation as a whole is to progress, an impetus must be given to regional development. This reasoning is reflected in the spread of universities from 4 cities in 1955 to 21 cities in 1970.⁵⁾

The coincident desires of national and regional leaders for the expansion of university education were reflected in national legislation passed in 1960, which modernized university structure and encouraged regional development. The egalitarian undercurrent which led to more universities and their more equitable distribution met with little opposition. In fact, the movement did not stop with the creation of universities. A law guaranteeing free education was passed in 1963 to aid all prospective students in obtaining an advanced education.

The military government which took power in 1968 instituted a new university law in 1969, with the purpose of reorganizing the university system and removing some of the power which students had acquired as a result of expansion. The law has evidently given the administration tighter control over the universities, but its overall impact is not yet clear.

Consequences

Serious coordination and resource allocation problems could have been anticipated in any area, given such rapid expansion. In education difficulties have been even greater than in many other fields, since monetary indicators are difficult to interpret. Government agencies must weigh a complex combination of economic and social factors before making decisions. For the student, information is always imperfect and there is a lag of several years between the time of his choosing a major field and his entrance into the job market. Furthermore, such factors as family pressures and status often obscure the price signals which do exist.

Considering the nature of the market for students, the government's role should be determined by a well-designed plan. However, the government has operated only under the general assumption that more university graduates are required and has given little attention to producing according to the country's needs in specific fields or to placing them once they depart from the university.⁶⁾ The statistics are illuminating.

The quantities of students supplied, as well as manpower demands, have been estimated by national planning agencies for the years between 1967 and 1980. Although Peru can use trained personnel in many fields, the figures in Table II show that in some areas graduates are being produced who cannot be absorbed by the economy.

TABLE II
*University Graduates:
Supply and Demand, 1967-1980 (in thousands)*

	Supply	Demand
Education	87.1	25.5
Humanities	54.2	50.5
Medicine	5.8	10.7
Science	9.6	23.4
Engineering	24.2	30.7
Total	180.9	140.8

Source: *El Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social 1967-1970: Educación*. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Planificación, 1967.

Thus, for example, by 1980 Peru will have produced three and one half times as many graduates in education as it can absorb but only very inadequate numbers of doctors, scientists, and engineers. Present trends will lead either to extensive unemployment or to large numbers of people employed but not using their training (disguised unemployment).⁷⁾ These projections, if correct, indicate a very serious misallocation of resources.

There appear to be two fundamental misconceptions. First, a *desire* for graduates has been confused with an *effective demand* for them. Second, even if an effective demand exists for graduates in certain fields it does not follow that all graduates of the general category will necessarily find jobs. A high demand for college graduates in general tells us little as to whether the need is for more social scientists or economists; and a demand for graduates in economics does not indicate how many should be specialists in international trade or in economic development. Casual observation suggests that even if there are too many technicians in any given field, there will still be a shortage of high quality personnel. The figures should be interpreted to mean that there will be too many mediocre graduates. The market for well-trained graduates probably still will be under-supplied.

Unfortunately, statistics describing the expansion in enrollments and expenditures are seldom compared with national requirements; rather, they are usually used simply as measures of success. It is easy for politicians and educators to point to the number of students and to the growth in the universities to show how much has been done. Quantitative achievements are emphasized while qualitative factors are ignored. The qualitative factors can be more meaningfully explained if examples are drawn from recently created universities.

Problems of New Universities

In many of the newer universities the quality of the graduate is definitely affected by poor facilities. Universities are often established not in new buildings constructed on campuses, as in the United States, but rather in reconstructed houses or factories. This in itself is not an insurmountable problem, but there is also generally an acute lack of library materials and research equipment and seldom a budget large enough to permit their purchase or improvement.

Human resources are also in short supply. The number of trained professors has not been sufficient to satisfy the increasing demand for them. Many qualified instructors prefer the larger cities and reject the provinces. Consequently, the faculty in the newer institutions becomes a combination of professors willing to travel, a few instructors from the area, upgraded secondary teachers, and foreigners. Although the teaching in any one year may be adequate, part-time contracts and a high rate of turn-over create a lack of continuity.⁸⁾ This makes it very difficult for those attempting long-range academic projects and for students who need guidance on theses and research.

The national budget allocations, once made, have not encouraged expansion or qualitative improvements within universities.⁹⁾ Even though funds for higher education have been substantially increased, the accompanying growth in the number of universities and in enrollment has limited the gains for any particular institution. In the university where this writer taught, for example, the budget in money terms was lower in 1967 than in 1966, and in real terms was less in 1968 than in 1964. It is difficult to assert that there is an inefficient combination of inputs in university education, since professors, libraries, buildings, etc. might be used in more or less

appropriate proportions. It is clear, however, that a number of relatively low quality factors have been employed to produce a graduate for whom there is little demand. The limited budget provides no easy way to escape from the situation.

Conclusion

The university expansion is causing problems of resource allocation, in terms of both producing and utilizing college graduates. There are several alternatives open to improve the situation. First, in producing graduates, the government can either (1) continue on its expansionary path; (2) stop the increase in the number of universities; or (3) close some of the universities and use the available resources for those which remain.

The best economic solution might be to ignore sunk costs and to make a marginal decision concerning the continued existence of certain universities. Since many universities do not have elaborate physical plants, closing them would be relatively simple. Also, the mobility of books, equipment and professors makes their transfer feasible. There would doubtless be great resistance to this plan, however, since many universities were created in response to social and political pressures which still exist.

The most realistic alternative probably is to stop the increase in universities and to use any budget increases for quality improvements. Even with larger budgets, however, universities cannot be improved immediately, since the most urgent need is not for funds, but rather for human and material resources, which are not readily available nationally; their recruitment from other countries often entails broader problems.

It should be evident that the alternative of continued expansion is not desirable, since it is this policy that is responsible for a number of existing problems.¹⁰⁾

Much improvement in the quality of students will have to await better professors, libraries, and so on, but changes can be made in the proportion of students in various fields and in placing graduates. A better "graduate-mix" could be achieved if information on the job market was improved to inform students which are the most lucrative and/or most necessary fields. This could be complemented by a scholarship program to induce students to pursue careers that would be of most benefit to the nation.

More could be done to assist graduates in finding positions. University-community relations could be improved considerably with, for example, such things as short courses for businessmen. With better communications between the university and society, job openings would become better known and a placement service could be developed.

The number of untapped possibilities for improving the quality of the universities and the employment of their graduates permits a degree of optimism for the future. The seeming failure at the present time to alter current trends, or even to take any steps in that direction, however, would indicate that present problems will continue.¹¹⁾

There are many other countries similar to Peru that have not yet attempted to solve the problem of a lack of trained personnel. It is clear that their leaders could learn something from the Peruvian case.

NOTES

1) In Peru higher education does not refer only to universities. The term also includes normal schools which are roughly equivalent to teachers colleges in the United States. They are post-secondary institutions which train teachers for primary and secondary schools. Normal schools will not be considered, but many of the points made in reference to universities are also relevant to them.

2) There was approximately a four-fold increase in normal schools in the same period.

3) Between 1960 and 1965 the percentage of GNP spent on education increased from 2.9 per cent to 5.4 per cent (*Diagnóstico del Sistema Nacional de Educación, 1955-1965*. Lima Oficina Nacional Inter-Universitaria de Planificación, 1967.) Also, the percentage of the education budget allocated to university education was increased from 11.4 per cent in 1960 to 22.1 percent in 1967. (Oficina Nacional Inter-Universitaria de Planificación).

4) The estimate of 600,000 is from *Anales de la VI Conferencia Anual de Ejecutivos CADE, 1967*. Lima: Instituto Peruano de Administración de Empresas, 1967. The same source states that there are now over 100,000 university students. *El Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social 1967-1970: Educación*, Lima: Institute Nacional de Planificación, 1967, projected 94,700 students for 1980.

5) All of the cities which had universities before 1956 have populations of more than 100,000, whereas some of the towns with recently created universities have fewer than 50,000 residents.

6) There is no government monopoly on unplanned university expansion. Since 1960 the number of private universities has increased more rapidly than that of national universities. In addition, about 90 per cent of the students attending private universities are in the fields of humanities and education — the fields whose members are least likely to be required by the nation.

7) The data do not reflect as much prospective unemployment as might be thought. According to the Oficina Nacional de Planificación, women comprise slightly more than one-fourth of the total students and about 80 to 85 per cent of the women educated are in education (45 to 50 per cent) and humanities (35 to 40 per cent). This would tend to reduce the imbalance which is shown in Table II, since some of the women can be expected to become housewives and withdraw from the labor force. Still, however, large gaps between supply and demand would remain in the areas of education, medicine, science, and engineering.

8) In 1967 in the university at which I taught, for example, there were twenty-three professors, both part and full-time, in the department of economics, and only twelve of them continued in 1968.

9) All national university budgets are not 100 per cent federally financed. Allocations of funds are altered according to the funds from other sources, however, so that the government effectively controls the budgets.

10) Conceivably, even this alternative could be rationalized if enough "social" benefits could be attributed to university education. Generally, however, teaching is quite theoretical and there is little emphasis on the broad education which is most likely to produce these benefits. Intuitively, it is difficult to make a case that "extra-economic" benefits justify continued expansion.

11) The military government has, at least in the short run, brought about more stability in the university system. Simultaneously, however, operating budgets have been reduced. Thus, outwardly, universities appear to be functioning more smoothly, but it is an open question as to whether there has been an improvement in meeting the needs of the nation.

FRED MILLER, Corvallis, Oregon

BOOK REVIEWS – BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN – ANALYSES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

BEREDAY, GEORGE Z. F. (ed.), *Essays in World Education: The Crisis of Supply and Demand*. London: Oxford University Press, 1969. pp. 359. 24/-.

A la lecture de cet ouvrage, on peut avoir l'impression qu'il s'agit du compte rendu d'une série de séances de *brainstorming*: les idées jaillissent de sources variées et elles paraissent avoir pour base une grande diversité de principes directeurs procédant de la variété des expériences. Est-il vraiment question ici de la "crise de l'offre et de la demande," dans le domaine de l'éducation, comme le suggère le sous-titre? En fait, il s'agit de bien plus que cela, car dans les dix-sept exposés qui composent cet ouvrage, on passe en revue tous les grands thèmes de la problématique actuelle de l'éducation, depuis la "haute" philosophie (les buts de l'éducation), jusqu'aux questions apparemment "terre-à-terre" de l'administration, avec des bifurcations menant à la valeur de la recherche, la démocratisation, la planification, le contenu de l'enseignement et ses méthodes, l'éducation permanente, l'économie de l'éducation, les problèmes relatifs à la formation des maîtres et ceux posés par les étudiants. Bien plus, toutes ces questions sont examinées avec une grande lucidité, non seulement dans le contexte des pays industrialisés, mais aussi dans le cadre des pays en voie de développement, surtout en Asie et en Amérique latine. L'ouvrage se termine par un "appendice," où les divers sujets traités sont analysés sous treize rubriques par divers auteurs; si bien que, dans l'ensemble, on compte ici 39 collaborateurs.

Ces "essais" ont été préparés à l'occasion d'un colloque international, à Williamsburg, Virginia (USA) en octobre 1967 ayant pour thème général la formule suivante: comment promouvoir une meilleure compréhension internationale dans le cadre des problèmes qui se posent à propos de l'éducation? Ont pris part à ce colloque environ 150 personnalités (universitaires, administrateurs, hommes politiques) représentant une vingtaine de pays d'Amérique, d'Europe, d'Asie, d'Afrique.

Parmi les auteurs des principaux articles, citons les noms de T. Husén (structure scolaire et l'utilisation des talents), C. Kerr (problèmes de l'avenir de l'éducation aux EUA), Alexander King (politique de l'éducation), W. Schramm (la nouvelle technologie de l'enseignement), F. Bowles (démocratisation), P. J. Idenburg, (l'Europe à la recherche de nouvelles formes de l'éducation), B. Schwartz, (éducation formelle et informelle: en fait, éducation permanente), H. Quik (coopération internationale par les universités). On voit que, dans l'ensemble, peu de communications concernent directement le thème central, celui d'une promotion de la compréhension internationale. Il n'en reste pas moins que dans leur domaine propre, ces communications sont du plus haut intérêt. L'ensemble est coordonné et unifié par l'introduction de G.Z.F. Bereday, qui insiste sur les raisons qui tendent à accroître sans cesse la demande dans le secteur de l'éducation, et les procédés, peu "orthodoxes," par lesquels nous avons le devoir de stimuler l'offre dans ce domaine. Alors que presque tous les auteurs insistent sur la nécessité d'une *planification*, tout en ajoutant qu'elle doit rester "souple" (on se demande ce que cela veut dire?), Bereday pense que cette sorte de *human engineering* aboutit presque inévitablement à une sous-production ou à une surproduction de la main-d'oeuvre, dans divers secteurs de l'économie.

Dans sa propre communication sur "les systèmes scolaires et la 'demande' massive," Bereday insiste sur le caractère nécessairement statique de tout "système." Pour parer à ce pouvoir "inhibiteur," il importe de lui opposer un "non-système" d'enseignement qui serait relativement libéré des servitudes formelles et légales, et pourrait s'adapter d'une manière plus souple aux besoins réels et actuels. C'est sensiblement la thèse que soutient B. Schwartz, à propos de l'éducation permanente, tout en usant d'une autre terminologie.

Rélevons encore, parmi ceux qui ont collaboré à la rédaction de l'Appendice, les noms de: J. Capelle (avec Bereday), R. Poignant, J. Vaizey, A. H. Halsey, Necat Eder, R. Diez-Hochleitner, parmi d'autres. Presque tous les auteurs insistent sur l'idée que les systèmes existants sont "archaïques et conservateurs," tout en concédant parfois, que ce jugement est exagéré; on préconise l'intensification de la recherche expérimentale, tout en reconnaissant que ces recherches ne donnent pas de véritable réponse aux questions posées (p. 175), et qu'elles sont d'une portée étroitement limitée (p. 345). A notre sens, si les innombrables investigations dans ce domaine si important demeurent stériles, c'est qu'elles sont, bien souvent, fondées sur les conceptions du behaviourisme et de diverses théories de l'apprentissage et de l'information qui en dérivent. Il en résulte que, dans bon nombre de cas, les réformes que l'on préconise, sur la base de telles recherches, sont franchement simplistes!

La lecture de cet ouvrage est enrichissante, pour tout lecteur qui s'intéresse à l'éducation de demain, tant par la diversité des problèmes essentiels qui y sont abordés, que par la qualité incontestable des exposés, dont les auteurs n'hésitent pas à prendre parti et à défendre leur point de vue. Si l'on ne craignait pas de choquer certains d'entre eux, on pourrait dire que cet ouvrage est un véritable manuel de philosophie de l'éducation, dans le contexte d'une société prospective.

ALEXANDRE VEXLIARD, Ankara

Bibliographie – Fernsehen und Jugend J-2. München: Internationales Zentralinstitut für das Jugend- und Bildungsfernsehen, 1969. 60 S.

This specialist bibliography was produced in connection with a Conference held under the auspices of the *Prix Jeunesse* Foundation at Munich in July 1969, but is, in fact, the second of a series of bibliographies, which the *Internationales Zentralinstitut für das Jugend- und Bildungsfernsehen* in Munich is publishing under the general heading "Television and Youth".

The bibliography under review contains 130 entries in its first section, mostly articles, which have appeared in recent years in English, French, German and Spanish. The entries are divided into four groups: television and children; television and young people; television and the family; and television in education; and each entry is followed by a number of so-called "key-words" (taken from the standard list of the *Dokumentationsring Pädagogik* in Berlin), which give some idea of the subject matter of the items listed. A second section contains fairly detailed summaries of

thirteen of the articles and further summaries are said to be available, presumably in German and from the *Zentralinstitut*, of articles listed with an "R-number" in the first section. The final two sections contain indexes of authors and "key-words", and a list of the periodicals from which entries in the first section were taken.

The English translation of the brief introduction to this rather limited publication can only be described as grotesque.

GORDON BISHOP, Durham

BUBER, MARTIN M.; ORMIAN, HAIM Y. (eds.), *Educational Encyclopedia. Thesaurus of Jewish and General Education*. Vol. V: *Auxiliary Sciences of Education*. Jerusalem: Ministry of Education, 1969.

Im Dezember 1950 regte der jetzige Staatspräsident Israels und damalige Erziehungsminister die Ausgabe einer umfassenden und großangelegten *Enzyklopädie der Erziehung* in hebräischer Sprache an. Nach gründlicher Vorbereitung erschien im Jahre 1959 der erste Band und jetzt – genau nach 10 Jahren – ist das große Werk vollendet.*) Martin Buber war bis zu seinem Ableben Chefredakteur der Ausgabe, jetzt zeichnet Haim Ormian verantwortlich, auf dem von Anfang an die Hauptlast der Herausgeberarbeit gelegen hat.

Der vorliegende letzte (fünfte) Band enthält 1043 Spalten in Großformat und ist den "Hilfswissenschaften der Erziehung" gewidmet.

Die Herausgeber schreiben im Vorwort: "Unsere Absicht war allein, daß ein Lehrer durch uns Unterstützung erhält, wenn er einen psychologischen Artikel oder eine statistische Arbeit lesen möchte, wenn er ... Gutachten verstehen will." Das wäre freilich schon ein erstrebenswertes Ziel für eine Enzyklopädie, in diesem Fall erscheint es als *understatement*. Das Niveau der Aufsätze ist so hoch, daß sie nicht nur dem Studenten der Erziehungswissenschaften gute Dienste leisten werden, sondern auch dem Forscher fundierte Information über Grenzgebiete bieten.

Als "Hilfswissenschaften" der Erziehung bezeichnen die Herausgeber die Wissenschaften Psychologie, Soziologie und Biologie. Die einzelnen Artikel dieser Sachgebiete haben auch diesmal monographischen Charakter. ("Körperliche und seelische Entwicklung": 80 Spalten; "Anthropologie": 27 Spalten; "Endokrinologie": 12 Spalten.)

Gerade weil diese Artikel so eingehend und gründlich sind, zeigen sie auch die Problematik der Einteilung in "Erziehung" und "Hilfswissenschaften der Erziehung". Vielleicht ist Pädagogik ein praktischer Aspekt der Wissenschaften über-

* Die vier vorhergehenden Bände wurden vom gleichen Rezensenten in dieser Zeitschrift besprochen:

Vol. I : *Fundamentals of Education*, VII, 1961, S. 487;

Vol. II : *Ways of Education*, 1960, VI, 1960, S. 208;

Vol. III: *Organization of Education*, Special Issue "Book Reviews," XIII, 1967, S. 40;

Vol. IV: *History of Education*, XII, 1966, S. 123.

haupt, und die Bezeichnungen "Wissenschaft" und "Hilfswissenschaft" sind in diesem Zusammenhang unangebracht. So kommt es auch, daß man bei manchen Aufsätzen dieses Bandes sich fragen kann, ob sie nicht ebensogut in den vorhergehenden Bänden hätten stehen können, so z.B.: "Kirchen und Erziehung", die "Schulklasse" (auch wenn diese hier unter psychologischen oder soziologischen Aspekten betrachtet wird), "Staatsorganisation und Erziehung".

Diese Bemerkungen bedeuten keine Kritik an der gelungenen großen Arbeit, sie beleuchten nur, wie kompliziert das Selbstverständnis der Pädagogik als Wissenschaft ist.

Ein Sach- und Personenindex wird das Gesamtwerk abschließen.

SINAI UCKO, Tel Aviv

CORREA, HÉCTOR, *Quantitative Methods of Educational Planning*. Scranton, Penns.: International Textbook, 1969. pp. 242. \$ 7.

During the ten years or so which have passed since the study of educational planning was brought up to a scientific level, a great many works have been devoted to it. Surprisingly few have discussed its quantitative aspects, however, and up to now only a couple of books and manuals have treated quantitative educational planning and its integration with demographic growth and economic planning. It goes without saying that any new work added to this short list should be welcome, and H. Correa's book, first distributed in the form of a rough manuscript many years ago, is certainly looked upon as a long-expected child by many planners.

The aim of this book is said to be to enable the reader to prepare an educational plan, taking into consideration needs for schooling caused by population growth and economic targets. However, this is not a textbook from which one can learn various methods of carrying out quantitative educational planning, nor a manual giving a fixed routine for the treatment of existing data. More precisely, the book presents an alternative model for quantitative planning, a model which calls for a very particular set of statistical and other data. It is demonstrated by means of data for an imaginary but obviously rather advanced country, called Planiland.

The first three chapters of the book serve as an introduction: they present its purpose and the background knowledge necessary to read it. The meaning of population and labor force projections and their consequences are discussed in a very elementary way, and factors related to economic planning are mentioned. The main chapter, in the author's opinion as well as my own, is the fourth, where the model itself is presented. It is assumed that Planiland has a school system with six years of elementary, six years of secondary and six years of university training, and that there is a six-year educational plan. Formulas are derived for the projection and computation of enrolment figures (so-called "structures") for certain pivotal years, six years apart, and of new entrants, repeaters coming from a previous structure, dropouts before and after the pivotal years, graduates from the structures, etc. The author also derives very important formulas for the computation of the numbers of

teachers and rooms needed in the future. In the subsequent chapters he applies his model and projects the flow of students, taking population development and demand for education into account, and he projects the future educational structure of the population. A projection of manpower needs in Planiland is carried out, taking the economic plan into account, and the student flow needed to achieve the targets of the economic plan is estimated. Educational targets are set in accordance with this. Finally the author computes demand and supply of teachers, buildings, equipment, etc. and studies the costing and financing of the plan.

It is always easy to criticize a book of this kind, but let us only look at a few main points. — The author is probably aware of the fact that his model cannot be applied to many countries without considerable modifications. It requires statistical data so detailed that it is rarely applicable even in advanced countries. The book gives few indications of how to adjust the model to conditions other than those in Planiland, although this is obviously possible, and it might even force the planner into a frame of reference which would not fit his country. I cannot see how the model can easily be adopted in a country with a six years plus three years plus three years plus five years educational system and a five-year educational plan. I also find that the model chosen is unnecessarily complex. The method of projecting over six years makes one lose one's view over the situation and makes it difficult to use such obvious tools as the method of least squares to project the development of enrolment rates, dropout and repetition rates, etc. In my opinion year-by-year projection would be far preferable.

The book has been written for persons with limited mathematical background. It is doubtful whether this is a good point of departure, as few such people would profit from it anyway. In some cases the author gives a lengthy verbal, often schoolmasterly explanation of a certain fact or concept when the derivation of a formula or the statement of the concept would be more suitable: a most striking example is the explanation of the well-known concept of price index.

Although the author states that quantitative planning cannot be separated from qualitative planning, he refrains from discussing the latter. This is unfortunate. The formulas presented for the estimation of the required numbers of teachers and classrooms, and the suggestions for steps to change the repetition and dropout rates, are rather useless unless they are accompanied by pedagogical measures that must be taken to change the working load of students and teachers, the size of the average class, the tendency to fail in tests and examinations, etc. It should not be forgotten that such steps, whether in the form of new textbooks and new equipment, better training of teachers, or new organization of the school system, are most powerful tools in achieving the quantitative targets, too. To my mind this is the weakest aspect of the book.

This criticism should not blur the fact that we have here a most interesting and inspiring book, much needed by people who are engaged in creating a planning model for a country. It is provocative and starts people thinking, and everybody who has read it is probably more able to attack his own problems than before, even if the model itself is not likely to fit. Therefore I recommend it to those who have the necessary background. However, it is quite demanding. It cannot be read as an introductory textbook, but calls for a solid knowledge of educational planning methods, particularly in the fields of educational statistics and economics of education.

DAVIES, T. I., *School Organization: A New Synthesis*. London: Pergamon, 1969. pp. 241. 35/-. \$ 5.

It is generally held that there have been three stages in the development of organization theory: the classical stage in which abstract principles of organization led to a time-and-motion approach, the human relations stage in which interpersonal relations were held to be the key to understanding organizations, and the most recent stage whereby organizations are conceptualized as social systems comprising many interrelated dimensions both formal and informal. In general, theories of school organization have followed the same trend as industrial studies, but whereas in the case of the latter logistical analysis has remained an important element in the synthesis, there has been little recent concern with the logistics of school organization. Any current book or article on school organization is almost certain to be centrally concerned with administrative relationships, but T. I. Davies' book is an exception in that it offers an abstract model of school structure.

Davies proposes a new form of notation for handling timetabling problems which takes the form of a transverse matrix based upon classes, primary groups and time blocks. This can be extended in the direction of greater abstraction to yield a general pattern of the curriculum and in the other direction to yield specific patterns of subject-ability-group-teacher combinations. The major part of the book demonstrates the value of this model in relation to the tasks of pupil grouping and teacher allocation and offers two case studies of completed model schools together with suggestions for timetabling procedures.

As an exercise the book has considerable interest for anyone who is prepared to practice thinking about school organization in terms of these unfamiliar symbols, a task which the author's didactic style and use of examples makes easier. But what of the practical implications of the model? Many headmasters, perhaps even the majority, would probably be reluctant to invest the necessary time to become skilled in this technique, preferring to think more concretely in terms of particular classes, teachers and subjects than in terms of Davies' universalistic concepts, and retaining the old pencil-and-rubber approach. Yet Davies' scheme has advantages over and above the improvement of the head's efficiency in timetabling: it helps the head who is prepared to think in this way to go beyond moribund concepts of pupil-grouping and perceive a wider range of logical possibilities. However, a headmaster would need to be quite committed to a new approach to school organization on *a priori* grounds before he was sufficiently motivated to master the new notation, in spite of the author's clear exposition. The book is a stimulant, but the dissemination of the techniques which it advocates would probably be more effective if they were carefully programmed and incorporated into courses for headteachers.

ERIC HOYLE, Manchester

Development of Secondary Education: Trends and Implications. Paris: OECD, 1969. pp. 183. £ 2. \$ 6. DM 20.

Diese OECD-Veröffentlichung basiert auf Erhebungen, die vom Komitee für wissenschaftliches und technisches Personal in Zusammenarbeit mit Regierungsstellen von Mitgliedsstaaten der OECD durchgeführt wurden. Nachdrücklich unterstützt wurde die Untersuchung durch eine Resolution, die auf der 5. Konferenz der Europäischen Erziehungsminister 1965 gefaßt worden war. Mit einbezogen sind hier auch Daten aus Jugoslawien, da dieses Land am Mittelmeerländerprojekt der OECD beteiligt war.

Interessante Trendberichte – auch gerade für deutschsprachige Länder – sind bereits im einleitenden Teil dieses Buches enthalten. Hier wird u.a. aufgezeigt, daß es im OECD-Bereich Staaten gibt (Japan, Kanada, USA), in denen schon Mitte der sechziger Jahre über 80% der 15-19 jährigen Vollzeitschulen besuchten. Zwischen 60 und 80% betrug der Vollzeitschulbesuch auf diesen Altersstufen in Belgien, Dänemark, Frankreich, den Niederlanden, Norwegen und Schweden, zwischen 40 und 60% u.a. in Österreich, noch unter 40% hingegen u.a. in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Schweiz. Für 1975 wird vorausgeschätzt, daß es dann nur noch wenige Länder geben dürfte (Griechenland, Portugal, Spanien und die Türkei), in denen nicht mindestens 50% der 15-19 jährigen Vollzeitschulen besuchen werden; für die meisten Länder im OECD-Raum wird bis dahin jedoch ein mindestens 70%-iger Besuch der 15-19 jährigen in Vollzeitschulen vorausgeschätzt.

Im Vorwort wird auch die Entwicklung des Sekundarschulwesens im OECD-Bereich auf Gesamtschulen hin betont, wobei als Ausnahme von dieser Entwicklung die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, die Niederlande und Österreich genannt werden – Länder, in denen man zum Zeitpunkt der OECD-Erhebung noch vorrangig danach strebte, das Parallelschulsystem auf der Sekundarstufe lediglich durchlässiger zu gestalten. Ein deutliches Ansteigen der Zahl von Absolventen der Sekundarstufe, die die Hochschulreife erwerben, wird in Norwegen, Schweden, Frankreich und Jugoslawien registriert und mit den veränderten Schulstrukturen in diesen Ländern in Zusammenhang gebracht. Hinsichtlich der Entwicklung auf den britischen Inseln und in Österreich wird vermerkt, daß sich dort zumindest die Zahl der Abgänger mit abgebrochener höherer Schulbildung zunehmend verringert; für eine weitere Gruppe von Ländern (vor allem Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Niederlande) wird registriert, daß dort zwar die in Sekundarschulen Aufnahme findende Schülerzahl in den letzten Jahren stark zunahm, die Quoten der Sitzenbleiber und vorzeitigen Abgänger jedoch noch ziemlich unverändert blieben.

Ausführlich wird dann im ersten Hauptteil der Veröffentlichung die ständige Zunahme der Schüler im Sekundarschulwesen – u.a. auch in Zusammenhang mit dem fast völligen Verschwinden der oberen Klassen im Primar- bzw. Volksschulwesen – im OECD-Bereich während der letzten zwei Jahrzehnte dargestellt. Auf die strukturellen und quantitativen Auswirkungen der steigenden Schülerzahlen im Sekundarschulwesen wird im zweiten Teil näher eingegangen. Es folgt dann ein Kapitel über die Auswirkungen, die die ständig steigenden Schülerzahlen im Sekundarschulbereich auf das Hochschulwesen haben. Schließlich werden auch Auswirkungen finanzieller Art, Fragen des Lehrerberarfs und neuer Schulgebäude, sowie mancherlei Konflikte, die sich in den OECD-Ländern aus der Diskrepanz zwischen angestrebten Bildungszielen und vorhandenen bzw. bereitzustellenden Ressourcen ergeben,

behandelt. Im Schlußkapitel wird u.a. auch kurz auf die Rolle eingegangen, die der pädagogischen Forschung und Versuchstätigkeit bei der weiteren Entwicklung des Sekundarschulwesens zukommen sollte. Der Veranschaulichung dienen u.a. 87 Tabellen und eine graphische Darstellung, die in den Textteil des Buches eingearbeitet sind.

Kritisch anzumerken wäre zu den Tabellen, daß die dort angeführten Zahlen keineswegs immer dem neuesten Stand der Entwicklung entsprechen; nur selten – und auch dann immer nur für einige wenige Länder – sind statistische Angaben in dem Buch enthalten, die die Entwicklung seit 1965 berücksichtigen. Auch im Textteil selbst sind die Angaben über die Entwicklung in den einzelnen Ländern von sehr unterschiedlicher Ausführlichkeit. Diese Unvollkommenheit ist von den Verfassern jedoch deutlich erkannt worden, und so wird auch wiederholt bei Einzeldarstellungen und Zusammenfassungen in diesem Buch darauf hingewiesen.

Teile dieser OECD-Veröffentlichung – vor allem die zusammenfassender Art – sind einem größeren Leserkreis (u.a. Bildungsplanern) zur Lektüre zu empfehlen, da hier eine gewisse, nahezu zwangsläufige Parallelität der Entwicklung in einer ganzen Reihe von Ländern deutlich dargestellt wird. Nicht voll erfüllt werden jedoch die Erwartungen derjenigen Leser, die in diesem Buch eine lückenlose Darstellung der Sekundarschulentwicklung im gesamten OECD-Bereich bis in die Gegenwart hinein und darüber hinaus noch einen Ausblick auf zukünftige Planungen zu finden hoffen.

HORST MAGDEBURG, Berlin

Dokumentation 2-68: Jugendforschung – Jugendhilfe – Jugendpolitik.
München: Deutsches Jugendinstitut, 1969. 183 S. DM 8.

This issue of this meticulously prepared bibliographical aid marks the re-shaping of the work of the *Deutsches Jugendinstitut* in Munich in this field and the beginning of its close collaboration with its Austrian counterpart, the *Österreichisches Institut für Jugendkunde* in Vienna. It is intended that this work shall be published three times a year, each issue covering a four-month publishing period, and shall provide a comprehensive listing of writings in the German language (including translations into German from other languages) dealing with matters relating to the education and welfare of children and young persons.

The first reshaped issue contains 263 titles – books, articles and also some unpublished research material – together with chapter headings and brief abstracts. Two editions are available: A – on thin cardboard and perforated for use with DIN A6 title cards; and B – on paper in normal book form. Entries are listed in three main sections, dealing broadly with research (including education, psychology and sociology), theory and practice, and policy (including most of the controversial and polemical material). The allocation of a particular work to one section or another may obviously be rather arbitrary, but the standardized system of headings and sub-

headings together with the alphabetical list of authors and subjects, should make the work easy to use. It will clearly become an indispensable reference work for all libraries catering for research work in the broad field of German education.

This current issue is accompanied by a special 71-page supplement containing items dealing with the subject of student unrest, and similar supplements dealing in an extended manner with particular themes are intended to be published with each subsequent issue.

GORDON BISHOP, Durham

Erziehungswissenschaftliche Dokumentation. Zusammengestellt und bearbeitet von SCHMIDT, H. und LÜTZENKIRCHER, F. J. Weinheim: Beltz, 1968-1970.

Band 1: "Bibliographie zur Schulorganisation und zur Reform des Bildungswesens". 392 S. DM 65.

Band 2: "Bibliographie zur Lehrerbildung und zum Berufsbild des Lehrers und Erziehers". 211 S. DM 30.

Band 3: "Bibliographie zur Erziehungswirklichkeit und zur Theorie der Bildung". 356 S. DM 60.

Band 4: "Bibliographie zur Pädagogischen Psychologie und zur Psychologie der Fehlentwicklungen". 341 S. DM 55.

Band 5: "Bibliographie zum programmierten Lernen und zum Einsatz schulbezogener Arbeitsmittel". 388 S. DM 60.

Band 6: "Bibliographie zur allgemeinen Didaktik und Methodenlehre des Unterrichts". 331 S. DM 55.

Band 9: "Bibliographie zur besonderen Unterrichtslehre". Teil 3. 340 S. DM 55.

Band 10: "Bibliographie zur besonderen Unterrichtslehre". Teil 4. 430 S. DM 65.

Researchers in the field of German education have long felt the need for a systematic bibliography of articles appearing in German-language educational periodicals, such as those for similar articles in the English language – the *Education Index* published in New York since 1929 and the *British Education Index*, published since 1954. The present bibliography, of which eight volumes have appeared, fulfils this requirement admirably for the period 1947-67. Three further volumes – Vols. 7, 8 and 11, as well as a Supplement, are promised. The bibliography contains some 60,000 references to articles appearing in 300 educational journals, supplements and serial publications printed in the Federal Republic, East Germany, Austria and Switzerland over the twenty-year period. The selection of items for inclusion has been based on criteria of importance and relevance. Each volume contains a very complete index of head-words (with alternatives and sub-headings) chosen with the aim of making them as concrete and precise as possible. The cross-references themselves are a very valuable feature of the work: thus, for example, the head-word

Zweiter Bildungsweg gives six alternatives to which further reference can be made. The intention of the planners of the bibliography – among whom must be specially mentioned the late Willy K. Cordt – is to update their work by annual supplements: the volume for 1968 is already in active preparation.

It is of course difficult to judge the completeness of such a vast bibliographical enterprise. The present reviewer, however, made a random check of a number of articles and found that *all* were included in the bibliography. One might perhaps criticise the relative space devoted to each aspect of education – the section on educational planning, for example, is not very extensive – but the work as a whole seems extremely comprehensive, particularly in the strictly pedagogical fields. There is no doubt that, like its American and British counterparts, it will become a standard reference work for educational libraries everywhere, and, in particular, prove indispensable for scholars who concern themselves with developments in German education.

W. D. HALLS, Oxford

Formation of Educational Policies: A Comparative Analysis. Papers from the Comparative Education Society, Eastern Regional Conference, May 2–4, Albany: State University of New York, 1969. pp. 274. \$ 3.

Bei der vorliegenden Veröffentlichung handelt es sich um 23 Beiträge amerikanischer Soziologen, Ökonomen und Pädagogen, die auf einer Regionalkonferenz der *Comparative Education Society* vorgetragen worden sind. Die Referate sind in sieben Gruppen nach geographischen Regionen aufgegliedert: 1. Westeuropa, 2. Sowjetunion und Osteuropa, 3. Mittlerer Osten, 4. Lateinamerika, 5. Ostasien, 6. Südasien, 7. Afrika südlich der Sahara. Die Beiträge weisen eine sehr unterschiedliche Länge auf; der ausführlichste (*Educational Policies and Political Socialization in Lebanon* von Ahmed R. Haffar) zählt 24 Seiten, der kürzeste (*The Role of Foreign Assistance in the Educational Development of Africa* von Samuel E. Fuhr) nur 5 Seiten. Ebenso groß ist die Spannweite in der Form der inhaltlichen Aussage: mehr impressionistische, aus eigener Anschauung und Reisen gewonnene Eindrücke (z. B. William H. E. Johnson: *Educational Developments in Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia*) stehen neben Abhandlungen mit einem reichen Anmerkungsapparat (z. B. Maxim Mikulak: *The Role of Marxism-Leninism in the Formation of Soviet Educational Policy*), mehr handbuchartige Überblicks (wie z. B. die drei Beiträge über China, Japan und Korea) neben Fallstudien (z. B. *Student Power and Educational Policies at an Indian University* von Joseph DiBona). Diese Uneinheitlichkeit der äußeren Form weist bereits auf die Problematik derartiger Konferenzberichte hin: sie sind in der Regel wenig geeignet, ein mehr oder weniger geschlossenes Bild des behandelten Themas zu vermitteln, da die Aspekte zu disparat und die einzelnen Beiträge nicht aufeinander bezogen sind. Der Gesamttitel des Bandes stellt daher bestenfalls den äußeren Rahmen her, er repräsentiert nicht das durchgehende methodische Prinzip: um eine vergleichende Analyse im strengen Sinne des Wortes handelt es sich lediglich in dem Beitrag von Remi Clignet *The Notion of Assimilation in Education: Its Cross-cultural Application in Africa*, in leichter Manier auch noch bei dem schon erwähnten Referat von Johnson.

Trotzdem wird man einigen Beiträgen wertvolle Informationen entnehmen können, wobei allerdings der Rezensent nicht beurteilen kann, auf welchen von ihm selbst nicht erforschten Gebieten Neues und Bekanntes sich mischen. Eine Kritik des Beitrages über die Bildungspolitik in der Sowjetunion von M. Mikulak müßte z. B. rügen, daß der Autor die wichtigsten nichtamerikanischen – sowjetischen wie westlichen – historischen Darstellungen nicht heranzieht, so daß ihm mehrere Ungenauigkeiten und Einseitigkeiten unterlaufen. Es ist überhaupt erstaunlich und bestürzend zugleich zu sehen, wie wenig die Komparatisten eines Landes, hier der USA, von den Forschungen ihrer Kollegen über denselben Gegenstand in einer anderen als der eigenen Sprache in der Regel unterrichtet sind. Wenn man, wie dies in der Einleitung Jacob Cantor tut, von einem "*new international environment of US education*" und der "*world awareness*" als einem Ziel der *international education* spricht, dann müßten die hier angesprochenen Wissenschaftler in einem weit stärkeren Maße, als dies in dem vorliegenden Konferenzbericht zum Ausdruck kommt, diese internationale Kommunikation praktizieren. Allerdings wächst der wissenschaftliche Ertrag derartiger multidisziplinärer internationaler Studien proportional mit der Begrenzung und Präzisierung des Themas – das gilt indessen für die meisten Fachtagungen heutzutage und nicht nur für die Vergleichende Pädagogik.

OSKAR ANWEILER, Bochum

FRASER, STEWART E. (ed.), *International Education: Understandings and Misunderstandings*. Nashville, Tennessee: Peabody International Center, 1969. pp. 79. \$ 3.

The recent growth of international educational exchanges and other types of cultural relationships across national frontiers has aroused concern among some specialists in the field. The relatively easy access to foreign countries and to educational observation and service abroad has resulted in an increase of misconceptions among the instant experts. This and similar problems led to a conference at George Peabody College for Teachers, where the prolific theoretician-practitioner, Stewart E. Fraser, has been directing the International Center, as well as research in international and comparative education. The five papers presented at the conference constitute the small volume under review.

Fraser supplies a documented essay analyzing critically, with brevity and insight, several well-known and lesser known evaluations of American education by foreigners in the nineteenth century. He points up the tendency of European observers (and Americans, also) to be either extravagantly laudatory or excessively critical of schools in the United States. As "the best example of balanced criticism" by a foreign educator during the nineteenth century, Fraser cites the report by Bishop James Fraser, the English ecclesiastic, on the common school systems of the United States and Canada (1866). The chapter is interesting and informative, but too compressed. One would like to know more precisely the judgments of the Mexican statesman, Lorenzo de Zavala, in the 1820's regarding the American primary schools. The author-editor makes a glancing remark about him in less than a sentence.

The second essay, by Brian Holmes, reader in Comparative Education at the University of London Institute of Education, discusses: "Comprehensions and Apprehensions Concerning American Educational Philosophy." He stresses the point, without specific proof, that "Europeans have had to depend heavily on American writers for an educational theory which will make it possible for them to make sense of practical reforms" (p. 31). Perhaps because the preponderance of such theory has been pragmatic, the Europeans have tended mistakenly to consider all American thinkers as pragmatists, regardless of their actual philosophic persuasion in pedagogy. As the author of an objective, perceptive monograph on "American Criticism of American Education," Holmes identifies this as a misconception. His chief message is that, from the comparative point of view, it would be desirable to seek a "new rationale for American education," perhaps in the form of an analysis of socio-political educational terms, e.g., democracy, "within a stated cultural context or against a known political theory" (p. 39).

Franklin Parker, Benedum Professor of Education, West Virginia University, and author of scholarly studies on Rhodesian and Zambian education, outlines clearly, within an international context, the emergence of the United States as a source of educational help to African countries. In his paper, the theme of "understandings and misunderstandings" is touched on inferentially. More might have been said on AID and the Peace Corps.

The "conceptions and misconceptions" underlying sex education in Sweden, the United States, and several Communist countries are presented, with ample documentary references, by Robert M. Bjork, Professor of Economics and Sociology at Peabody College. This essay provides an international dimension to the widespread discussion and debate on sex education, especially in the United States.

The final – and shortest – chapter is by the late Harold R. W. Benjamin, who served as Professor of Education at George Peabody College. In "Latin America: Educational Perceptions", Benjamin makes some penetrating points in his customarily witty and informal manner regarding the growing cultural-educational gap between the United States and Latin American nations.

This compact volume is packed with information and ideas. Much deserves fuller treatment, and some of the essays have indeed been published elsewhere in expanded form. This work contains considerable insight, and will enable to students of international education to broaden and deepen their understanding of the subject.

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN, Philadelphia

FÜHR, CHRISTOPH (Hrsg.), unter Mitwirkung von ULRICH, GISELA, *Zur Bildungsreform in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Impulse und Tendenzen. Bericht und Dokumentation über eine Tagung im Unesco-Institut für Pädagogik, Hamburg, vom 18. bis 21. Juni 1968. Internationale Pädagogische Studien* 19. Weinheim: Beltz, 1969. 299 S. DM 20.

Voici un recueil d'études dont le contenu dépasse très nettement le thème indiqué par son titre. A propos de ce thème central (les tendances des réformes de l'enseignement en Allemagne), les auteurs expriment des idées d'une portée beaucoup plus

générale: idées souvent brillantes, originales et fécondes. Ce serait vraiment dommage, si, étant donnée la forme de ce recueil, il devait tomber dans l'oubli. Mais, n'en doutons pas, il y aura des "malins" qui sauront en tirer parti, au cas où cet ouvrage n'atteindrait pas la diffusion qu'il mérite.

Ce recueil est constitué par quatorze études de différents auteurs, sans compter les chapitres anonymes, rédigés par les organisateurs, où l'on fait le point du travail accompli au cours d'une session d'études à l'Institut de l'Unesco pour l'Education de Hambourg, du 18 au 21 juin 1968. Avaient pris part à ces débats, outre divers spécialistes allemands (professeurs, représentants des ministères etc.), quelques experts étrangers, venant d'Angleterre, de Suède, de Tchécoslovaquie. — Dans une première partie, Chr. Führ, directeur de la publication, présente une synthèse de la session: les problèmes qui ont été traités, les recommandations qui ont été proposées. Il s'agit en particulier de mettre au point une stratégie qui permette d'une part une planification coordonnée de l'enseignement, tout en sauvegardant les initiatives locales et les particularités culturelles des *Länder*: une sorte de quadrature du cercle. A propos de ce problème (centralisation-décentralisation), les auteurs utilisent une série de stratagèmes rhétoriques: circonlocutions, périphrases, catachrèses. Il s'agit de ne choquer personne, tout en tenant des propos qui choqueront inévitablement — du moins certains milieux. C'est ainsi que l'on dira: "Il faut unifier l'enseignement, mais non pas l'uniformiser." Veut-on dire par là que chaque *Land* aura sa propre table de multiplication et des poèmes de Goethe qui lui appartiendront en particulier? Autre dilemme apparemment difficile à résoudre: de nombreux auteurs préconisent une approche "scientifique" de la réforme de l'enseignement, mais en même temps elle doit revêtir un aspect "démocratique." Doit-on imaginer que la *vox populi* va décider du bien-fondé des équations de Lorenz? Il est question aussi longuement de la "différenciation" des écoles, en même temps que de la non-différenciation de l'enseignement. Il est également suggéré de "préciser opérationnellement les buts de l'enseignement," ce qui nous conduit à des développements d'une remarquable imprécision. — Ces quelques remarques ne sont point du persiflage, malgré les apparences. Car les mêmes problèmes se posent actuellement dans tous les pays, sous la même forme. Or, dans ce recueil, ils sont traités d'une manière particulièrement intelligente et approfondie. Ce n'est pas la faute des auteurs, si les solutions qu'ils semblent proposer ne paraissent pas très claires. C'est pourquoi, dans presque tous les pays, les réformes dont on attendait tant, sont suivies de désillusions et de contre-réformes, au bout d'un petit nombre d'années. — L'article fondamental de G. Hausmann, sur la "Stratégie de la réforme de l'enseignement: impulsions actives et passives," a le mérite de s'élever à un niveau philosophique, ce qui rend plus intelligibles certaines propositions concrètes; la planification prospective paraît plus rationnelle à la lumière de la stratégie de Clausewitz. Mais (sauf erreur?), Clausewitz posait comme axiome que le stratège dispose de troupes disciplinées et dotées d'un matériel uniforme. Nous n'en sommes pas là dans le domaine de l'enseignement, où d'ailleurs on ne peut rien prévoir, sinon qu'il faut absolument instruire les enfants, et avoir en vue avant tout leur propre intérêt. — A l'arrière-plan de presque toutes les communications, on sent flotter l'influence du behaviorisme, et l'exemple des écoles américaines est souvent invoqué; il s'agit des écoles américaines telles qu'elles étaient il y a dix ans! Ce qui transparaît ici, même dans l'exposé de W. D. Halls et un peu moins dans celui de L. Froese, c'est l'idée (watsonienne), selon laquelle, "n'importe qui peut devenir n'importe quoi," pourvu qu'il soit éduqué dans un milieu favorable aux buts désirés. On souhaite sincèrement que nos auteurs aient tous raison sur ce

point. - On conçoit que ces quelques lignes - d'un ton qui peut paraître critique - ne peuvent donner qu'une faible idée de la richesse de ce recueil: justement parce qu'on y aborde de front les problèmes les plus difficiles, qui, jusqu'ici n'ont pas trouvé de solution.

ALEXANDRE VEXLIARD, Ankara

HOUGHTON, HAROLD; TREGAR, PETER (eds.), *Community Schools in Developing Countries*. Hamburg: Unesco Institute for Education, 1969. pp. 96. DM 10.

Community Schools in Developing Countries is a brief "synthesis of the work and discussions" of seventeen educational specialists from eight nations who attended a six-day conference convened by the Unesco Institute for Education in Hamburg, September 1968. Although the book draws upon contributions from all conference participants, the task of writing it was assigned to two Englishmen - Harold Houghton of the Ministry of Overseas Development and Peter Tregar, a lecturer at the University of London Institute of Education.

People who already know something of community schools will likely find this volume of no interest, except perhaps for the appendix composed of brief descriptions of seven community schools. As the editors accurately explain in their opening sentence: "This small book contains little or nothing new." The writers do not try to suggest new solutions to the considerable problems of establishing and efficiently conducting community schools but are writing "simply because the time seems ripe for re-stating a promising approach to problems which are worrying governments and peoples of developing countries more than ever before."

Although the editors do not explicitly say so, their volume seems intended for people with an interest in the role of education in developing countries but with no knowledge of the advantages of community schools as compared to traditional academic institutions. Such a reading audience, I assume, would want the book to answer such questions as: How do community schools compare with other kinds in their purpose, structure, pupils, societies they serve, staff, curriculum, and teaching methods? How are such schools established?

I found the most useful answers to these queries in the seven short descriptions of schools in the 38-page appendix. Though the answers are incomplete and not offered in an organized pattern, the reader can ferret many of them out with a little effort.

In contrast to the interesting specifics of these case studies, the five chapters that compose the first half of the book are laden with generalities presented in a rambling essay style. Except for nine pages in Chapter III (Curriculum) illustrating the use of the community and the environment in teaching arithmetic and social studies, these chapters would seem of little value for the intended reader.

The original plan to prepare a modern book on community schools is a good one. The idea of utilizing case studies is also sound. However, though its format is attractive, this particular book, in my view, falls far short of what is needed. Most of the first part of the book is vague and lacks focus. The case studies, while more interesting, are often too brief, and give no guidance in analyzing and comparing these exemplary community schools.

R. MURRAY THOMAS, Santa Barbara, USA

HUSÉN, TORSTEN, with the assistance of EMANUELSON, INGEMAR; FÄGERLIND, INGEMAR; LILJEFORS, ROBERT, *Talent, Opportunity and Career. A Twenty-six Year Follow-up of 1500 Individuals*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1969. pp. 309. DM 39.

This longitudinal study of 1500 individuals over a 26-year period adds a new dimension to the kinds of information linking home background, school attainment and assessment, and subsequent achievements in higher education or careers. Many such studies have been undertaken in recent decades on a quantitative basis with complete or sample populations, but most have been observed over a fairly short period. In the present instance the study of individuals from Swedish taxation and welfare records, or by carefully devised analysis, gives a new perspective. Moreover, the information arrives at a time when we have before us the complementary analyses presented over a more limited range of years by IEA and a number of national surveys. Thus it acts as a reinforcement, and at the same time as a challenge to further studies. For these, the details of how the data were gathered and classified, and the cautionary advice on attempting career prediction from scholastic or social evidence, are most helpful.

For example, Chapter IV shows that scholastic scores at the age of 10 are fairly good group predictors, but not reliable for individuals. Similarly, statistics for grade repeating when analysed closely reveal that this "repeating" is found more frequently in children of the upper social classes, mainly because less favoured children drop out instead of repeating. Teachers' ratings of pupils show the same kind of "middle class culture" bias and expectation of conformity that received special prominence in Rosenthal and Jacobson's *Pygmalion in the Classroom*. Thus all kinds of prediction – of school performance, occupational success, and overall social development – tend to reflect the measure in which teachers see the child conforming to "respectable" norms.

Similar kinds of bias or expectation reinforce the almost automatic tendency for home background and career success to be highly correlated. Half the boys and a quarter of the girls from the top social bracket were successful in the *studentexamen*. Criminality in subsequent years showed over-representation of the lowest social class; yet it is noteworthy that recidivism occurred most frequently among highly intelligent boys – perhaps suggesting frustration at the inequities of career selection and educational opportunity. Further light is thrown on the vagaries of teachers' assessment when we read that their rating of pupils at the age of 10 is only feebly related to performance in the *studentexamen*, for those who persist so far.

There are many interesting snippets of information (like the unexpected finding that fewer women study in leisure time than men); but the main value of the book is in being corroborative, by reinforcing existing international and national evidence with a meticulous longitudinal study over many years. A secondary benefit is methodological. Many of the tables and classifications suggest new dimensions or groupings of factors, and Chapters II and III particularly help by showing under what heads the material was gathered, classified, and analysed.

EDMUND KING, London

KING, EDMUND J., *Education and Development in Western Europe*. London: Addison-Wesley, 1969. pp. 187. 26/-.

Cet ouvrage est le premier d'une série consacrée à "l'éducation comparée et internationale," dirigée par A. M. Kazamias. Nous ne risquons pas de manquer de livres de ce genre: il existe déjà au moins une collection ayant une perspective analogue et dirigée précisément par E. J. King (Oxford: Pergamon Press). D'autres collections de ce type (ou ouvrages collectifs), sont annoncées ou ont déjà paru, notamment sous la supervision d'E. Atzmon ou G. Z. F. Bereday, parmi d'autres. Il semble, cependant, que dans ce domaine, l'essor quantitatif de la production, stimule très nettement la qualité. Dans la présente série, les problèmes du développement et de la modernisation de l'enseignement sont examinés dans la perspective de l'histoire et des sciences sociales. Il s'agit de rassembler les données éparses sur ces thèmes et des les interpréter d'une manière systématique.

Zélateur d'une méthode qui lui est chère, E. J. King propose trois étapes de l'analyse des faits: (1) Dégager les idées ou concepts qui paraissent orienter le développement de l'éducation; (2) déterminer dans quelle mesure les institutions sont en harmonie avec les intentions et les idées exprimées; (3) procéder ensuite à une analyse opérationnelle, c'est-à-dire, voir comment le système fonctionne dans la réalité; il arrive en effet souvent que des institutions, poursuivant certains buts conscients, aboutissent à des résultats différents, voire contraires à ces buts (p. 167). C'est ainsi, qu'après avoir résumé sa méthodologie et délimité le concept "Europe," l'auteur décrit les principaux aspects des institutions éducatives dans leurs caractéristiques particulières: leurs possibilités et leurs limitations "internes." On met ainsi l'accent sur les idées qui ont présidé à leur formation. En analysant le processus de la démocratisation, l'auteur s'arrête particulièrement sur l'exemple de l'enseignement secondaire en France. L'avenir des universités est examiné à propos des transformations auxquelles on assiste en Allemagne et en Angleterre. Après avoir discuté la question des rapports entre l'éducation populaire et le bien-être général, E. J. King conclut par un examen des perspectives et des buts poursuivis par les études comparatives dans leurs contextes variés.

La lecture de ce livre aux dimensions volontairement réduites est particulièrement enrichissante, car l'auteur trouve à presque chaque page des formules brillantes, atteignant leur but pour exprimer les idées ou condenser des faits saillants. Les études comparées dans notre domaine revêtent un caractère nettement "engagé," aux points de vue humain et social, car il est question là de problèmes d'une urgence "désespérée," et, selon l'auteur, c'est là une situation où nous n'avons pas à choisir entre l'impassibilité du savant et l'engagement du praticien. Si les jeunes lèvent l'étendard de la révolte, c'est qu'ils s'attendent – entre autres – à ce que l'enseignement secondaire s'adapte d'une manière concrète aux exigences d'une société orientée vers l'avenir et d'autre part, à ce que les universités deviennent une source de "régénération sociale." On conçoit qu'un livre de ce genre intéressera considérablement, non seulement les éducateurs, les comparatistes, les sociologues, mais aussi un large public, mis en éveil par "le malaise de notre civilisation"; ceci d'autant plus, que l'auteur a su intégrer dans son exposé les données les plus récentes relatives aux grands problèmes qu'il traite.

Il semble que E. J. King ait tendance à traiter ces problèmes dans la perspective fonctionnaliste-pragmatique, dominée en dernière instance par l'idée d'"utilité" (entendue au sens large.) C'est un point de vue à la mode. On oublie ici cependant que les idées d'utilité et de fonction sont nécessairement relatives, et relatives en particulier par rapport à la structure des sociétés. Il arrive en effet souvent que les réformes promulguées "fonctionnent" mal parce qu'elles ne cadrent pas avec les structures existantes. Que le lecteur se méfie, car E. J. King est un grand "séducteur": il séduit tant par son style incisif que par ses démonstrations et ses raisonnements fougueux, où s'infiltrant le paradoxe, l'humour, et l'ironie.

ALEXANDRE VEXLIARD, Ankara

KNOLL, JOACHIM H. (Hrsg.), *Internationales Jahrbuch der Erwachsenenbildung*. Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1969. 298 S. DM. 26.

With this first *International Yearbook of Adult Education*, J. H. Knoll and his colleagues have launched an effort to deal regularly and specifically with problems of theory and practice in adult education. Congratulations are in order on the first volume, and we can look forward optimistically to a wide coverage of national and international experience with adult education in subsequent volumes.

Intentions expressed in the preface indicate that the editorial group recognizes certain initial weaknesses, but has chosen, in Knoll's words, to "materialize a limited possibility" rather than to "strive for a perfected ideal." Taking these intentions into account, there is little to criticize in the prospective series. We welcome the working professional spirit of the *Yearbook* and the prospect of a regular flow of information on an increasingly important area of education.

Whatever the intention, however, comments here must be addressed to the volume published. It is probably impossible to state unequivocally what a yearbook should do, especially an international yearbook. This one does not catalogue adult-education activities in the world over a year, nor does it develop a particular aspect of adult education from various national and/or international perspectives. To the extent one believes that a yearbook should attempt a systematic survey or theme development the title in this case is a misnomer, at least at this stage of publication. A theme is given: "The university, research and adult education", but it is so widely defined that the articles appear as a collection rather than a continuum, and the book as a lengthy, well-prepared issue of a yearly professional journal on adult education.

The book contains the following main contributions (in German, unless otherwise noted): B. Samolovcev, "Adult Education as an Academic Field in Modern Yugoslavia"; T. T. ten Have, "Adult Education as a Field of Study within the Sphere of Androgology at the University of Amsterdam"; E. Nilsen, "Adult-Education Research at the Educational Research Institute and other Institutions in Norway"; R. D. Waller, "Training for Adult Education at the University of Manchester" (in English); E. Wedell, "The Extra-Mural Activities of British Universities" (in English); J. Péchenart, "New Trends in The Education of Adults in France" (in French); W. Strzelewicz, "Research in Adult Education in Germany"; H. Tietgens, "The Function of the Pedagogical Working Center of the German Association for Adult Education"; and F. Arlt, "Adult Education in Industry."

Fortunately, the editors have prepared short summaries of each main article, in German, English and French, which may be consulted quickly by any prospective reader. I will only comment here that each article is well done and deserves study according to the particular interest of the reader. By far the strongest theoretical attempt is made by ten Have, although questions will certainly arise concerning the distinction between pedagogical and androgological research and concerning the continuum from research through study to practical work, which he elaborates. Also, the use of the linguistic nuances may not be functional for the English reader who is not accustomed to fine conceptual distinctions in the terms referring to "Education."

Although the contribution of each article is a particular one, all deal in some way with the relation between theory, research, and practical work in adult education; in this sense, the theme is carried through. It would be presumptuous to direct readers to certain articles, but it might be helpful to suggest that those most interested in conducting research should first consult the articles by ten Have and Strzelewicz, that those most interested in planning research should go first to those by Nilsen and Tietgens, and that those interested in program planning should first read the articles by Samolovcev, Péchenart, Waller, Wedell, and Arlt.

Of the articles under the section "Miscellanea", H. Siebert's piece on "Adult Education as an Objective of Teacher Education" may be of most general interest. However, the others, on the centennial of the "Folk High School" in Sweden, on correspondence education in Germany, and on Baden-Württemberg's plan of approach to adult education will appeal to certain readers. An extensive book review section (nearly entirely in German) concludes the volume.

The *Yearbook* will be an indispensable reference for those working at any level in the field of adult education. It should now be available in libraries and in special collections of education faculties and adult-education centers and institutes. Whether it can be widely employed outside Germany is another question. A reader without knowledge of German would find little value in the book, for the contributions in English and French are not only minimal, but give a skewed picture of the volume's purpose. The summaries are helpful, but would have to be more extensive, tending toward an outline rather than an abstract, to offset translation difficulties.

It is gratifying to this reviewer to find a set of articles on adult education which make continual reference to the historical, comparative, and social-psychological bases of research and which emphasize theoretical foundations as well as real plans and programs in the field. I believe, however, that the inclusion of more extensive fundamental historical-cultural descriptions of existing models of adult education in various countries would strengthen the permanent usefulness of the *Yearbooks*. This, together with increasingly systematic attacks on the general and specific problems pertaining to the development of an integrative adult education program, will give this new publication a prominent place in the literature of the field.

ROBERT F. LAWSON, Calgary

LAMÉRAND, R., *Théories d'enseignement programmé et laboratoires de langues*. Bruxelles: Ed. Labor, 1969. pp. 186.

Wer sich mit den Grundsätzen der Programmierung auf dem Gebiet des fremdsprachlichen Unterrichts vertraut machen will, der findet in diesem Buch eine wissenschaftlich fundierte Einführung in die Materie; dem Praktiker bietet es eine Fülle von Anregungen.

Zunächst gibt der Verfasser, Mitarbeiter am Centre de linguistique appliquée de l'Université de Neuchâtel, einen kritischen Überblick über die verschiedenen Prinzipien der Programmierung im allgemeinen (Skinner, Crowder, Pressey, Gilbert), einschließlich der Problematik Computer-gesteuerter Lernprozesse. Er stützt sich dabei auf bis ins Jahr 1968 reichende Untersuchungsergebnisse (insbesondere amerikanische). Vier Programmierungsarten werden herausgestellt: das lineare Verfahren, die verzweigte Methode, objektivierte Tests als Ergänzungsprogramme und eine integrierende Methode, die "Mathetik" (Gilbert: *Mathetics, the Technology of Education*), deren Anwendung Lamérand wiederholt empfiehlt.

In den Kapiteln über die eigentliche Programmierung für das Sprachlabor geht der Verfasser nur kurz auf die in der Literatur zur Genüge dargestellten Strukturdrillübungen ein, deren Bedeutung für unterrichtsergänzende Programme vornehmlich im H-S-Labor er anerkennt. Breiteren Raum widmet er jedoch Programmen, die nicht nach linearen Prinzipien aufgebaut sind, sondern den Lernenden in einem "mathetisch" programmierten Lernprozeß aktivieren, denn "l'inventaire des structures linguistiques devant former le répertoire de l'élève s'avère une tâche plus importante que la construction d'une dizaine d'exemples réputés efficaces par certains auteurs de manuels". Besonders interessant sind die Ausführungen zur programmierten Texterklärung und Literaturanalyse, einem Sektor, dem man bisher hierzulande kaum Aufmerksamkeit gezollt hat.

Vom Programmierer fordert der Autor mit Nachdruck klare Zielvorstellungen, umfassende Stoffanalyse und vor allen Dingen strikte Berücksichtigung der tatsächlichen Bedürfnisse und Fähigkeiten des Lernenden, denn ein Programm hat nur dann einen Sinn, wenn es frei anwendbare, "autonome" Kenntnisse vermittelt. Wohltuend und dogmatisch wägt Lamérand bei vielen Detailfragen das Für und Wider ab und gibt beherzigenswerte, wenn auch nicht immer hinreichend konkretisierte Ratschläge. In einem abschließenden Kapitel werden einige auf dem Markt angebotene Programme kritisch untersucht und Kriterien der Programmvalidierung erläutert. Ausführliche Programmauszüge (Frage-Antwort; Konversation; französische Phonetik; Literatur: *Forme et fond*; literarische Textanalyse: Pascal; Gedichtinterpretationen) im Anhang verdeutlichen dieses Kapitel.

Eine Auswahlbibliographie mit kurzer Würdigung der einzelnen Titel, ein Abkürzungsverzeichnis, eine übersichtliche Tabelle der verschiedenen Programmierungsformen sowie ein Sach- und Namensregister schließen das höchst aufschlußreiche Buch ab.

Der Rezensent möchte sich der Meinung des Verfassers anschließen, daß das Sprachlabor als Ergänzung des Normalunterrichts in hohem Maße zur Verbesserung des Schulunterrichts beitragen kann, daß man sensationelle Resultate allerdings nicht erwarten darf, wenn man in ihm nur ein einfaches Arbeitsmittel zweiten Ranges sieht.

ANTON BEMMERLEIN, Nürnberg

LÜCKERT, HEINZ-ROLF, *et al.*, *Begabungsforschung und Bildungsförderung als Gegenwartsaufgabe*. München: Reinhardt, 1969. 444 S. DM 28.

Avec la nécessité toujours accrue d'exploiter plus complètement les potentialités intellectuelles des nations, on voit de nouveau se multiplier les recherches sur les aptitudes, leurs origines, leur développement, leur stabilité. Aussi bien dans les pays hautement industrialisés que dans les pays en développement, on déploie, en particulier, des efforts croissants pour diagnostiquer, expliquer et combattre les handicaps cognitifs et affectifs d'origine socio-économique ou socio-culturelle.

Un ouvrage d'ensemble sur la question vient donc à son heure pour indiquer à l'étudiant les grandes lignes du problème. Il pourra ensuite commencer à grignoter la littérature de recherche particulière au sujet qui l'intéresse. Nous insistons sur ce point, car il serait vain d'espérer trouver, même dans 400 pages aussi denses que celles-ci, une présentation un peu détaillée des travaux qui se font actuellement dans un secteur comme, par exemple, l'étude des handicaps cognitifs d'origine socio-économique au niveau préscolaire.

L'ouvrage de H.-R. Lückert et de ses onze collaborateurs se divise en quatre grandes parties:

- I. Les aspects génétiques de l'intelligence et les apports de la recherche génétique à la connaissance des aptitudes.
- II. Les aspects psychologiques de l'aptitude: dimensions de l'intelligence, types et formes particulières des aptitudes; résultats de la recherche sur la créativité; stabilité des performances intellectuelles.
- III. L'aptitude vue dans une perspective sociologique: déterminants sociaux du développement cognitif, du niveau d'aspiration, de l'orientation scolaire.
- IV. Les aspects pédagogiques: l'éducation de base dans sa relation avec la promotion de l'intelligence, la relation entre l'intelligence et le rendement scolaire, l'apport des tests, le problème des réserves intellectuelles.

Les chapitres sont d'inégale valeur, certains – comme par exemple celui de R. Weiss – restant d'un niveau élémentaire. On peut aussi regretter que les travaux de la sociologie et de la pédagogie expérimentale de langue française d'aujourd'hui, soient presque entièrement ignorés. Raymond Boudon n'est pas cité une seule fois, M. Reuchlin non plus.

GILBERT L. DE LANDSHEERE, Liège

NISBET, JOHN D.; ENTWISTLE, NOEL J., *The Transition to Secondary Education*. Publications of the Scottish Council for Research in Education, No. 59. London: London University Press, 1969. pp. 115. 25/-.

Bei diesem Buch handelt es sich um den Abschlußbericht einer Untersuchung, die mit Unterstützung des *Scottish Council for Research in Education* in den Jahren 1963–1968 in Aberdeen und Umgebung durchgeführt wurde. An dieser Untersuchung waren nahezu 4000 Schüler beteiligt, darunter alle Schüler der Stadt Aberdeen, die als 12jährige 1965 nach siebenjährigem Grundschulbesuch auf Sekundarschulen

übergangen. Beobachtet und getestet wurden diese Schüler in den letzten beiden Grundschuljahren und während der folgenden beiden ersten Jahre in Sekundarschulen. Mit berücksichtigt wurden besondere Schulleiter-, Lehrer- und Schülerbefragungen. Insgesamt mußten rund 32,000 Test- und Fragebögen ausgewertet werden.

Als wichtigste Untersuchungsergebnisse können herausgestellt werden:

- Die Frage, welches Lebensalter der Schüler optimal ist für einen deutlichen Einschnitt zwischen Grundschule und Sekundarschule, bleibt weiterhin offen. Viel spricht dafür, daß der Einschnitt bei 12+ günstiger ist als - wie zur Zeit noch in England und Wales praktiziert - bei 11+. (Übergang im Lebensalter 12+ entspricht auch den Empfehlungen des englischen *Plowden Report*.) Falls sich ein dreistufiges Schulsystem durchsetzen sollte (1. Stufe 5-8jährige, 2. Stufe 9-12jährige, 3. Stufe 13+), werden darin weitere Vorteile gesehen.
- Prognosen für den weiteren Schulerfolg eines Schülers sind sehr unzuverlässig, wenn sie aufgrund seiner Leistungen in den letzten Grundschuljahren angestellt werden; sie sind viel eher möglich, wenn man sie erst abgibt, wenn der Schüler mindestens ein Jahr Sekundarschulbesuch hinter sich hat.
- Der Übergang von der Grundschule in die Sekundarschule sollte möglichst glatt vonstatten gehen und keinen abrupten Bruch bedeuten. Grund- und Sekundarschullehrer sollten alle Möglichkeiten einer engen Kooperation ausschöpfen.
- In den Sekundarschulen sollte nicht sofort mit *streaming* begonnen werden.

Zur Lektüre empfohlen sei diese empirische Untersuchung aus Schottland besonders jenen Institutionen und bildungspolitisch interessierten Personen im deutschsprachigen Raum, die noch immer meinen, daß man am besten schon 10jährige Schüler für verschiedene Formen des Sekundarschulwesens selektieren sollte.

HORST MAGDEBURG, Berlin

SHERWIN, STEPHEN J., *Four Problems in Teaching English: A Critique of Research*. Scranton, USA: International Textbook Company, 1969. pp. 209. \$ 6.

When it is said that "research should be done" on this or that aspect of curriculum it is sometimes forgotten that in some countries a good deal of research is already available. But such research is often scattered and of uneven quality, and therefore difficult to make use of. There is therefore an important place for studies which report available investigations and interpret them critically.

The book under review attempts to do just that for research on the teaching of English as the mother-tongue. The author is Chairman of the English Department of the State University of New York at Buffalo; he also serves on the Research Committee of the National Council of Teachers of English, on whose behalf this work is published. He is dedicated to the idea of a research approach to the problems of mother-tongue teaching. He recognises that only a beginning has so far been made and that much remains to be done.

In this work, rather than attempting to cover the whole field of English instruction, Professor Sherwin has selected four "troublesome" questions. On each of these he explains the research evidence systematically and in historical sequence and then discusses the significance of the studies in an interpretive summary. The first chapter considers the question of whether or not mastery of English can be achieved by the teaching of Latin (his conclusion: "There is no *Via Latina* to English mastery"). The second and longest chapter discusses experiments and methods of teaching the intricacies of spelling, a particularly troublesome problem in teaching English to native speakers. Chapter 3 deals with the improvement of the quality of written English by three approaches: the teaching of traditional grammar, the introduction of modern linguistics, or, avoiding both, the use of direct writing practice. The fourth chapter deals with a specific method of teaching arising from the problem of the third chapter, i.e. whether the use of diagrams in sentence analysis can be helpful in the teaching of English structure.

The four expositions, as well as the more general remarks in the Preface and the Conclusion, reveal a level-headed and practical outlook upon curriculum research. The conclusions reached on the four issues are convincing. A reader concerned with the research aspect of any of the four themes treated in this book will find these review studies helpful and pleasant to read. The work has a full bibliography of the vast number of studies considered, although an index is lacking.

In spite of these clear merits two limitations of this book should not be overlooked. Firstly, from the comparative point of view, it is regrettable that hardly any mention is made of relevant work produced outside the United States. Secondly, in view of the fact that the study is offered as a "critique of research," it must be said that it is not nearly radical enough and it shares with many of the studies reviewed a lack of theoretical penetration. The author takes the various studies too readily at their face value and one misses a fundamental discussion of educational, linguistic or psychological issues involved in the various themes. Thus in the chapter on spelling, the emphasis on correct spelling — even though a plea for a tolerant approach to varieties of spelling conventions is made — is simply taken for granted. The inevitable and inherent limitations of *any* alphabetic orthography or the problems of English spelling, as for example explained by R. Wardhaugh in his recent book *Reading: A Linguistic Perspective* (New York: Harcourt, 1969), are not even considered. Likewise in the chapter on writing the author hardly explains what he means by the term. Implicitly one gathers that the chapter is concerned with the teaching of grammatically correct usage in written composition. But he never questions the linguistic validity or the educational value of the conventional preoccupation of English with "correctness" and with "writing" (as opposed to "speaking").

Thus a student looking for a real "critique" of this research — many of the studies reviewed by the author show that such a critique is badly needed — or who seek an analysis of current research needs and directions, are not likely to find these in this book. Nevertheless, within the limits which the author no doubt set himself, the book is of considerable value to readers concerned with the teaching of English and other languages.

H. H. STERN, Toronto

SIEGFRIED, KURT, *Erziehungsberatung und Schulpsychologie*. Bern/Stuttgart: Hans Huber, 1969. 224. S DM 24.

Der Verfasser legt ein Buch über Erziehungsberatung und Schulpsychologie vor, das sich sowohl an den Praktiker als auch an den Theoretiker diagnostischer und therapeutischer Arbeit im Raum der Familie und Schule wendet. Aus der Kybernetik wird ein Modell für Erziehungsberatung gesetzt, in dem die in einer Familie oder in einem Verband agierenden Personen als Teile eines Systems verstanden werden, die eng miteinander verknüpft sind und sich im Sinne der Interdependenz beeinflussen. Dabei wird eine mehrdimensionale Betrachtungsweise angestrebt und versucht, die menschliche Situation "als ein System vermaschter Regelkreise" darzustellen (S. 56).

Zunächst gibt der Autor eine Anthropologie menschlicher Existenz, wobei er sowohl das Individuum auf die Gemeinschaft, als auch umgekehrt bezieht und die tragenden menschlichen Bedürfnisse als das Wesentliche in diesem Kontext herausstellt.

Nach einigen theoretischen Überlegungen zur Problematik der Erziehungsberatung und der Darstellung des kybernetischen Modells werden die praktischen Aufgaben sowohl in der Erziehungsberatung herkömmlichen Sinnes (in bezug auf Diagnose und Therapie) als auch in der Schulpsychologie dargestellt. Abschließend versucht der Verfasser, einen neuen organisatorischen Aufbau einer Beratungsstelle darzulegen, in der das "Arbeitsteam, bestehend aus verschiedenen Spezialisten, die eine gemeinsame Sprache erlernt haben und sich dadurch verständlich machen können" (S. 218), die anzustrebende Arbeitsform ist. In diese Team will er nicht nur Psychiater und Psychologen, sondern auch Pädagogen, Soziologen und weitere Spezialisten einbeziehen.

Geht man von herkömmlichen Maßstäben aus, so gibt der Autor mit seinem Buch dem Praktiker eine Bestätigung der Möglichkeiten und Grenzen seines Tuns und dem Anfänger in der Erziehungsberatung erste Hinweise für das Sachgebiet. Zu bemängeln ist allerdings, daß Zitate oft ohne Quellenangabe und Seitenzahl erfolgen, die dann mühsam aus der beigelegten Bibliographie erschlossen werden müssen. Die Sprache des Verfassers ist nicht frei von Pathos, was die Wissenschaftlichkeit des Buches oft stört. Übertreibungen wie "verständlicherweise, leben wir doch in einer Zeit, in der sich gigantische Strömungen treffen, welche den einzelnen Menschen hoffnungslos wegzuschwemmen drohen" (S. 13) oder "unerwartet ist er aus der Bahn des sicher geradeaus schreitenden, seine Pflichten kennenden, seine Verantwortung tragenden Menschen herausgerissen worden in ein noch unwirtliches Gelände, ohne Karte, ohne Kompaß in die finstere Nacht" (S. 68), mögen zwar anschauliche Bilder geben, dürften aber überflüssig sein. Gelegentliche Widersprüche irritieren besonders den Anfänger, zum Beispiel wird einerseits die Möglichkeit gezielter Diagnose damit begründet, daß "Einengung, Verarmung, rasche Verfestigung aus dem äußerst komplexen probabilistischen System, das der Mensch sein könnte, bald ein eingleisiges, wenige *Verhaltensmuster* aufweisendes System werden lassen, welches genügend beschrieben werden kann" (S. 35), andererseits wird gesagt, wieviel schichtiger, schwankender und fragwürdiger unsere wirklichen "Spielfiguren" sind, ganz zu schweigen von der Komplexität des Spielfeldes und der Spielregeln" (S. 58), und somit wird die Vorbehauptung wieder aufgehoben.

Mitunter fragt man sich nach dem Modell von Persönlichkeit, das dem Verfasser vorschwebt, wenn er wegen der Emanzipation der Frau einen Gedanken aufwirft

wie: "Inwiefern sich die Denaturierung der Frau in bezug auf ihr instinktives Gefüge auswirken wird, ist kaum abzuschätzen" (S. 72).

Einmal von diesen Kleinigkeiten abgesehen, erscheint uns bedenklich, Schulpsychologie, wie es in diesem Buch geschieht, lediglich als eine in den Raum der Schule eingeschobene Erziehungsberatung zu sehen. Diese Verengung schulpsychologischer Ansätze ist deshalb zu bedauern, weil bei der augenblicklichen Erweiterung schulpsychologischer Dienste immer neue Aufgaben in diesen Bereich einbezogen werden, von denen der Leser dieses Buches leider nichts erfährt. Deshalb ist das Buch nur bedingt zu empfehlen, und zwar nur für den Praktiker, der über genug kritische Reflexion verfügt, um Gültigkeiten und Grenzen der hier gemachten Aussagen zu erkennen.

Zusammenfassung: Ein Buch über Erziehungsberatung und Schulpsychologie, das, von einem kybernetischen Modell ausgehend, Tatsachen der Diagnose und Therapie im Raum der Familie und Schule darstellt, ohne die bisher bekannten Informationen wesentlich zu erweitern.

KLAUS SCHÜTTLER-JANIKULLA, Berlin

SMITH, B. OTHANEL, in collaboration with COHEN, SAUL B.; PEARL, ARTHUR, *Teachers for the Real World*. Washington: AACTE, 1969. pp. 185.

The appearance of this book at the present time has to be seen in the context of growing social problems throughout the United States in particular as these bring into focus the disadvantaged children of families of all races, but particularly of the black peoples, and also general unrest among youth. There is an awakening among teacher educators to the fact that the schools are deeply affected by these issues and also have an important role to play in at least alleviating the more severe symptoms. However, it has also become clear that a large proportion of the public schools and the institutions which train teachers for them, are at present ill-fitted to deal with these problems. As the title itself indicates, the book attempts to help teachers and teachers of teachers to face up to some of the more pressing issues.

The book is the outcome of the joint thinking of a distinguished group of American educators. It covers most of the major issues concerning the preparation and continued education of teachers. The explicit background is that of deprivation and racism. The pressures on teachers are carefully examined and shown to be related to the extent to which teaching is only a temporary career for many. In this context, "The Teacher as a Dropout" is a revealing chapter.

Consideration is given to the wide variety of roles the teacher is called upon to play and to the various aspects of systematic training, including the theoretical knowledge necessary for the teacher. Attention is also paid to teacher aides. One of the most interesting chapters is that on "Shaping the Affective Aspects of Teacher Behavior." This is shown to be a highly complex problem and some interesting suggestions are made as to how the teacher can be helped to make the best use of his own talents and general life style, and how he may become aware of those personal problems which may interfere with his effectiveness as a teacher.

There are also chapters dealing with subject matter preparation, and with problems in the governance of the profession. Emphasis is placed on the fact that teacher

education should be regarded as perennial. There is an interesting final chapter entitled "Memo on Money and Action" in which certain of the major issues in setting up "teacher training complexes" and in bringing about effective curriculum reform are discussed.

It must be said that this is a sensible, straightforward book, but that it contains nothing new – new, that is, to this reviewer, who has a fairly extensive knowledge and experience of teacher education in various parts of the world. The book would not strike any new note in Great Britain, but its viewpoint would certainly be radical in much of Europe and it may be well be timely in the USA. It is clearly intended primarily for a readership in the education profession in that country. It does bring together briefly and effectively many of the salient problems which must be solved if schools, not only in the USA, are to transform themselves in a fashion sufficiently radical to meet the real needs of the children of the world.

BEN MORRIS, Bristol, England

STRĂCHINARU, ION, *Devierile de conduită la copii: studii psihopedagogice* (Deviations in Children's Conduct: A Psychopedagogical Study). București: Edutia Didactică și Pedagogică, 1969. pp. 326. Lei 12.20.

This highly technical but very readable Rumanian analysis of the specialized field of correctional pedagogy deserves to be translated into one of the more familiar languages of the West. The author, a faculty member at the University of Jassy (Iași), is apparently one of those newly emergent Rumanian scholars who have abandoned the rigid Marxist-Leninist confines of an earlier generation and forged ahead without constant reference to that outmoded dogma. In fact, in the course of this monumental study of problems now familiar to all modern civilizations, namely the detection and treatment of specific abnormalities in children, he even cites the hitherto maligned Sigmund Freud. Furthermore, Străchinaru himself has been acclaimed by the distinguished French neuropsychiatrist Léon Michaux.

This study considers the problem of psychopedagogy from three relatively separate angles: (1) definition of the terms and the problem; (2) examination of the troubled child, and determination of the causes of his abnormal behaviour; and (3) a suggested mode of education and treatment to alleviate the problem. The data obtained by the author point to the usefulness of physical exercise, music, and even a moralizing approach as therapy for abnormal behaviour. He also includes a section on recommendations for preventing the appearance of conduct deviations, such as improved public opinion, involving the whole family in the educational process, and even grouping children according to neighborhood interests.

One convincing conclusion offered by the author is that the most suitable criterion for establishing the major psycho-social-moral causes of conduct deviations seems to be the psychopedagogical one, "which simultaneously with the orientation of . . . prophylactic measures ensures . . . corresponding healing methods." Each chapter is provided with a bibliography, the book is indexed, and summaries in English, French, German, and Russian are appended. This is a piece of work of which Străchinaru can be very proud.

SHERMAN D. SPECTOR, Troy, New York

SUPER, DONALD E. (ed.), *Toward a Cross-National Model of Educational Achievement in a National Economy*. The Report of the Lake Mohonk Conference. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1969. (Mimeo, p. 388).

The International Study of Achievement in Mathematics, which was reported in 1967, showed the feasibility of cross-national inquiries, in which scores in achievement tests could be related to the socio-economic context, the organisation and administration, and the methods and content of education. It was, however, realised by the participants that further work was required on the development of theoretical models for studies of this type if the results were to provide the help they should for educational planners in the countries concerned.

As a result of proposals by B. S. Bloom and A. W. Foshay, two conferences were held, the first at Hamburg in 1966 and the other in the United States in 1967, at which specialists in educational measurement and comparative education discussed with economists, sociologists and psychologists and with other educators the problems involved. The working papers for these conferences, revised after conference discussions, form the main part of this book. The fourteen papers cover a wide field; the contributors from different disciplines, from four different countries and with different viewpoints, occasionally leading to diverse conclusions, give a refreshing variety of material.

E. J. King points out the need for care in interpreting and applying the findings of international investigations, since terms have often very different meanings in different contexts. Academic abstractions must be related to particular data.

U. Dahllöf stresses the need for an adequate theory on which to base a research project; findings may be correct on a descriptive level yet insufficiently based on theory to be safe for planning.

C. C. von Weizsäcker goes deeper and points out the danger of aggregating test scores, which are really ordinal rather than cardinal. Value judgments enter into all methods of aggregating scores.

C. Arnold Anderson provides a very thorough analysis of the societal characteristics associated with the range of scores in the mathematics tests, but has to admit that there are few clear relationships apparent between these characteristics and the achievements recorded.

In one of the longer papers D. Lavin studies the effects of interpersonal forces on the pupil as a learner, taking in turn his relation with teacher, parent and peer. W. W. Charters looks at the teacher-pupil relation as a social relationship and at the possible effects of the disjunction in social class which is frequently present.

In a paper on the reward systems of the school, Mary A. White points out that the school is a classifying agent, providing a ticket to one's lifetime future, and is also its own evaluator (though this is not so true in some countries where there are national systems of examination). There are some statements in this paper which read strangely to a European: "The schools are essentially anti-intellectual; the teachers are not intellectually oriented"; "School is war, cold or hot, from the point of view of the pupil."

The remaining paper in this area is by C. D. Kehas, on research on the self concept. He points out that measurements in this field cannot be made purely by standardised tests; the interview is essential.

Four papers relate the utilisation of school learning to adult life and work. Mary Jean Bowman makes it clear that the rapid changes now taking place demand not so much a good fit between education and work as the development of flexibility and adaptability. The manpower requirements approach is not the best method here; benefit-cost assessment and rate of return approaches are more apposite. T. Husén makes a similar point in his paper. Schools cannot hope to prepare for the whole of life; there must be retraining at intervals or continuous adaptation. School education must not be too specific.

The role of continuing education and its implication for elementary and secondary education are described by A. B. Knox. School education can be improved by a consideration of practices found useful in continuing education. He points out that at present continuing education, patronised as it is mainly by those with longer, preparatory education, is widening the gap between the "haves" and the "have nots". Finally the transition from school to work with the contrasts that exist between the systems is studied by P. Sealy.

The reports of the four working groups which considered these papers summarise the conclusions reached, and D. E. Super then gives his attempt at a comprehensive model of educational achievement. Its elements are inputs, utilisation, and outputs and it is, as he explains, a functional organic model. It has the great virtue that it throws into focus the different ways of analysing the relationships of the various components and the need for evaluation not only in terms of costs, but also in terms of educational and human elements.

Parts of this book are technical in character, but it is well worth reading and pondering over.

DAVID A. WALKER, Edinburgh

TANSEY, P. J.; UNWIN, DERICK, *Simulation and Gaming in Education*. London: Methuen, 1969. pp. 152. 30/-.

Simulation as a pedagogical method is not new; it has been effectively used in military and vocational training for many years. Despite its success in these areas it has gained little recognition, and even less acceptance, in general public education. On the face of it, then, there is need for an introductory text, like *Simulation and Gaming in Education*, which is designed to acquaint educators, especially practitioners, with this important adjunct to standard teaching methods.

The book offers a well rounded introduction: a brief account of simulation's historical development, an overview of its methodology, a survey of its applications, and a rather detailed description of how the authors used the technique in a teacher training course. Overall the material is sufficient to the purpose of acquainting potential users with the method, and the text throughout has particular strength in its practical orientation. The survey of applications, drawn from a number of diverse fields, is especially well done.

But as with most introductory surveys, the scope of coverage is better than the balance and depth. With regard to balance, the discussion is one-sidedly positive; it suggests, for example, that there are no methodological problems associated with simulation aside from a lack of quantitative evaluation. There is virtually no reference to the question of verisimilitude – the critical issue of relationship between the

simulate and the referent system. In terms of depth, the discussion is limited to the more obvious considerations; for instance, in comparing simulation with the lecture method, the only cited difference is simulation's advantage in producing greater participant involvement. There is no consideration of the fundamental contrast between the two with respect to learning modes and pedagogical aims.

Undoubtedly such nuances have been deemphasized or ignored because, in the authors' judgment, they would be too distracting in an introductory text. This, of course, is a legitimate concern; on the other hand, it would seem helpful to provide the potential user of simulation with some forewarning of its attendant epistemological and methodological problems.

Finally, for the introductory reader, there should be a note of caution that the authors' differentiation between gaming and simulation is wholly their own and not standard in the literature. This is worth mentioning because in seeking to clarify an ambiguity, the authors introduce a distinction to which they do not adhere consistently in the course of their exposition. The resulting confusion is an unnecessary burden for the reader.

ROBERT J. MEEKER, Santa Monica, USA

TAYLOR, HAROLD, *Students Without Teachers: The Crisis in the University*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969. pp. 333. \$ 7.95.

Analyses of the university student protest movement are currently much in vogue and will continue to be for some time as unrest among the world's youth ebbs and flows, as its meaning becomes clearer, and as its effects become more visible. Author Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College in New York during its more experimental years in the 1930s, has been on many world campuses during the past decade, has talked with a wide range of students, teachers, and administrators; and has drawn as close to the cutting edge of radical student thought as anyone can who is over the age of 30. His thesis is that higher education, in the United States at least, lost its soul when it neglected its social conscience; that it lost socially concerned and morally sensitive students when it imprisoned them in deadening and irrelevant required courses; and that it has weakened America's moral world leadership by not facing up to the issues that really count - race, poverty, and prejudice. Taylor frankly feels that the recent waves of student revolt are "the healthiest thing that could have happened" to the outmoded structure of higher education. Students without teachers who care, in universities that will not change, are in effect teaching themselves in free universities, in storefront rooms, in offices of such radical organizations as Students for a Democratic Society, and in other places where students gather free from the imposed conformity of higher educational institutions as presently organized.

The cue to reform, in the author's view, is for the universities to seize upon the radical students' concern about social issues and to "accept, with the students, the legitimacy of the social revolution" now in progress. He urges universities to accept a philosophy of social concern; to make the educational system more responsive to genuine contemporary needs; and to engage students, faculty, administration, and the community in a meaningful action-oriented curriculum seeking solutions to

such international issues as war, poverty, race, and discrimination. He argues for national volunteer service systems which will encourage students to teach, enter community action programs, make use of the creative arts, and do social research - under faculty guidance and for academic credit - on the fighting front where world community problems exist, as well as in the classroom. This is the theme the author covers in four parts: "The University and Its Students," "Mass Culture and the Academic Mind," "The Closed Curriculum," and "The Reform of Mass Education." There are brief bibliographic notes and an index.

While not endorsing the havoc wrought by the worst instances of student activism, Taylor is essentially friendly to what he conceives to be the basic message of student radicalism - that universities must be democratized, involved in social reform, and made sensitive to the post-industrial age now upon us, when the poorest of mankind must be quickly brought into acceptable levels of economic, political, social, and racial justice. There are many conservative observers who would oppose the author's essentially friendly stand on these aspects of student radicalism. Such observers would bow to established law and order; would affirm the university's prime responsibility to the disinterested pursuit and dissemination of knowledge for national manpower purposes; and would oppose as inept and transitory undue university democratization yielding to student advice and opinion.

The issue which Taylor's book puts into dramatic perspective is the alternative role of the university as conservator of perennial values or as transforming agent for a new and as yet untried age. His liberal interpretation speaks eloquently for the latter view. It is an old issue, one in which elite-oriented universities have hitherto tenaciously held to the former view. But the fast forces now operative - higher education's rapid expansion among all classes, the urgency of world problems, and the immediacy of modern communication - may well be tipping the scale toward the university's new role as social critic and corrective agent. Sometime during the Negro protest movement in the United States and the mounting Vietnam war, a coalescence took place, a critical mass was reached, the spark was ignited, and a generation of youth all over the world exploded into the first generation to demand radical change in social institutions, including the university. It is yet to be seen how higher education will respond to the new pressures of this new age.

FRANKLIN PARKER, Morgantown, USA

TAYLOR, WILLIAM, *Society and the Education of Teachers*. London: Faber, 1969. pp. 304. 50/-.

C'est dans une collection consacrée à "la Société d'aujourd'hui et de demain" que William Taylor publie un ouvrage qui s'attache à montrer l'évolution suivie en Grande-Bretagne, dans la formation du personnel enseignant. Cette étude particulièrement solide permettra notamment de faire le point sur le développement, l'importance, la place actuelle et les perspectives d'avenir des *Colleges of Education*.

Dans la première partie de l'ouvrage, l'auteur analyse les raisons pour lesquelles la conception traditionnelle des collèges d'éducation s'est transformée. Ces raisons sont essentiellement d'ordre social et pédagogique. C'est d'une part, l'évolution de la

société: devenue fortement industrialisée et de densité démographique considérablement accrue, elle exige désormais une main d'oeuvre très qualifiée et un nombre sans cesse croissant de diplômés de plus en plus spécialisés. C'est d'autre part, le climat d'innovation qui règne dans le domaine des méthodes pédagogiques et du contenu des programmes. Dans l'immédiat, le nombre des professeurs devra faire face à la poussée démographique; il sera donc nécessaire d'augmenter la productivité des collèges d'éducation afin que les types d'établissements déjà existants soient pourvus de leur personnel enseignant. Dans un avenir plus lointain, il conviendra d'instituer un rapport plus logique entre les qualifications requises et la nature exacte des tâches effectuées par les professeurs au sein de leurs établissements.

La structure et le contenu des études dans les collèges d'éducation font l'objet de la seconde partie. Après avoir fait l'historique de la formation pédagogique depuis le 19ème siècle, l'auteur décrit les programmes suivis depuis 1960 par les élèves-maîtres non diplômés des universités. Ces programmes s'étendent sur trois années, dont les deux premières sont consacrées à la culture générale et la dernière à l'approfondissement des connaissances des matières principales choisies et à la formation pédagogique: enseignement des méthodes, histoire de l'éducation et psychologie de l'enfant. Les études sont sanctionnées par un examen final; dans quelques collèges, notamment celui de l'université de Bristol, le système du contrôle continu des connaissances est appliqué.

W. Taylor constate que cet enseignement ainsi conçu n'est pas toujours cohérent, les méthodes utilisées variant souvent avec les professeurs, à l'intérieur d'un même collège; une coordination devra donc s'établir pour pallier ce manque d'uniformité. Il remarque aussi que malgré des efforts manifestes, il existe souvent un fossé entre le travail effectué dans les collèges d'éducation et les véritables conditions d'enseignement dans les écoles pour un maître débutant. Des recherches sont entreprises en vue d'adapter la formation pédagogique aux situations que les enseignants rencontreront dans l'exercice de leur profession.

Deux chapitres sont ensuite consacrés aux étudiants et au corps enseignant dans les collèges d'éducation. L'origine sociale des élèves est en général plus modeste que dans les autres instituts d'enseignement supérieur; leur nombre varie suivant la réputation de l'établissement et comporte une proportion croissante d'adultes et notamment de femmes âgées de 40 ans ou plus. La sélection à l'entrée se fait compte tenu du niveau scolaire des candidats et des conclusions tirées d'un entretien oral. A la fin des études, ce sont les directeurs d'établissements qui choisissent en toute liberté leurs professeurs. Ce système présente un inconvénient pour les candidats fixés dans une région ou une localité et qui n'y trouvent pas systématiquement un emploi.

Le corps enseignant est mixte dans la majorité des collèges d'éducation; il est composé de professeurs venant directement des établissements où ils enseignent et qui prennent le grade de lecteur. Ces professeurs possèdent dans l'ensemble moins de diplômes que ceux des Universités et l'inégalité des salaires empêche d'améliorer le recrutement. Il serait souhaitable de donner aux sciences de l'éducation une place plus importante dans l'enseignement supérieur et d'offrir dans cette branche une grande possibilité de formation professionnelle.

L'ouvrage se termine par la description de l'organisation et du régime intérieur des collèges d'éducation. Au cours de leurs années de formation, les futurs professeurs y vivent dans une ambiance qui favorise leur éducation morale et l'épanouisse-

ment de leur personnalité. N'étant plus seulement considérés ainsi qu'autrefois comme de simples dispensateurs de savoir, mais aussi et surtout comme des agents de formation humaine et de cohésion sociale, les enseignants ont une influence primordiale sur l'éducation des enfants qui leur sont confiés: La formation donnée dans les collèges d'éducation doit donc tenir compte de cet aspect essentiel de leur rôle.

JOSEPH MAJALUT, Paris

THOMAS, JOHN I., *Education and Communism: School and State in the People's Republic of Albania*. Stanford/USA: Hoover Press, 1969. pp. 131. \$ 2.60.

In spite of the breadth suggested by the title, this little book is primarily a study of the Albanian school system and is therefore bound to be of some interest in view of the paucity of material on that country. The author, an Assistant Professor of Education at New Mexico State University, has not only carried out extensive investigations into archival material in the USA, but has examined a wide range of primary sources, after a year's intensive study of the Albanian language.

After a brief historical introduction, in which he deals with the attempts to establish a national educational system in this most backward of European countries, the author goes on to examine the foundations of the present system – its beginnings during the Partisan War, the brief period of Yugoslav influence, and the longer spell of Soviet tutelage from 1948 to 1961. There follow two chapters on the present system – one on the structure, content and administration of the schools, and one on the role of the Communist Party as it affects not only general policy but the day-to-day work of the teaching staff, the youth movement, and the teachers' organisations. A brief final chapter draws some general conclusions on the successes and failures of the system. There is a wealth of statistical material, some helpful diagrams, and an extensive bibliography.

If Thomas had been content with writing a factual outline of the school system, all might have been well; from this point of view, the book is adequate if pedestrian, detailed, and well documented. But, as the title suggests, he has wider aims in view. "The unitary system of the People's Republic of Albania," he says, "is a prototype [*sic*] of education for monolithic communism." Communist education, of course, means many different things in different countries, but if Thomas is aware of this he shows no sign; it is almost as if a Russian were to entitle a study of Greek or Spanish schools "Education for Capitalism." As a study of the wider issues of communist education, even in the specifically Albanian context, this will not do. For example, we are given just over half a page on "The Communist Philosophy of Education", and about a page on "ideopolitical education"; these passages, and other attempts to deal with the theoretical side, are breathtakingly naive. The random use of such terms as dialectical materialism, Marxism-Leninism, etc., suggests that Thomas' acquaintance with any kind of Marxist thinking on any subject is slight. Nor does it seem to have occurred to him that some features of the system might be Albanian or European rather than communist. Against these failings, minor gaffes like listing Tolstoy and Chekhov as Soviet authors or describing the Soviet Komsomol

as the "facsimile" of the Union of Albanian Working Youth pale into insignificance.

This is a great pity, since there is plenty of hard information, clearly and systematically presented. As a sourcebook for facts, this study should have its uses. As a treatise on communist education, it quite fails to fulfill the expectations raised by the title. Theoretically and analytically, it is inadequate; readers interested in the Albanian system will have to exercise more discrimination than the author has.

NIGEL GRANT, Edinburgh

TUSQUETS, JUAN, *Teoría y Práctica de la Pedagogía Comparada*. Colección Ciencias de la Educación. Madrid: Editorial Magisterio Español, 1969. p. 366. 400 pesetas.

This work is a textbook written by the Director of the Comparative Education Institute at the University of Barcelona. It presents a picture of the field reminiscent of the 1950's, when comparative educators self-consciously struggled with questions of definition, methodology, and boundaries. Its approach is notably philosophical and humanistic, an orientation in marked contrast to recent widespread efforts to give comparative education a more rigorous social-science cast. The author's interest in problems arising from the philosophical, historical, and religious aspects of formal educational systems is apparent throughout. Thus the emphasis is centered on the scholarly contributions of the more traditional European comparative educators in these and related areas. A tabulation of names cited in the index indicates this orientation: Friedrich Schneider leads with 18 citations; the author follows with 15; George Bereday has 13; Thomas Aquinas 10; followed by Freud, Heidegger, Herbart, Lauwerys, Rosselló at nine each, etc.

The work is well-written and clearly presented. There is an extensive bibliography as well as general and author indices. In addition, for those interested in such matters, the book carries the *Nihil Obstat* and *Imprimatur* of the Church Censor.

The organization is in three parts. The first and shortest part, "Teoría de la Pedagogía Comparada" reviews concepts, definitions, methodologies, and historical development of the field of comparative studies in education. A section here on new methods describes and evaluates contributions of Salvador Madariaga, of Edmund King, and of several of the author's Spanish colleagues.

In the second part, an anthology claiming to represent the work of leading European and North American comparative educators is presented in rather uneven translations. Hans writes about British and French colonial educational patterns, Schneider on the Hegelian dialectic in comparative education, Bereday on North American technical assistance, and Lauwerys on Latin American university structure. These examples of theoretical and intuitive work clearly represent a continuing if diminishing part of the field. As a representative example of where comparative education studies and interests are today, however, the selection is obsolete, biased, and deficient. It is as if the movement to create a more scientific comparative education that seeks empirically to test theory in field conditions had never existed; as if the work of such comparative educators as Torsten Husén, C. A. Anderson, Harold Noah, *et al.*, did not exist.

The section following these translations evaluates in considerable detail the essentially humanistic work of five Spanish educators: Ramon Lull and his "el comparatismo apologetico"; María Angeles Galino, who analyzes Robinson Crusoe; José Fernández Huerto, who provides a "multivariate comparison" of school texts; Eugenio d'Ors, "el comparatismo angelico"; and Pedro Rosselló on "corrientes educativas."

In Part Three, "Apartaciones del Autor" – comprising over one-half of the text – the author uses a large number of his earlier essays to illustrate his views on the appropriate uses of methodology. Although philosophical, historical, psycho-sociological, and projective "methods" are examined in great detail, discussion of the scientific method is conspicuous in its total absence.

What is one to say about such a work in 1971? It tells us a good deal about a number of little-known Spanish educators with comparative interests. It also indicates what is currently taught and studied at the Barcelona Institute, as well as in a larger sense conveying something of the intellectual climate in Spain today. But as a university-level textbook for use in comparative-education courses in other Spanish-speaking countries, the book would present an unfortunately antiquated and restricted view of the field.

ROLLAND G. PAULSTON, Pittsburgh, USA

VESSELO, I. R. (ed.), *The Further Training of Mathematics Teachers at Secondary Level*. Report of a meeting of International Experts, Hamburg, October 1968. *International Studies in Education*. 22. Hamburg: Unesco Institute for Education, 1969. pp. 86. DM 10.

The modernisation of mathematics education presents a more complex problem than does that in other subject areas. Apart from the common problems of curriculum reform, pedagogy, evaluation, etc., there is the added difficulty in mathematics that most secondary teachers have been trained, and have had experience in a mathematical language that does not coincide with the language possessed by many of the pupils as they come from the "new math" elementary schools. The secondary teacher needs to translate his accumulated experience with traditional concepts into the new language; and obviously, he must become unrestrainedly fluent in that language. Eventually the problem will be met in the normal course of teacher training: at present, the stopgap solution must involve further training. This problem, and how it may be met, is the frame of reference of this book.

The Unesco Institute for Education has since 1959 been responsible for much pioneering research, and dissemination of research, in the field of pre-university mathematics education. In October 1968, the Institute convened a meeting in Hamburg of nineteen mathematics education experts, from sixteen different countries, specifically to look at this problem of the further training of secondary teachers. This book, ably edited by the British participant I. R. Vesselo, summarizes the findings of this group.

Part I, entitled "The needs of the future", deals with the case for further training, the content and organisation of training programmes, topics and organization of

fundamental research in the area, and the place for international cooperation. Part II, based largely upon questionnaire information, reviews the prevailing situation in many countries with respect to further education (including an interesting tabular between-country comparison of minimal and maximal salaries of secondary teachers). Part I, however, deals with the more practical problems and it deserves the widest attention.

The issues defined and tackled in Part I are the following:

1. The need to "internally motivate" teachers to update their professional expertise. Official exhortations are rightly realized to be only mildly effective. How can teachers be led to overcome their natural reluctance to rethink their life's work? How may each feel it personally important that he undergoes training in modern mathematics and its teaching?
2. The need to persuade educational authorities to spend time and money on further training – including reducing teaching loads for those teachers attending part-time courses without loss of pay.
3. What basic core concepts need to be covered in further training courses? What should the syllabus be?
4. How may courses be most effectively organized – part-time with reduced teaching load; full-time secondment for a term or year?

The answers to these questions will of course vary from country to country, but there are common problems, and basic, internationally valid, advice can be offered. Clearly, detailed research is necessary for particular conditions; but anyone from a director of education to a teacher who wished to know what the scope of the problem is, and where to start in coping with it practically, could do no better than studying the collective wisdom in these pages.

The Unesco Institute, the participants, and I. R. Vesselo, are all to be congratulated for their roles in producing this important, timely, but all too brief document.

JOHN B. BIGGS, Edmonton

WITMAN, SHEPHARD L., *Inter-Institutional Cooperation and International Education. Occasional Report No. 8*. New York: Education and World Affairs, 1969. pp. 72.

One of the interesting developments in international education has been the emergence of cooperative arrangements among higher educational institutions for needed activities, services, and research projects. In this connection, the consortium – to use a current popular term – and the council have been the most common forms of inter-institutional cooperation. This report presents data and ideas on ways of aiding international education through such organizations. The author, a professor of international law and international relations at the University of Pittsburgh, is well fitted for the task of analyzing institutional cooperation; he has achieved recognition for his writings and leadership not only in the United States, but also in other countries.

One underlying principle of this pamphlet is that "inter-institutional cooperation offers the best available means for self-help in the magnitude international educational development requires"; another is that such cooperation "offers the best available vehicle for change in higher education, particularly in regard to its international component" (p. 8). Both convictions are based upon his extensive experience in international educational activity.

A third theme which is often stressed is that of the necessity of finance ("funding" in popular parlance). This is a logical extension of his ideas of speed and "magnitude" of effort in international education. Thus, he argues that "colleges and even universities need too much too fast to achieve these [international] objectives by acting alone. Few can muster the personnel, material and financial resources adequate to the need" (p. 11). From his standpoint, this is especially true of new institutions, which "must move their international education forward largely with their own hard money. Pooling their individual resources is the only way most institutions can do so" (p. 40).

Witman is a constant campaigner for change in higher education. For example, he states in an early paragraph: "There are new attitudes to generate. There are new commitments to make. And all of it costs a great deal of money" (pp. 7-8). The old ways of doing things in international education are no longer adequate. "Today international education efforts are still more imitative and traditional than innovative" (p. 15). Innovation is the key catchword in contemporary education in the United States and in several other countries. Without it, Witman does not see possibilities of progress, particularly with respect to financing. In point of fact, he emphasizes that "many foundations are interested in innovative projects" (p. 18).

The points made by the author are persuasive if one grants his basic premises. However, this reader feels that Witman overestimates the organization as the vehicle of progress in international education and, at the same time, seems to underestimate or even overlook the role of the individual and of small groups. After all, the history of international relations on the higher educational level is at least 2500 years old. It is not too much to say that lone scholars and students in contact with other individuals, whether in or out of institutions, have been the main bearers of the tradition of international education over the centuries. Even with limited or no funds, students and scholars engage in international education and will continue to do so. Perhaps, from Witman's viewpoint, this is inefficient and slow. But the alternative viewpoint would be that the organization, however well-intentioned, well-organized, and well-financed it might be, is not the only or possibly the "best available vehicle" to international education.

Within the framework of his theme, Witman makes useful suggestions and recommendations regarding the services that inter-institutional cooperation can offer. The appendix giving examples of American consortia in international education has reference value, even if it is a bit compressed.

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN, Philadelphia

ZALESKI, E.; KOZŁOWSKI, J. P.; WIENERT, H.; DAVIES, R. W.; BERRY, M. J.; AMANN, R., *Science Policy in the USSR*. Paris: OECD, 1969. pp. 615. \$ 15. £ 5. Sfr. 57. DM 50.

Obwohl die wissenschaftlichen und technischen Erfolge in der UdSSR seit über einem Jahrzehnt Aufsehen in der ganzen Welt erregt haben, gab es bisher doch keine ausführliche Gesamtdarstellung der sowjetischen Wissenschaftspolitik. Außerhalb der Sowjetunion sind inzwischen Teilgebiete behandelt worden, wie etwa der Bereich von "Forschung und Entwicklung" in der UdSSR (Korol, 1967), Grundfragen der Wissenschaftsorganisation (Meyer, 1959 und 1963), das "manpower"-Problem (DeWitt, 1961; Freeman and Young, 1965), oder es liegen Studien vor über die Organisationsstruktur einzelner Teilsysteme, wie das der Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR (Vucinich, 1956; Kasack, 1967; Graham, 1967). Innerhalb der Sowjetunion sind im wesentlichen ebenfalls nur Arbeiten über Teilgebiete erschienen, so über Wissenschaft und Fortschritt (Račkov, 1963), die Akademie der Wissenschaften (Knjazev und Kol'cov, *Kratkij očerk istorii Akademii nauk SSSR*, 1964, 3. Aufl.; Komkov u.a., *Akademija nauk SSSR – Štab sovetskoj nauki*, 1968) oder das Hochschulwesen (Čutkerašvili, 1961; *Vysšaja škola za 50 let*, 1967); die meisten dieser Arbeiten lassen jedoch oft genug erschöpfende Informationen vermissen.

In der vorliegenden, umfangreichen Publikation behandeln ausgewiesene Sachkenner sämtliche Aspekte der sowjetischen Wissenschaftspolitik, so daß ein zwar nicht immer leicht lesbares, aber gründlich gearbeitetes Sammelwerk entstanden ist, das über die Wissenschaftspolitik der UdSSR verläßlich Auskunft gibt. Über die Bedeutung dieser Thematik und deren Stellenwert in der internationalen Diskussion dürfte kaum ein Zweifel bestehen.

Im ersten Teil untersucht E. Zaleski (Paris) auf S. 37–129 die Planungsgrundlagen von "R & D" (*Research and Development*). Da sich ja in der Sowjetunion R & D immer innerhalb des staatlichen Rahmens vollziehen, kommt der Organisationsform entscheidende Bedeutung zu. Ebenso wichtig ist das Kriterium der ökonomischen Effizienz, die im Laufe der sechziger Jahre immer stärker die Organisation des Planungssystems beeinflußt hat. Besonders hervorzuheben ist die genaue Darstellung der höchsten zuständigen Behörde, des "Staatskomitees der UdSSR für Wissenschaft und Technik", dessen innere Struktur Zaleski ausführlich wiedergibt.

Der Autor des zweiten Kapitels, J. P. Kozłowski (Washington), kann in seinem Beitrag über die Personalreserven für Wissenschaft und Technik in der UdSSR (S. 131–187) an verschiedene *manpower*-Studien aus den letzten Jahren anknüpfen, um ein fast vollständiges Bild der sowjetischen Kaderpolitik zu zeichnen. Neben reichen Materialangaben, die vor allem den Statistischen Jahrbüchern der UdSSR entnommen sind, bringt der Autor Hinweise auf Schwerpunktgebiete fachlicher Art (Ingenieurausbildung und Lehrerbildung); außerdem macht er auf das Problem der wissenschaftlichen Graduierung der Hochschullehrer und des wissenschaftlichen Personals aufmerksam, das aus der Spannung zwischen Qualität und Quantität herrührt. Die fast ausschließliche Verwendung sowjetischer Statistiken birgt jedoch die Gefahr in sich, daß man den in der Sowjetunion verwendeten Begriffen, Definitionen und Kategorien, die sich mit westlichen Entsprechungen gerade auf diesem Gebiet keineswegs decken, zu stark folgt. Der Verfasser ist dieser Gefahr nicht immer entgangen.

Im dritten und vierten Teil werden von H. Wienert (Paris) zwei große Subsysteme innerhalb der sowjetischen Wissenschaftsorganisation unter dem Blickpunkt von Organisation und Planung behandelt, nämlich die Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR (S. 189–287) und das Hochschulwesen (S. 289–375). Bei der Reform der sowjetischen Akademie von 1961 bis 1963 ging es um das Verhältnis zwischen Grundlagenforschung und angewandter Forschung; daß schließlich fast nur die Grundlagenforschung im Bereich der Akademie verblieb und die Zweckforschung auf institutionellem Wege "näher an die Industrie herangeführt" wurde, hat der Akademie ihre Planungsaufgaben erleichtert und ihrem Ansehen im Lande wie in der Welt keineswegs geschadet. Die Autorin hat es verstanden, die komplizierte Struktur des Akademie-Systems zu verdeutlichen; dasselbe ist ihr auch hinsichtlich der sowjetischen Hochschulen – deren Zahl inzwischen auf 800 angewachsen ist – hinreichend gelungen. (Wurde das wichtige Handbuch der sowjetischen Hochschulen, der jährlich erscheinende *Spravočnik dlja postupajuščich v VUZy*, für die S. 297, 299 u.a. übersehen?) Deutlich kommt die enge Bindung der Hochschulbildung an die von der Volkswirtschaft materiell, fachlich, personell und terminlich diktierten Erfordernisse zum Ausdruck.

Das letzte Kapitel, von R. Amann, M. J. Berry und R. W. Davies (University of Birmingham), bringt unter der Überschrift "Science and Industry in the USSR," S. 377–557, noch einmal eine reich belegte, grundsätzliche Zusammenfassung der Hauptprobleme der sowjetischen Wissenschaftspolitik in der Gegenwart. Die Verfasser kommen dabei zu dem Ergebnis, daß seit den fünfziger Jahren in der sowjetischen Entwicklung und Forschung ein bemerkenswerter Aufschwung stattgefunden hat, wenn auch bestimmte, offensichtlich aus der Struktur des Planungsmechanismus herrührende, bürokratische Hemmnisse sich immer wieder erschwerend auswirkten, vor allem dort, wo es um die rasche und effektive Einführung wissenschaftlicher Forschungsergebnisse in die industrielle Produktion geht. Hier liegen immer noch Schwierigkeiten bei der technischen *innovation*, die wohl systembedingt und daher auch durch Teilreformen (wie etwa eine zunehmende Zentralisierung) nicht zu beheben sind.

Im ganzen sind die meisten Beiträge eher deskriptiv als analytisch abgefaßt worden, was sicherlich mit den schwierigen Materialvoraussetzungen zusammenhängt. Durch mühevollen Arbeit mußten sowjetische Zeitschriften und Zeitungen ausgewertet werden, weil darin oftmals Einzelinformationen enthalten sind, die in die statistischen Sammelwerke der UdSSR nicht eingehen. In dieser systematischen Materialaufbereitung liegt denn auch der Hauptwert der Veröffentlichung. Zahlreiche Tabellen, Schaubilder und Übersichten spiegeln ziemlich genau den Stand der Information wider, der ausgangs der sechziger Jahre über die sowjetische Wissenschaftspolitik erfaßbar ist. Die beigelegten Literaturangaben sind, auch als Auswahllverzeichnis, leider völlig unzureichend geblieben.

Für den Leser ergibt sich insgesamt der Eindruck, daß in der modernen Wissenschaftspolitik Wissenschaft und Ökonomie eng miteinander zusammenhängen. Das ist keineswegs nur in der Sowjetunion der Fall; da hier jedoch, wie in der vorliegenden Studie überzeugend nachgewiesen wird, die Fragen von Planungssystem und Organisationsstruktur als grundlegend angesehen werden, läßt sich dieses Organisationssystem als ein Modell eigener Prägung auffassen. Einem internationalen Vergleich, etwa unter bildungsökonomischen Aspekten, stehen bisher erhebliche Schwierigkeiten entgegen, die vor allem in gesellschaftspolitischen Voraussetzungen

ihre Ursache haben. Dennoch macht gerade die Lektüre dieses Buches deutlich, daß eine konsequent geführte Wissenschaftspolitik zu einem internationalen Phänomen geworden ist und sich allenthalben ähnlichen Aufgaben gegenüberstellt. Ihre Auswirkungen sind so vielgestaltig, daß sie nicht nur auf Wissenschaft und Technik, sondern auch auf Bildung und Erziehung einen stets wachsenden Einfluß ausüben.

KLAUS MEYER, Berlin

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED JUNE–DECEMBER 1970
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except those already reviewed. The mention of a book in this list does not preclude a later review.

mit Ausnahme von solchen, die bereits besprochen worden sind. Die Aufnahme eines Buches in diese Liste schließt eine spätere Besprechung nicht aus.

exception faite de celles qui ont déjà été analysées. L'énumération d'un livre dans cette liste n'exclut pas une analyse ultérieure.

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He has published numerous articles on educational planning, technical assistance, environmental education and the political aspects of education.

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FORTHCOMING ISSUE

The next issue will be a Special Number edited by Professor Michaya Shimbori, Hiroshima University, devoted to the theme:

THE NOTION OF MODERN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Among the contributions will be:

Michaya SHIMBORI, Japan	Educational Sociology or Sociology of Education?
C. Arnold ANDERSON, USA	Salient Research Themes in the Sociology of Education in the United States
Joseph BEN-DAVID, Israel	Science and the University System
Rob WALKER, UK	The Sociology of Education and Life in School Classrooms
Ronald G. CORWIN, USA	Organizational Structure and Educational Innovation in Urbanized Regions of the United States: Some Directions for Cross-National Research

The Number will also include communications on the development of Educational Sociology in a number of countries: Australia, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, New Zealand, Poland, United Kingdom.

COMMERCIAL STUDIES IN WESTERN EUROPE

by DESMOND ANDERSON, London

A marked expansion has taken place in recent decades in the tertiary sectors of Western European economies, that is, in that part of total output not attributable to agriculture, mining and manufacturing. The tertiary sector includes services such as transport and public administration, the professions and commerce, and now accounts for up to one-half of total employment in the advanced countries of Western Europe. Commerce, narrowly defined as distribution, both wholesale and retail, together with banking, insurance and real estate, gave employment to between 14% and 16% of the economically active populations in Western Europe in the 1960s. In addition, there has been a tendency, even within manufacturing industry, for clerical employment to increase more than proportionately to the increase in total employment. Thus, in Great Britain in 1961, clerical workers accounted for 11% of total employment in manufacturing industry, as compared with under 5% in 1921.¹⁾

The relationship between the growth of commercial and clerical employment on the one hand and the educational response on the other is clearly a complex one, for the requirements of commerce include not only a continuing supply of commercial skills but also minimum standards of literacy. Nicholas Hans was one of the few scholars to have attempted to incorporate education for commerce into the wider field of technical education. Limiting his analysis to higher education in Europe, Hans found a relationship between the phases in the process of industrialisation and the emergence of corresponding forms of higher technical institutions. Thus, most of the mining and agricultural institutes were founded in the period 1750-1850, most engineering schools, outside of the Soviet Union, proved to be of nineteenth century origin while commercial institutes were found to be a feature of the twentieth century; and this pattern of development reflected certain undefined phases of industrial change.²⁾ However, Hans noted that even though England in the eighteenth century was in advance of other countries in mining, agriculture and commerce, higher technical institutions failed to develop for political reasons. Thus industrialisation alone cannot be seen as a sufficient condition for the emergence of technical institutions. Further, an examination of the origins of particular institutes makes it clear that industrialisation need not even be a necessary condition. For example, perhaps the first technological institute in Europe, the *Ecole Polytechnique*, was founded in 1794 not primarily to serve the

needs of French industry, but to train the engineers needed by the administration and the armed forces.

An extension of Hans' analysis to lower-level technical and vocational schools, however, yields conclusions that are not fully in agreement with those reached for the higher institutions. Technical schools for industry are a product of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Western Europe, with an early development in France and Belgium. The major growth of technical schools in the Netherlands towards the end of the nineteenth century may be ascribed to that country's relatively late industrialisation. However, with regard to agricultural schools, countries such as Denmark and Belgium experienced their fastest growth in the late nineteenth century. The development of these schools was a response not to any particular phase of the industrialisation process but to the onset of a period of agricultural depression in Western Europe.

Nevertheless, if there is a close relationship between the industrialisation process and the emergence of particular forms of technical education, then the present-day growth in the tertiary sectors of Western European economies and, especially, the increase in commercial and clerical employment will be a factor influencing the development of their educational systems. It is appropriate, therefore, to examine the origins of contemporary systems of commercial education in a number of Western European countries. The countries chosen, Belgium, Denmark, England and Ireland, are representative of important traditions in Western European education and from such a comparative study may emerge answers to difficult questions regarding the nature of commercial studies and their place in a school system.

Historical Development

Systems of commercial education in Western Europe have their roots in particular social and economic developments of the second half of the nineteenth century. In Denmark, after 1857, the guild system gave way to a voluntary growth of trade associations serving agricultural, industrial and commercial interests. They accepted responsibility for the vocational education and training of their young employees and in Aarhus, in 1865, a trade association founded the first commercial school in Denmark.³⁾ Young shop-assistants studied Danish, German, English, commercial arithmetic and business correspondence in this school and the example set by Aarhus was followed by other associations. In 1880, the Association for the Education of Young Business Men was founded in Copenhagen and in the following year, a school of languages was started, to become in 1909 a full commercial school.

Some uniformity in the provision of commercial education was achieved

in 1891 when the traders of Jutland agreed on a common curriculum in their schools. Henceforth, young entrants to commerce would attend a 3-year course of 6 hours per week in appropriate subjects and by 1909 this came to be the common pattern throughout Denmark. Operated on a part-time basis, these schools were financed and organised by the trade associations who had full jurisdiction over the conditions of employment of their young workers.

Schools of the kind described catered for young workers released by their employers for part-time attendance. Others employed in commerce had resort to evening schools, run by voluntary bodies, offering a variety of subjects of a general nature. Although the Evening School Act of 1930 stressed the non-vocational nature of evening school study, it allowed the teaching of commercial subjects if alternative facilities were not available. In consequence, a number of evening schools were able to offer type-writing, shorthand and book-keeping; but especially popular has been the study of foreign languages, particularly German and English.

Although England, like Denmark, can point to a limited provision of commercial education prior to 1800, the foundations of her present-day system were laid in the nineteenth century. A small number of private schools in the early part of the century included in their curricula subjects such as commercial arithmetic; and the mechanics institutions were offering general courses of evening study containing some commercial subjects.

Only limited progress was made in commercial education in the second half of the century despite the growth of England's commercial economy. Frequent reference was made at the time to the poor provision of such studies in England as compared, for example, with France⁴) and, among the explanations for this relative neglect, three were of primary importance. First, business enterprises gave little encouragement to the promotion of commercial studies in schools. Unlike their Danish counterparts, the English Chambers of Commerce did not organise a system of commercial schools nor did they accept direct responsibility for the education and training of young entrants to commerce. Second, nineteenth century England lacked a national framework of secondary schools in which commercial studies could develop. Finally, there was an emergence of professional associations after 1880, arising out of the expansion in demand for accountants, bank clerks and the like. These associations enforced minimum standards of education and training before granting full membership and such professional studies came to be the responsibility of particular associations whose examinations could be prepared for at work, by correspondence courses and by private study.

In contrast to the situation in England, Belgian commercial education gained impetus from the existence of a national system of secondary schools following the School Law of 1850. Higher elementary schools, together with a small number of industrial or commercial schools, were redefined as intermediate schools (*écoles moyennes*) in order to provide a 3-year course of secondary education based on languages and mathematics. The academic secondary schools (*athénées*) would offer a similar 3-year course of general studies leading to more intensive work in the final two years. In these latter two years, the available areas of specialisation in the *athénée* were science or industry or commerce.

Belgian commercial education benefited also from a development of professional schools for girls. For example, three such schools were founded in Brussels between 1865 and 1888⁵). A 4-year course in general studies was combined with opportunity to emphasise subjects of vocational value to girls. Thus, prospective office-workers could give special attention to book-keeping, languages and office-skills.

The late nineteenth century saw a re-examination of the function of the *école moyenne*. More emphasis was given to pre-vocational studies and of these the commercial section proved to be the most popular. This 2-year course included the commercial history and geography of Belgium, commercial science, law and office-skills. It was open to pupils who had completed 2 years in the *école moyenne* or had reached an equivalent standard.

The situation in Ireland in the nineteenth century was in marked contrast to that in Belgium. Commercial expansion was slow so that by 1890 only 83,000 employees were engaged in commerce, compared with more than 600,000 in industry. Nor did Ireland possess a system of post-primary education comparable with that of Belgium. Nevertheless, some commerce was being taught in Irish schools in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1868, the Powis Commission found book-keeping to be one of the post-primary subjects available in some of the schools of the Irish Christian Brothers. An Intermediate Education Act passed in 1878 included an amendment to extend, "as far as may be convenient, the benefit of this Act to the education of girls" and among the new subjects that henceforth could be included in the secondary curriculum was shorthand.⁶) Further recognition of commercial studies came in 1890. A new "commercial course" was devised for boys and girls aged from 12 years, in which the compulsory subjects were English, arithmetic, algebra, a foreign language and book-keeping and accounts. However, the promotion of this course in Irish secondary schools was impaired by the system of school payments then in force. Under that system larger grants were available

for pupil successes in literary subjects and the effect of this was to discourage the teaching of commercial subjects.

Comparative Observations

An examination of commercial education in these four countries today reveals divergences in underlying attitudes. Denmark has an integrated system of specialised schools covering the whole range of commercial studies up to degree level. Still controlled by trade associations, they constitute an impressive model of a vocational approach to commercial education, for commercial studies have no place in the general school system and so cannot be embarked upon until the age of 16. Denmark contrasts with Belgium where, despite the changes now taking place in the lower cycle of the secondary school, that is in the age range 12-15, it may still be possible for a pupil to choose a pre-vocational commerce course at the age of 12 years. In both England and Ireland, commercial courses have developed most strongly within the technical education system and so are available principally to pupils aged over 15 years. Nevertheless the general secondary schools of these two countries have accepted commercial subjects as an elective element in their curricula and in this respect they differ from Denmark. Commerce is an increasingly popular subject in Irish secondary schools while in England economics has been expanding more rapidly than most other G.C.E. examination subjects.

The four countries exhibit marked contrasts, also, with regard to the place of foreign languages in commercial education. In England and Ireland, a foreign language is at most an elective subject in any commercial course. Denmark, where the continued study of one or two foreign languages is an essential part of commercial courses at all levels, is typical of a number of Western European countries. In Belgium, for example, in the commerce branch of the upper *athénée* programme, as much as 40% of the time may be given to languages, including the two mother-tongues.

Thus languages are an important component of commercial education in Denmark and Belgium, as well as in other countries such as the Netherlands, whereas the reverse is the case in England and Ireland. It is important to note, however, that this does not indicate differing approaches to commercial education, for the same contrast holds good throughout their educational systems. For example, in the general secondary schools of Denmark and Belgium it is common to find more than one-third of a pupil's timetable given to languages.

Determining Factors

Factors influencing the growth of commercial education in any country

can be classified into two categories. The first includes exogenous factors: those which operate from outside the educational system. Among these is the growth of commercial employment, which imposes on the school system new demands for both general and specific skills. It is difficult to assess the influence of commercial expansion on the growth of commercial education in any country because of difficulties relating to the nature of employment statistics and also because commerce is a term used to describe not one but many activities extending right across the economy. The employment of office staff in manufacturing industry is one example of this and it may be that a good general education is as appropriate a preparation for some clerical occupations as is a specialised commercial course.

The attitude of business to commercial education is another exogenous factor which is difficult to measure. One may compare favourable attitudes, such as those found in nineteenth century Denmark where businessmen valued the growth of commercial schools, with the more hesitant attitudes exemplified in nineteenth century England where the belief was widely held that business experience itself was the best form of commercial education.

Another exogenous factor consists of the impact of technological change within commerce. The general acceptance of the typewriter in offices since the early twentieth century has had a strong impact on the provision of commercial education for girls. The acquisition of typewriting skill has a definite monetary value to the recipient and that is why typewriting, with shorthand, has formed such an important part of commercial education provision in Western European countries; for, unlike the specific skills used in manufacturing industry, typewriting is a skill that, for the most part, must be acquired before entry into secretarial employment.

The second category comprises those factors that influence the development of commercial studies from *within* the educational system. One such endogenous factor is the existing provision of secondary education. Commercial studies incorporate not only those subjects, such as book-keeping, that have exclusive relevance to business but also others, such as the mother-tongue, that are part of a general education. In countries such as Ireland where, in the past, access to academic secondary schools has been limited, there may be a tendency to regard commercial courses in technical schools as a substitute for an academic secondary education; and this is one reason why the commercial courses in Ireland's vocational schools were designed as courses of general education.

The organisation of further education is another endogenous factor. Denmark's commercial schools fit into a general pattern of post-primary

education, having as their counterparts the agricultural and technical schools. This contrasts with the poly-technical character of the English technical colleges with their departmental emphases on engineering, science, building and commerce.

Finally, the breadth of treatment accorded to secondary school programmes in many Western European countries is evident also in their commercial school courses; and, similarly, in England the high degree of specialisation allowed in the upper secondary school is found also in the national diploma courses in business studies. That is to say, attitudes to curriculum determination in the secondary schools permeate other parts of the school system, including those dealing with commercial studies.

Western Europe exhibits no real uniformity in the development and promotion of commercial education. Unlike technical education for industry which rests upon a basic competence in mathematics, commercial education lacks a unifying foundation discipline. Secretarial studies demand a knowledge of language and its transmission, whereas accountancy requires computational skill. Economics, law and statistics are among the subjects capable of providing a foundation for business administration. Yet if economics and law are commercial studies to some, they are social sciences to others. Even typewriting, with its evident vocational application, may be learnt for reasons unconnected with clerical employment. It is not surprising, therefore, that commercial studies in Western Europe exhibit considerable diversity and in countries like Belgium and Denmark the range of subjects offered is such as to constitute a type of general education. Indeed, there appears to be a tendency for commercial studies to evolve into a particular form of general education, one incorporating linguistic, computational and manual (keyboard) skills within a framework of social sciences.

NOTES

1) Manpower Studies No. 7, *Employment in Offices in Great Britain*. London: HMSO, 1968.

2) N. HANS, "New Professional Demands in Europe". *Higher Education. Yearbook of Education 1959*. Edited by Joseph A. Lauwerys and David G. Scanlon. London: Evans Brothers, 1959, pp. 58-67.

3) Report from the Danish Government to the Council of Europe. *Commercial Education in Denmark*. Copenhagen: n.d.

4) M. A. DALVI, "A Historical Survey of Commercial Education in England, 1543-1902". *Comparative Education Review*, 9, 1965, pp. 170-176.

5) V. MALLINSON, *Power and Politics in Belgian Education*. London: Heinemann, 1963, p. 192.

6) Department of Education, *The Curriculum of the Secondary School*. Dublin: The Stationery Office, 1960.

LES ETUDES COMMERCIALES EN EUROPE OCCIDENTALE

par DESMOND ANDERSON, London

La gamme actuelle des fonctions commerciales et de bureau chez les puissances économiques en plein essor d'Europe occidentale est un facteur qui influencera vraisemblablement le développement de l'éducation post-primaire dans les années 70. Les systèmes contemporains d'éducation commerciale des pays d'Europe occidentale ont pour base les développements socio-économiques de la seconde moitié du 19^e siècle. Le fait d'étendre l'éducation post-primaires aux filles, entraînant la création d'écoles professionnelles pour filles en Belgique et dans d'autres pays, a permis l'élaboration de programmes d'étude qui comprenaient des sujets présentant un intérêt professionnel pour celles-ci. Le développement simultané du commerce en Europe occidentale et la mécanisation croissante des bureaux ont facilité l'introduction de disciplines commerciales dans ces écoles et dans d'autres. En même temps, des cours commerciaux dans des instituts du soir et ailleurs ont offert une forme d'éducation post-primaire à ceux qui n'ont pas pu accéder à une école secondaire académique.

La place des études commerciales dans un système scolaire d'aujourd'hui dépend de l'attitude qu'un pays adopte vis-à-vis de l'éducation post-primaire plutôt que de quelques revendications spécifiques des cours commerciaux. C'est pourquoi, les écoles commerciales au Danemark prennent place dans un cadre d'études post-primaires, ayant comme contreparties les écoles agricoles et les *folkehøjskole*. Par opposition, les cours commerciaux en Angleterre et en Irlande sont surtout fréquents dans les écoles techniques pour des raisons associées à l'attitude générale face à l'éducation professionnelle. C'est ainsi que les langues modernes constituent une partie importante des cours commerciaux dans ces pays, comme d'ailleurs en Belgique et aux Pays-Bas, où les langues jouent généralement un rôle important dans les écoles.

On découvre donc une grande variété de points de vue face à l'éducation commerciale en Europe occidentale et ceci reflète en partie la diversité des activités associées au commerce, comme les divers points de vue sur l'éducation. De façon générale, on s'accorde sur le fait que les études commerciales comprennent des connaissances linguistiques et arithmétiques, et des travaux manuels dans le cadre des sciences sociales. Ce que l'on offre, ainsi, c'est une forme particulière d'éducation générale.

HANDELSCHULEN IN WESTEUROPA

von DESMOND ANDERSON, London

Der gegenwärtige hohe Anteil von Angestellten in kaufmännischen und Büroberufen in den hochentwickelten Wirtschaftssystemen Westeuropas ist ein Faktor, der mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit die Entwicklung der Sekundärerziehung in den siebziger Jahren beeinflussen wird. Die gegenwärtige Struktur der Handelsschulen in westeuropäischen Ländern hat ihre Wurzeln in den sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklungen der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Die Ausweitung der Sekundärerziehung auf Mädchen, die zu der Gründung von Berufsschulen für Mädchen zunächst in Belgien und dann auch in anderen Ländern führte, brachte es mit sich,

daß Curricula so abgefaßt wurden, daß sie auch Fächer enthielten, die für Mädchen einen berufsbezogenen Wert darstellten. Das gleichzeitige Anwachsen der Handels- und Wirtschaftssysteme Westeuropas und die zunehmende Verwendung von Büromaschinen erleichterte die Einführung handels- und bürobezogener Fächer in verschiedene Schultypen. Zugleich boten Handelskurse in Abendschulen und anderen vergleichbaren Institutionen denjenigen eine Art von Sekundärbildung, denen der Zugang zu einer akademischen Sekundärbildung versagt geblieben war.

Der Stellenwert von Handelsschulen innerhalb eines Schulsystems ist heutzutage im wesentlichen abhängig von der allgemeinen Konzeption der Sekundärbildung, die ein Land entwickelt hat; er spiegelt weniger die spezifischen Erfordernisse der handelsbezogenen Fächer wider. So fügen sich Dänemarks Handelsschulen in die Struktur der Sekundärbildung ein, indem sie als Entsprechungen die Landwirtschafts- und Volkshochschulen aufweisen. Im Gegensatz dazu sind in England und Irland Handelskurse vorwiegend in technischen Schulen und Colleges vorzufinden; die Gründe dafür liegen mehr im Bereich der Einstellung zur Berufsbildung. In ähnlicher Weise zeigt sich, daß in solchen Ländern wie in Belgien und den Niederlanden, wo Sprachen ganz allgemein im Schulsystem eine große Bedeutung zugeschrieben wird, die Unterrichtung moderner Sprachen einen Hauptteil des Curriculums in Handelsschulen ausmacht.

Man kann somit erhebliche Unterschiede feststellen, wenn man die verschiedenen Arten von Handelsschulen in Westeuropa betrachtet. Zum einen spiegelt das die Vielfalt der Aktivitäten wider, die sich im Handel ergeben, zum anderen sind auch die verschiedenen Bildungskonzeptionen der einzelnen Länder deutlich darin zu erkennen. Es ist indes allgemein anerkannt, daß Berufsbildung im Bereich des Handels ebenso sprachliche wie arithmetische und manuelle Fähigkeiten innerhalb des Bezugsrahmens der Sozialwissenschaften umfaßt; man kann daher sagen, daß das angebotene Curriculum tatsächlich eine besondere Form der Allgemeinbildung darstellt.

ENTWICKLUNGSTENDENZEN IN SCHWEDISCHEN SEKUNDAR- UND HOCHSCHULEN ¹⁾

von HORST HÖRNER, Heidelberg

“Ziel des öffentlichen Unterrichts an Kindern und Jugendlichen ist es, den Schülern Kenntnisse zu vermitteln, ihre Fertigkeiten auszubilden und in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Elternhaus die Entwicklung der Schüler zu tauglichen und verantwortungsbewußten Gliedern der Gesellschaft zu fördern.”

So lautet der erste Paragraph des schwedischen Schulgesetzes von 1962.²⁾ Diesen Gesetzesparagraphen findet man wieder in den Lehrplänen für die Grund-, Fach- und Berufsschule sowie im Lehrplan für das Gymnasium und die “neue gymnasiale Schule”. Dort ist er jeweils in den Kapiteln enthalten, in denen Ziele und Aufgaben der Schule bestimmt werden. Die hier postulierten erzieherischen Funktionen gelten für alle Schularten in gleicher Weise und sind somit Ausdruck einer einheitlichen Bildungspolitik.

Bei der Explikation dieser allgemeinen Zielbestimmung wird in den Lehrplänen und entsprechenden Gutachten die Förderung *aller* Entwicklungsfähigen Anlagen als erstes und wichtigstes Teilziel gefordert. Die Parole, an der sich alle schulische Arbeit zu orientieren hat, heißt *eleven i centrum* (der Schüler stehe im Mittelpunkt). Die Schule hat sich demnach in erster Linie um eine individuelle Erziehung zu bemühen. Die individuellen Gegebenheiten des Schülers, seine Anlagen, Interessen und Neigungen sind richtungweisend für den Unterricht und die äußere Organisation eines Schulsystems, das sich einem derartigen Ziel verpflichtet weiß.

Der einzelne Schüler steht aber keinesfalls in einem sozialen Vakuum, sondern ist als Individuum immer auch Mitmensch und Mitbürger. Damit ergibt sich für die Schule eine weitere Aufgabe: Der Heranwachsende muß für das Leben in der Gesellschaft vorbereitet werden. Er muß lernen, in der Gesellschaft zu leben und mit “Menschen unterschiedlicher Herkunft und verschiedener Begabung zusammenzuarbeiten”.³⁾ Neben der individuellen Erziehung gehört deshalb in den genannten Lehrplänen die soziale Erziehung mit zum Aufgabenbereich des Bildungswesens, so daß mit diesen sozialerzieherischen Forderungen auch die Interessen der Gesellschaft berücksichtigt werden.

Damit sind die beiden Positionen genannt, von denen aus die Diskussion um die schwedische Schulreform geführt wurde und auch weiterhin geführt wird: Gesellschaft und Individuum. “Die Bedürfnisse des Individuums und die Forderungen der Gesellschaft sind in verschiedener Hin-

sicht für die Inhalte, Formen und die Organisation schulischer Tätigkeit bestimmend." In dieser Standardformel – entnommen dem Lehrplan für die Gymnasialschule ⁴⁾ – wird das dialektische Verhältnis von Individuum und Gesellschaft transparent.

Im folgenden soll nun versucht werden, die für die Entwicklung des schwedischen Schulwesens relevanten Interpretationsmodi dieses dialektischen Verhältnisses vorzustellen und auf ihren Geltungsanspruch in der Erziehungswirklichkeit zu überprüfen.

Mit der Einführung der schwedischen Grundschule ⁵⁾ im Jahre 1962 versuchte man, den Bedürfnissen des Individuums unter anderem durch folgende organisatorische und pädagogische Neuerungen gerecht zu werden:

- die Verlängerung der Schulpflicht auf neun Jahre
- die Schaffung von Möglichkeiten für eine permanente Durchlässigkeit
- ein ausgewogenes Angebot von theoretisch und praktisch orientierten Fächern.

Durch die Einführung der neunjährigen Grundschule – einer Einheitschule – und der damit verbundenen Verlängerung der obligatorischen Schulzeit auf neun Jahre sollte allen Schülern eine Grundausbildung garantiert werden, die man am besten mit dem pragmatisch orientierten schwedischen Begriff "allmänbildning" (Allgemeinbildung) charakterisiert. Zur Allgemeinbildung, wie sie die Schweden verstehen, gehören alle diejenigen Bildungsgüter, "die das Leben in der demokratischen Gesellschaft fordert und von denen man erwarten kann, daß sie jedermann nötig hat." ⁶⁾

Durch die Schaffung eines Systems, das bis ins 8. Schuljahr eine permanente Durchlässigkeit erlaubt, und durch eine Differenzierung nach Neigung und Interesse, war es prinzipiell jedem Schüler gestattet, sich in den verschiedenen Fächern zu versuchen, ohne sich den weiteren Bildungsweg zu verbauen.

Die bisherige Kluft zwischen theoretischer und praktischer Begabung versuchte man dadurch zu überbrücken, daß man bei der Planung der Oberstufe in den einzelnen Wahlpflichtfachkombinationen und Linien beide Schwerpunkte berücksichtigt hat. (Im 7. und 8. Schuljahr wurden den Schülern für 5 bzw. 7 Wochenstunden verschiedene Wahlpflichtfachkombinationen angeboten. Im 9. Schuljahr standen 9 verschiedene Züge zur Wahl).

Welche gesellschaftlichen Interessen sind mit der Einführung der neunjährigen Grundschule verbunden? Sicher wird jede Industrienation an einer allgemeinen Anhebung des Bildungs- bzw. Ausbildungsniveaus größtes Interesse haben. Mit der Verlängerung der Schulzeit und der Er-

weiterung des Fächerkanons ist dem sicherlich in organisatorischer Hinsicht Rechnung getragen. Eine demokratische Gesellschaft wird sich darüber hinaus aber auch für eine Demokratisierung ihres Bildungssystems engagieren. Die Demokratisierungsbemühungen innerhalb der Grundschule zeigen sich unter anderem in der Verschiebung des Selektionsprozesses auf einen möglichst späten Zeitpunkt, was eine lange Beibehaltung von heterogenen Begabungsklassen bedeutet. Dies wären die charakteristischen Grundzüge der "grundskola", wie sie von 1962 bis zum Ende des Sommerhalbjahres 1970 bestand.

Seit dem Beginn des Schuljahres 1970/71 liegt ein neuer Lehrplan vor, mit dem die Grundschuloberstufe wesentliche Veränderungen erfahren hat. Mit dieser jüngsten Reform wurden die bisherigen Wahlpflichtfachkombinationen im 7. und 8. Schuljahr sowie die Differenzierung in neun Linien im 9. Schuljahr abgeschafft. Stattdessen werden die Fächer Kunst, Wirtschaftskunde, Technik, Deutsch oder Französisch mit drei, bzw. vier Wochenstunden als Wahlpflichtfächer angeboten. Die einzige organisatorische Leistungsdifferenzierung auf der Oberstufe besteht im Angebot eines allgemeinen und eines mehr spezialisierten 7) Kurses in den Fächern Mathematik und Englisch.

Welche Überlegungen stehen hinter dieser Oberstufenreform der Grundschule? Es hat sich im Laufe der Jahre gezeigt, daß die Erwartung der Reformer, die Differenzierung innerhalb der bisherigen Struktur und Organisation der Grundschule würde nach Neigung und Interesse der Schüler stattfinden, sich nicht erfüllt hat. Die Verteilung der Schüler auf die verschiedenen Züge im 9. Schuljahr 8) zeigt deutlich, daß hier von einer fachlich bestimmten Interessenwahl keine Rede mehr sein kann.⁹⁾

Über 50% aller Schüler besuchten 9 g und 9 h, die beiden Züge nämlich, die direkt zum Gymnasium führten. Ein Vergleich dieser Verteilung mit den Untersuchungsergebnissen Härnquists¹⁰⁾ berechtigt zu der Annahme, daß nicht in erster Linie Interesse und Neigung, sondern vielmehr der Sozialstatus und das Prestigedenken der Eltern für die Schullaufbahn der meisten Grundschüler bestimmend war. Unterstützt wird diese These durch weitere Untersuchungen von K. Härnquist und Å. Grahm,¹¹⁾ in denen deutlich wird, daß auch nach dem Besuch der neunjährigen Grundschule eine relativ große Korrelation zwischen Sozialstatus und Besuch des Gymnasiums besteht. Mit anderen Worten: Durch die Differenzierung nach Interesse und Neigung konnte eine soziale Selektion beim Übergang auf das Gymnasium nicht verhindert werden. Auch Reuterberg¹²⁾ hat in einer Untersuchung über die Wahl des Studienganges von Schülern, die gerade noch ausreichende Leistungen hatten, festgestellt, daß in der neunjährigen Grundschule vom 9. Schuljahr an im neuen Schul-

system zusätzlich 44% der Schüler aus der Sozialschicht 1 die theoretischen Züge wählten, während der entsprechende Anstieg bei Schülern aus der Sozialschicht 3 nur 10% betrug. Das heißt, die Struktur und Organisation der bisherigen Grundschule reichten offensichtlich noch nicht aus, um die gewünschte Gleichheit der Bildungschancen, das erklärte Ziel der Grundschule, zu garantieren. Die Wahl nach Interessen und Neigungen erwies sich in sozialer Hinsicht sogar als eine Verstärkung des Selektionsprinzips. Die bevorzugte Wahl der theoretischen Züge seitens der oberen Sozialschichten einerseits und andererseits der Wille, allen Schichten in gleicher Weise dieselben Bildungsmöglichkeiten zu bieten, führten nicht nur zur Reform der Grundschuloberstufe, sondern bestimmten auch das Bezugssystem, in das die nun anstehenden Reformen des sekundären und tertiären Bildungsbereichs einzuordnen sind.

Im Jahre 1969 beschloß der schwedische Reichstag, mit Beginn des Schuljahres 1971/72 das bisherige Sekundarschulwesen – bestehend aus

Übersicht über die neue Gymnasialschule

Züge	Dauer in Jahren	Zweige (Varianten)
1. Bekleidungstechnik	2	Herrenkleider Damenkleider
2. Bau- und Planungstechnik	2	Grubentechnik Betontechnik Klempnerberufe Holzbautechnik Tiefbautechnik Bodenleger Maurer Maler Heizung und sanitäre Anlagen
3. Distribution und Büro	2	Distribution Büro
4. Wirtschaft	2	wirtschaftlich-sprachlicher Zweig Staats- und Volkswirtschaft Distribution Verwaltung
5. Elektro- und Fernseh- technik	2	Elektriker Büromaschinenreparateur Steuer- und Regelungstechniker Fernsehmonteure Fernsehtechniker
6. Fahrzeugtechnik	2	Automechaniker Flugzeugmechaniker Maschinenschlosser Ersatzteilpersonal

Züge	Dauer in Jahren	Zweige (Varianten)
7. Landwirtschaft	2	
8. Konsum	2	Konsum von Haushaltsartikeln Konsum von Textilien Großhaushalt und Restaurant
9. Konsum und Pflege	2	
10. Lebensmittel	2	Bäcker und Konditor Fleischer Restaurant Bedienung Großhaushalt
11. Entwicklungstechnik	2	Baufachtechnik Chemietechnik Lebensmitteltechnik Metallurgie Papiertechnik
12. Sozialwissenschaft	2	sprachlich naturwissenschaftlich gesellschaftswissenschaftlich verbrauchswirtschaftlich
13. Technik	2	Maschinentechnik Bautechnik Elektrotechnik Chemietechnik
14. Holztechnik	2	Bootsbauer Modellschreiner Schreiner
15. Werkstatt-Technik	2	Gießer Schweißer
16. Pflege	2	Kinder- und Jugendpflege Gesundheitspflege Krankenpflege Alterspflege
17. Wirtschaft	3	psychiatrische Betreuung wirtschaftlich-sprachlich Staats- und Volkswirtschaft Distribution Verwaltung
18. Humanistische Fächer	3	
19. Naturwissenschaft	3	
20. Gesellschaftswissenschaft	3	
21. Technik	4	Maschinentechnik Bautechnik Elektrotechnik Chemietechnik

Quelle: Läroplan för gymnasieskolan (Lehrplan für die gymnasiale Schule) vom 14.5.1970.

Berufsschule, Gymnasium und Fachschule – durch die neue Gymnasialschule zu ersetzen. Diese Reform des sekundären Bildungsbereichs ist nach Sixten Marklund ¹³⁾ der entscheidende Schritt zu einem integrierten schwedischen Sekundarschulwesen. Die neue Gymnasialschule besteht insgesamt aus 21 Zügen, die wiederum in über 70 verschiedene Zweige unterteilt sind. 16 dieser Züge sind zweijährig, vier sind dreijährig und einer ist vierjährig. In der organisatorischen Differenzierung der Gymnasialschule ¹⁴⁾ erkennt man sofort wieder die einzelnen Züge der bisherigen Berufsschule, der Fachschule und des Gymnasiums. Die alten gymnasialen Züge sind hier drei- bzw. vierjährig, während sich die Züge der Fachschule und der Berufsschule nur auf zwei Jahre erstrecken. Die Züge der Gymnasialschule sind durch eine sukzessive Differenzierung und Spezialisierung gekennzeichnet. Dies gilt insbesondere auch für die berufsbezogenen Züge, in denen man nach dem Blocksystem unterrichtet; ¹⁵⁾ hier werden zunächst in einem gemeinsamen Grundkurs mehrere verwandte Berufsgruppen unterrichtet. Die Spezialisierung erfolgt dann nach etwa einem Jahr. Ziel der neuen Gymnasialschule ist es, in Analogie zu dem anfangs zitierten Paragraphen 1 des Schulgesetzes, "die äußere Organisation und die Arbeit in der Gymnasialschule so zu gestalten, daß es jedem einzelnen Schüler möglich ist, gemäß seinen Anlagen und Voraussetzungen Studienwege und Arbeitsweisen zu finden, die die individuelle Entwicklung zur Persönlichkeit fördern." ¹⁶⁾ In der Ziel- und Aufgabenbestimmung unterscheidet sich die neue Gymnasialschule nicht von der Grundschule oder den herkömmlichen gymnasialen Zügen. Auch in ihrem Angebot erkennt man sowohl die bisherige Berufs- und Fachschule, als auch das Gymnasium wieder.

Was wird dann überhaupt mit der Einführung der neuen Gymnasialschule geändert? Zunächst wird jede Gemeinde, die gegenwärtig ein Gymnasium besitzt, eine neue Gymnasialschule erhalten und damit ihren Schülern alle Fächer der bisherigen Sekundarschulen anbieten können. Ferner stehen die Berufsbildung und die allgemeine Bildung unter derselben Leitung, die Lehrer der praktischen und theoretischen Fächer arbeiten kooperativ miteinander und haben dieselben Schüler. ¹⁷⁾ In den vorwiegend berufsbezogenen Zügen sind die theoretischen Fächer stärker als bisher vertreten. Außerdem kann jeder Schüler der 13 berufsorientierten Züge bis zu zwölf Wochenstunden am Unterricht eines anderen Zuges teilnehmen.

Die hier skizzierten Merkmale der neuen Gymnasialschule gelten nur für deren gegenwärtige Gestalt. Die "galoppierende Schulreform", ein Schlagwort, das von vielen Pädagogen zur Charakterisierung der radikalen Veränderungen während der sechziger Jahre herangezogen wurde, ist

sicher noch nicht beendet. Es liegt schon eine Reihe von weitgehenden Vorschlägen vor,¹⁸⁾ von denen sich einige schon in naher Zukunft, andere jedoch erst in ein paar Jahren, verwirklichen lassen.

Einige Perspektiven, die in der Diskussion um die zukünftige Gymnasialschule deutlich werden, sollen hier kurz umrissen werden. Aufgrund ihrer besonderen Stellung innerhalb des Bildungswesens hat die Gymnasialschule drei Aufgaben zu erfüllen:

- auf ein Studium vorzubereiten
- die allgemeinen Voraussetzungen für eine Berufstätigkeit zu schaffen
- die Grundlagen für eine *éducation permanente* zu schaffen.

Mit den Begriffen "basutbildning" (allgemeine Grundausbildung), "yrkesinriktad utbildning" (berufsbezogene Ausbildung), "närförberedelser" (Vorbereitung auf eine Berufstätigkeit im Anschluß an die Schule) und "fjärrförberedelser" (Vorbereitung auf ein Studium oder eine zukünftige Berufstätigkeit)¹⁹⁾ werden diese Aufgaben näher bezeichnet. Unter "basutbildning" versteht man die Vermittlung von Fertigkeiten und allgemeinem Wissen. Hierher gehören z.B. moderne Sprachen, Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften. Diese allgemeine Grundausbildung ist sowohl für ein Studium als auch für eine zukünftige Berufstätigkeit erforderlich. Im Gegensatz zur allgemeinen Grundausbildung ist die berufsbezogene Ausbildung spezialisierter. Der Bildungsstoff ist konkret an Berufen und Berufsbereichen orientiert. Unter "fjärrförberedelser" fallen beispielsweise Untersuchungstechniken, die Beherrschung von Darstellungsformen, usw. Unter "närförberedelser" versteht man die Vorbereitung auf solche Aufgaben, die normalerweise in einer ersten Anstellungsperiode vorkommen.

Im Hinblick auf diese Funktionen der Gymnasialschule stellt die Bildungskommission U 68²⁰⁾ ein Modell zur Diskussion, das durch variierende Kombinationen von Grundausbildung und Berufsausbildung gekennzeichnet ist. Danach soll in jedem Zug das Verhältnis von Grundausbildung zu berufsbezogener Ausbildung je nach den individuellen Interessen und dem gewünschten Schulabschluß variieren. Dort, wo man sich auf ein Studium vorbereitet, wird die Grundausbildung dominieren; wo die Schüler jedoch direkt ins Berufsleben übergehen, wird die Berufsausbildung im Vordergrund stehen. Die Kombinationsmöglichkeiten liegen zwischen diesen beiden Extremen. Mit Hilfe eines solchen Modells soll während der gesamten Ausbildungszeit die Wahlfreiheit für Berufstätigkeit oder Studium garantiert werden. Ein Lehrplan für dieses Zukunftsmodell existiert noch nicht. Vor dem Ablauf dieses Dezenniums ist damit auch nicht zu rechnen. Der Ansturm auf die Hochschulen nimmt aber ständig zu. Wenn man nicht bald ein System einführt, das, wie dieses

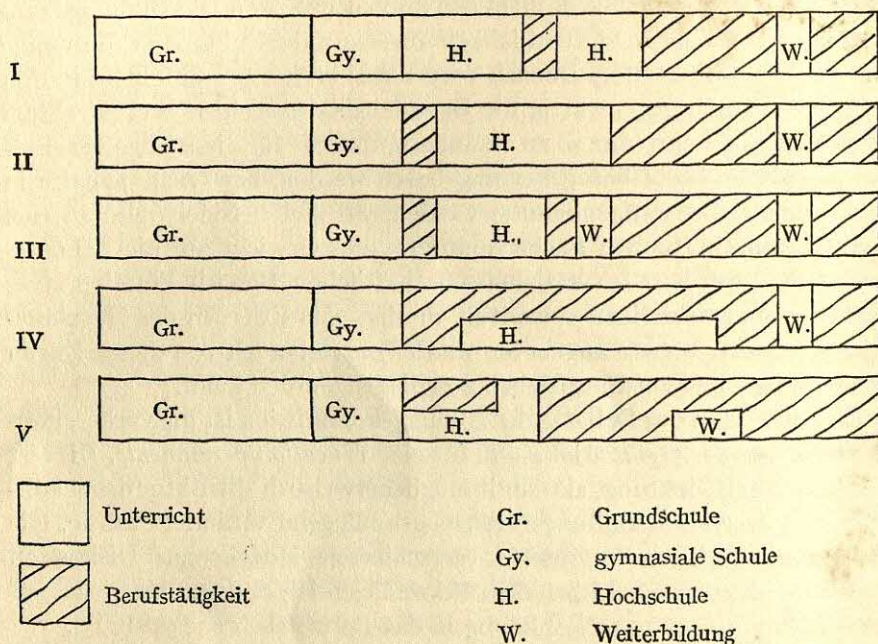
Modell, die Entscheidung zwischen Studium und Berufstätigkeit zu einer echten Alternative macht – echt im Sinne einer freien, allein vom Interesse des Schülers abhängigen Entscheidung –, dann wird der schon vorhandene Überschuß an Akademikern zu einem großen Problem. Die Bildungskommission hat daher der Öffentlichkeit für die nahe Zukunft schon einige Vorschläge unterbreitet. Danach wird unter anderem empfohlen, in den Zügen, in denen gegenwärtig die Grundausbildung einen breiten Raum einnimmt, die Lehrpläne so zu verändern, daß die für diese Züge verbindlichen Inhalte berufsbezogener angeboten werden, bzw. neue Inhalte in das Lehrangebot aufgenommen werden. So soll beispielsweise in den naturwissenschaftlichen Fächern ein größeres Gewicht auf die Laborarbeit gelegt werden. Im sozialwissenschaftlichen Bereich könnten etwa Untersuchungstechniken vermittelt werden, das Erlernen des Maschinenschreibens u.a. könnte angeboten werden, so daß auch von diesen Zügen her eine Brücke zum Berufsleben geschlagen werden kann.

Ein Novum in der Debatte der Bildungskommission ist die vorbereitende Funktion der Gymnasialschule für eine *éducation permanente*. Dies ist insofern von Bedeutung, als damit möglicherweise die Struktur des sekundären und tertiären Bildungsbereichs grundlegend verändert würde. Die Bildungskommission hat hierfür verschiedene Modelle zur Diskussion gestellt.²¹⁾ Entscheidend bei allen Vorschlägen ist, daß für den einzelnen kein Übergang von der Ausbildung in das Berufsleben endgültig ist.

Die Formulierungen über Ziel und Aufgabe der Grundschule und der Sekundarschule gelten in gleicher Weise für den tertiären Bildungsbereich. Bei der Interpretation des Begriffs "personlighetsutveckling" (Persönlichkeitsentfaltung) werden jedoch von der Bildungskommission neue Aspekte aufgezeigt. Die Persönlichkeitsentfaltung – so wird in den Schriften der Bildungskommission ausgeführt – bildet sich im ständigen Wechselspiel zwischen Individuum und Gesellschaft. Gesetzt nun den Fall, daß die Gesellschaft gewisse Kenntnisse und Eigenschaften in sozialer oder ökonomischer Hinsicht stärker belohnt als andere, dann würden interpersonale Unterschiede in der Gesellschaft auch unterschiedlich bewertet. Diese gesellschaftlichen Wertvorstellungen werden aber auch für die Selbsteinschätzung ausschlaggebend und bestimmen damit nicht zuletzt die Wahl des Studienganges. Auch der *Numerus clausus* wird von der Bildungskommission in diesem Zusammenhang unter einem neuen Aspekt problematisiert. Diejenigen Studienfächer – so wird argumentiert –, die eine begrenzte Aufnahmekapazität haben, können ein elitäres Bewußtsein hervorrufen und damit vom Sozialprestige her besonders attraktiv erscheinen. Deshalb empfiehlt man in der Bildungskommission, den *Nu-*

ABBILDUNG

*Alternativvorschläge der Bildungskommission U 68 für eine éducation permanente *)*



- I - Die Hochschule schließt unmittelbar an die gymnasiale Schule an. Nach einer gewissen Studienzeit folgt eine Phase der Berufstätigkeit; danach werden die Hochschulstudien angeschlossen. Nach ein paar Jahren Berufstätigkeit folgt eine kürzere Ausbildungsperiode für eine Fort- oder Weiterbildung mit einer Spezialisierung.
- II - Berufstätigkeit im Anschluß an die gymnasiale Schule. Danach werden die Hochschulstudien in einem Zug abgeschlossen. Fort- oder Weiterbildung nach einer gewissen Zeit in der Berufspraxis.
- III - Phasen der Berufstätigkeit sowohl beim Übergang von der Gymnasialschule in die Hochschule als auch innerhalb des Hochschulstudiums. Fort- oder Weiterbildung nach einer gewissen Zeit in der Berufspraxis.
- IV - Das Hochschulstudium wird parallel zur Berufspraxis durchgeführt. Das Studium beginnt nach einer gewissen Zeit im Berufsleben. Nach weiterer Berufspraxis Fort- oder Weiterbildung.
- V - Das Hochschulstudium beginnt parallel zur Berufspraxis im Anschluß an die Gymnasialschule. In der letzten Phase ist das Hochschulstudium ganztägig. Später kann eine Fort- oder Weiterbildung während der Berufstätigkeit halbtags angeboten werden.

*) Quelle: U 68 Debatt: *Högre utbildning - funktion och struktur (Höhere Ausbildung - Funktion und Struktur)*. Stockholm: Esselte Tryck, 1969, S. 55.

merus clausus prinzipiell abzuschaffen. Wie wird man aber dann dem Ansturm auf die Universitäten gerecht?

Durch die Schaffung eines Systems, das – wie in der Abbildung dargestellt – eine permanente Ausbildung erlaubt, werden Phasen der Berufstätigkeit von denen der Ausbildung abgelöst. Durch die Berufstätigkeit wird der eine oder andere vielleicht erst gewisse Anlagen und Fähigkeiten entdecken. In den Ausbildungsphasen haben alle, auch ältere Erwachsene und Nichtabiturienten, die Möglichkeit, an der Universität zu studieren und sich über den neuesten Stand der Forschung zu informieren. Durch den ständigen Kontakt aller Bevölkerungsgruppen im Bildungsbereich wie im Berufsleben erwartet die Bildungskommission eine Revision gewisser gesellschaftlicher Wertvorstellungen. Außerdem würden dadurch die Barrieren zwischen den einzelnen Bevölkerungsgruppen, insbesondere aber auch zwischen den Generationen, aufgehoben. Mit dieser Konzeption glaubt man, die Entscheidung für Studium oder Berufsleben vom Prestigedenken weitgehend befreien zu können und damit ein Steuerungsinstrument für den Zustrom zur Universität zu besitzen.

Ganz konkrete Vorstellungen von der Struktur einer Universität, die diesen Aufgaben gerecht werden könnte, bestehen noch nicht. Es bleibt auch noch offen, ob die Erwartungen, die an ein solches Modell gestellt werden, erfüllt werden können. Bereits jetzt werden Stimmen laut, die darauf hinweisen, daß die verschiedenen Bildungswege erst dann als gleichwertig gelten können, wenn für alle auch die gleichen Gehälter gezahlt werden. "Wir müssen daher", so schreiben Ekholm, Fransson und Reuterberg, "erst eine Reihe von Verhältnissen außerhalb der Schule verändern, bis wir die Gleichheit in der Schule erreichen." ²²⁾

ANMERKUNGEN

1) Dem vorliegenden Aufsatz liegt ein Vortrag zugrunde, den der Verfasser auf der Jahrestagung der deutschen Sektion der Comparative Education Society in Europe am 15.2.1971 in Frankfurt/M. hielt.

2) Vgl. U. ÖRNMARKE; G. LINDQUIST: *Skollagen – Anvisningar, Kommentarer (Das Schulgesetz – Anweisungen, Kommentare)*. Stockholm: Hasse W. Tullbergs Förlag, 1962, S. 11.

3) Vgl. *Läroplan för grundskolan (Lehrplan für die Grundschule)*, Kungl. Skolöverstyrelsens skriftserie 60. Stockholm, 1963, S. 13.

4) *Läroplan för gymnasieskolan (Lehrplan für die gymnasiale Schule)* vom 14.5. 1970, S. 7.

5) Schweden hatte bis zum Jahre 1962 nach dem 6. Volksschuljahr ein Parallelschulsystem. Vgl. hierzu H. HÖRNER: *Demokratisierung der Schule in Schweden*. Weinheim: Beltz, 1970, S. 80 ff.

6) Ebd. S. 127.

7) Der Stoff in den besonderen Kursen ist umfangreicher und der Schwierigkeitsgrad höher als in den allgemeinen Kursen.

8) Vgl. S. MARKLUND; P. SÖDERBERG, *Grundskolan – framväxt och organisation (Die Grundschule – Entwicklung und Organisation)*. Stockholm: Bonniers, 1964, S. 139.

- 9) Zur Analyse dieser Verteilung vgl. H. HÖRNER a.a.O., S. 296 f.
- 10) K. HÄRNQVIST, *Individuella differenser och skoldifferentiering* (*Individuelle Unterschiede und Schuldifferenzierung*), 1957 års skolberedning II, SOU 1961: 30, Stockholm: 1961.
- 11) Vgl. S. MARKLUND, *Vår nya skola* (*Unsere neue Schule*). Stockholm: Bonniers, 1970, S. 140 f.
- 12) Vgl. EKHOLM; FRANSSON; REUTERBERG, *Skolan kan inte skapa ett jämlikare samhälle* (*Die Schule vermag nicht mehr Gleichheit in der Gesellschaft herzustellen*). Dagens Nyheter vom 19.1.1971.
- 13) Vgl. S. MARKLUND, a.a.O., S. 143.
- 14) Vgl. H. HÖRNER, a.a.O., S. 228 ff.
- 15) Ebd., S. 227-8.
- 16) *Läroplan för gymnasieskolan* (*Lehrplan für die gymnasiale Schule*) vom 14.5. 1970, S. 7.
- 17) S. MARKLUND, a.a.O., S. 143.
- 18) Vgl. U 68 *Debatt: Gymnasieskolan – några utvecklingslinjer* (*Die gymnasiale Schule – einige Entwicklungslinien*). Stockholm: Esselte Tryck, 1970, S. 21 f.
- 19) Ebd., S. 18.
- 20) Am 26.4.1968 wurde eine Bildungskommission gegründet, der Vertreter der politischen Parteien, des Bildungswesens und der Wirtschaftsorganisationen angehören. Diese Kommission wurde beauftragt, Vorschläge für eine "übergreifende" Planung des tertiären Bildungsbereiches zu entwickeln. Diese Bildungskommission erhielt die Bezeichnung U 68 (1968 års utbildningsutredning- Bildungskommission 1968) und hat bisher drei Vorschläge, die sogenannten U 68 *Debattskrifter* veröffentlicht.
- 21) Vgl. U 68 *Debatt: Gymnasieskolan*. S. 20.
- 22) ECKHOLM; FRANSSON; REUTERBERG, a.a.O.

TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT IN SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

by HORST HÖRNER, Heidelberg

The declared intention of all educational reforms in Sweden is the democratisation of the educational system. The theoretical conception of such a process of democratisation was, for the Swedes, a result of the dialectic between the individual and society. In interpreting this relationship, the Swedes have laid down postulates of a universal nature, valid, that is, for all types of school, in order that the same criteria are taken on principle as the basis for the organisation and structure of the individual branches of education (primary schools, *gymnasieskolor*, universities, etc.). These criteria are ease of transfer, an equivalent standard in the theoretical and practical subjects offered, and the creation of equal educational opportunity for all, irrespective of place of residence, sex or social status.

The distribution of enrollment among the different tracks of the present school system indicates that it is not yet possible to speak of equal educational opportunity. The various educational paths enjoy differing prestige in society. With the introduction of the new *gymnasieskolan*, a partially-integrated comprehensive school at secondary level, the previous specialist schools, the old *gymnasieskolan* and the vocational schools were dissolved. The demand for life-long education to follow secondary school may possibly lead to a complete re-structuring of the academic courses of study. Whether the postulate of equal educational opportunity can in fact be implemented to the fullest degree by this means remains doubtful, since the structure of different educational courses and careers requirements remains unchanged. Some educationists are therefore demanding that a whole range of

conditions outside the school should first of all be changed so that equality may be established within the school.

DEVELOPPEMENT DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE ET UNIVERSITAIRE EN SUEDE

par HORST HÖRNER, Heidelberg

Le but avoué de toutes les réformes éducatives en Suède est la démocratisation de l'éducation. La conception théorique d'un tel processus de démocratisation a résulté pour les Suédois des rapports dialectiques entre l'individu et la société. En interprétant ces rapports, les Suédois ont dressé des postulats de caractère général, c'est-à-dire valables pour tous les types d'école, de sorte que les mêmes critères servent en principe de base à l'organisation et à la structure des différentes branches de l'éducation (école primaire, *gymnasieskola*, université). Ces critères sont : facilité de transfèrement, offre égale de sujets théoriques et pratiques, chances égales d'enseignement pour tous, indépendamment du lieu de résidence, du sexe ou du statut social.

La répartition des élèves entre les différentes branches de formation indique que l'on ne peut pas encore parler d'une égalité des possibilités de formation. Les différentes branches jouissent au sein de la société d'un prestige varié. Avec l'introduction de la nouvelle *gymnasieskolan*, c'est-à-dire d'une école polyvalente intégrée en partie au niveau de l'école secondaire, l'école technique précédente, l'ancien *gymnasieskolan* et l'école professionnelle ont disparu. Il se peut que les revendications en vue d'obtenir une éducation permanente – après l'école secondaire – conduisent probablement à une réorganisation totale des études supérieures. La question de savoir si le postulat des chances égales d'enseignement peut en fait être entièrement appliqué par ce procédé demeure hypothétique, car les différents cours pédagogiques et carrières professionnelles demeurent en fait ce qu'ils étaient précédemment. C'est pourquoi quelques pédagogues exigent de modifier tout d'abord toute une série de facteurs non scolaires pour établir l'égalité au sein de l'école.

A DEMOGRAPHIC MODEL OF STUDENT PROGRESSION ¹⁾

by WEN L. LI, Columbus, Ohio

During the past few years there has been considerable interest in constructing mathematical models for the study of the educational process. These models, according to their subjects, can be classified into three categories (see Wurtele, 1967). The first category may be called *demographic* models. They focus primarily on the educational system or some of its components, such as the flow of students, teacher-student ratio, etc. The second category consists of *econometric* models, which treat education as one of several interrelated economic activities; educational institutions are viewed as producers of outputs that are employed by the different sectors of society. The third category of models deals with the *learning outcomes* of individual students, or groups of students; the sociopsychological aspects of the educational process are strongly emphasized.

This paper is concerned with the first category of educational models. It attempts to examine student progression in an educational system from the demographic point of view. So the educational process is treated in the aggregate, and the interdependencies of the educational system and other sectors of society are disregarded for the purpose of analysis.

A General Demographic Model

The educational process has long been of great interest to demographers. And the demographic analysis of the educational process has been of great assistance to the work of educational planners, who must continually estimate the size of future student enrollments at different levels of the educational structure. Examples are found in the work of the United States Census Bureau, which in the past years has provided a continuous projection of school enrollments (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1963; Siegel, 1967). A systematic exposition of educational demography using the Census Bureau's statistics is given by Folger and Nam (1967).

However, demographers are often blamed for their failure to make accurate educational projections. It is sometimes complained that demographers have relied too much on the techniques of trend extrapolation. Besides, the reliability of school enrollment analysis seems to be dependent on birth-death projection for the total population, which itself may be inaccurate.

Let us begin with an examination of the general demographic methodology of projecting the school population. It can be best summarized

in the following equation (Stone, 1966):

$$(1) \quad s = n \cdot q$$

where s is the total student enrollment; n is the population vector of each age group; q is also a vector which gives the age-specific enrollment rates.

One way to implement the population vector is to follow Leslie's matrix approach, as Stone suggests. The Census Bureau's projection technique, though slightly different, nevertheless is more or less based on trend extrapolation. Similarly, enrollment rates are generally computed as a linear projection of the trend in observed fall enrollment rates in the past years.

One of the main limitations of such models (Correa, 1967: 34), is that the projected educational enrollments closely reflect the differences in the population structure and they are inappropriate for temporal or spatial comparisons. There is another important limitation of such a model. It fails to give sufficient attention to the underlying dynamics of the educational process. This weakness is similar to the econometricians' construct of the labor force function, which yields very limited knowledge of how the size of the labor force is determined by population structure.

Structure of the Educational System

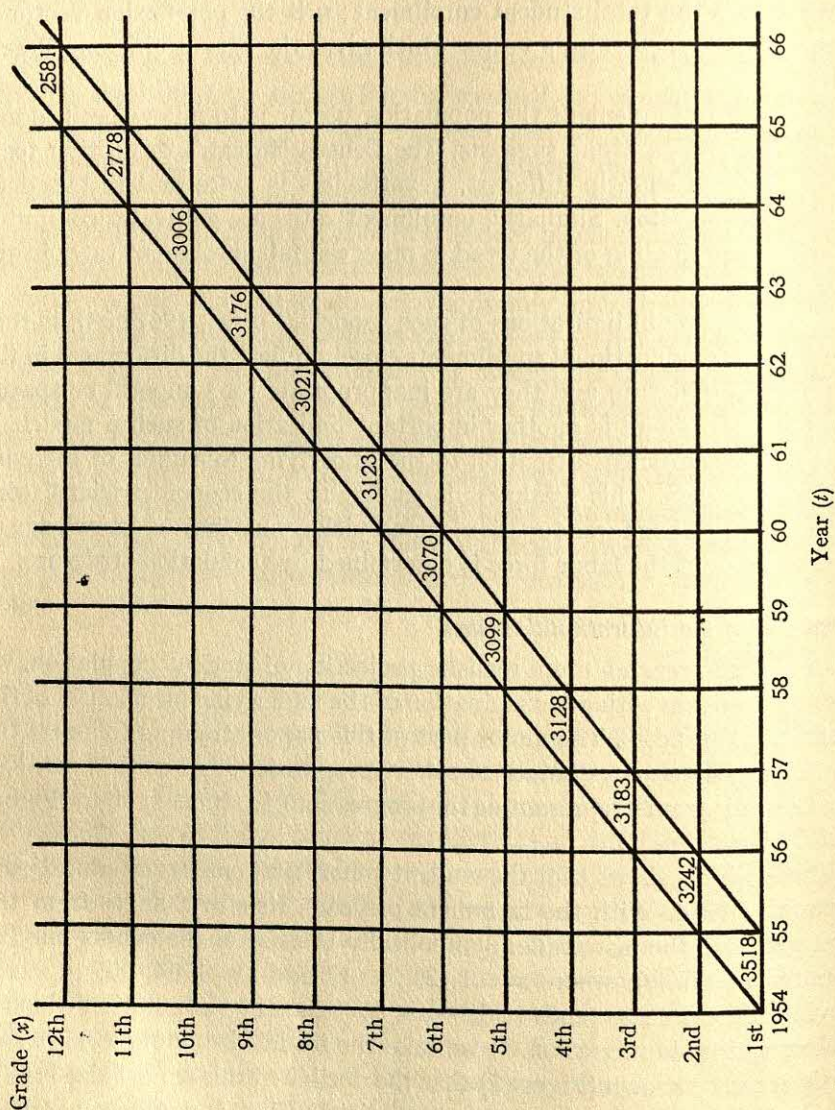
In order to reach a more realistic projection of student population, we propose to begin with an examination of the underlying mechanism of the educational process. The major part of this paper attempts to assess the underlying dynamics of student cohort progression. Let us first consider the Lexis diagram²) representing the progression of a student cohort (Figure 1).

The example shows that the student cohort first enters the educational system in 1954. With the increment of years, its size changes from the first grade to the last grade. Symbolically the size of the cohort may be denoted as $N(x, t)$, where $x = 1, 2, \dots, 12$ and $t = 1954, 55, \dots$. It is obvious that the size tends to decrease over time in a population which is closed against immigration. If we take the initial size of the cohort as a basis, it can be shown (Figure 2) that the decline of this cohort size is very much similar to a negative exponential distribution. It can be generalized as having the form of $N(x) = N(1) \cdot e^{-kt}$, where k is a constant term. For different cohorts, there will be different constant terms. It is possible to test empirically the variation of the terms for cohorts at different points in time; so some interesting results may be shown.

Nevertheless, examining only the behavior of the constant terms can be

FIGURE 1

Progression of 1954-55 Student Cohort (population in thousands)

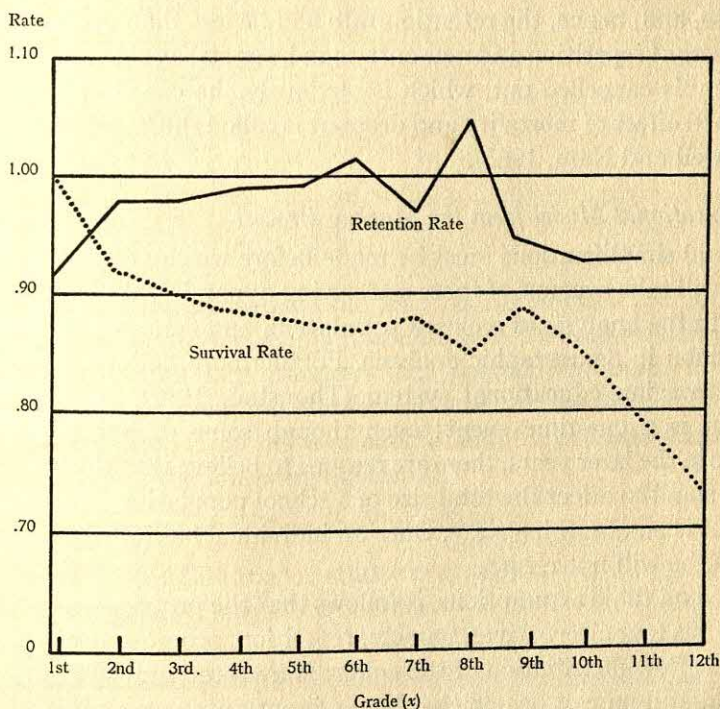


Source: K. A. Simon and W. V. Grant, *Digest of Educational Statistics*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1965. Table 28.

misleading. Obviously the curve is not a smooth one. A more realistic approach is to analyze the student cohort's "retention rate" (Duncan, 1965: 129).³ Symbolically it is $N(x+1, t+1)/N(x, t)$. Figure 2 indicates

FIGURE 2

The Survival Rate $N(x)/N(1)$ and Retention Rate $N(x+1)/N(x)$ of the 1954-55 Student Cohort



Source: Fig. 1

that the rate does not show any tendency of monotonous decline. On the contrary, it increases from the first grade to the sixth grade. Only after the eighth grade does the rate begin to decline monotonously. This observation leads to the conclusion that the decrease in size of a student cohort is not strictly comparable to the survival curve in the general human population.

This suggests that a student population of a given grade is not only affected by those separating forces such as mortality and dropout. Many other factors can also contribute to determine the cohort size. Probably

the most important factor is the effect of repetition at each level of an educational system. The effect is somewhat analogous to that of a rolling snowball; the repeaters tend to increase the rate of retention as shown in Figure 2. Other, normally less important factors are immigration and the re-enrollment of dropouts.

Generally the two forces work in the opposite direction: mortality and dropout on the one hand, repetition and new entry on the other hand. If the separating force is predominant, the size of a student cohort tends to decrease, and, hence, the retention rate will be less than unity. However, the effects of repetition and new entry can be so strong that the decreasing tendency is cancelled out, which is obviously the case in Figure 2. The combined effect of mortality and dropout is called the "separation factor" (Stockwell and Nam, 1963).

An Educational Model from the Markov Process

Several simplifications must be made before we can construct a model which will take account of these underlying dynamics. We shall limit ourselves to the analysis of a closed population, an assumption which is not uncommon in demographic analysis. Furthermore, following a model of the Norwegian educational system (Thonstad, 1967), we assume that dropout is a one-time event; even though some dropouts re-enroll in schools in the later years, there are reasons to believe that the number may be too small to affect the total size of a school population. In other words, dropout is an absorbing state. Once an individual has left the educational system, he will not return.

Based on these assumptions, it follows that the progression of a student cohort has four alternatives, namely, repetition, progress, death and dropout. The flow distribution of the cohort is a vector, and so the total educational system can be depicted by an input-output matrix⁴), shown in Table 1. The figures in the matrix are purely illustrative. The first

TABLE 1
An Example of Student Progression

$t_1 \backslash t_2$	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade	Graduation	Mortality	Drop-out	Sum
1st grade	75	415	0	0	5	5	500
2nd grade	0	45	391	0	5	9	450
3rd grade	0	0	20	360	4	16	400
Graduation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mortality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dropout	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	75	460	411	360	14	30	1350

three rows represent the educational system up to the third grade; their row sums show the number of students in a given grade; their elements give the flow distribution of those students in that grade. The last three rows represent graduation (g), mortality (m) and dropout (d), respectively. Their row sums are zero, as they are assumed to be absorbing states.

It is obvious that such an input-output matrix can be readily formulated as a transition matrix, shown as follows:

	1	2	3	g	m	d
1	.15	.83	0	0	.01	.01
2	0	.10	.87	0	.01	.02
3	0	0	.05	.90	.01	.04
g	0	0	0	0	0	0
m	0	0	0	0	0	0
d	0	0	0	0	0	0

All elements in the matrix give the transitional probabilities from one state to another. Let us use $A(i, j)$ to denote such a transitional matrix. If the matrix is treated as stationary, it is possible to obtain the grade distribution of a student population at each of the successive years through an application of the elementary Markov process principle. It involves the use of the following equation:

$$(2) \quad N^{t+1}_{(i)} = N^t_{(i)} \cdot A_{(i, j)}$$

where the grade distribution of students at time $t + 1$ is the result of multiplying the grade distribution of students at time t by the transitional matrix.

This approach has been used extensively in many countries for the projection of future school enrollments (See, for example, Zabrowski, *et al.*, 1967; Thonstad, 1967). It is not the purpose of our paper to repeat the same effort; however, we find that this approach can serve as a powerful analytical device. We will now show that a model of student progression can be generated from this approach.

Let us take the example of projecting the 2nd grade school population at time $t + 1$. According to the Markov process principle expressed in Equation (2), it shall be:

$$(3) \quad N^{t+1}_{(2)} = N^t_{(1)} \cdot A_{(1, 2)} + N^t_{(2)} \cdot A_{(2, 2)}$$

where $A_{(1, 2)}$ is the progression rate from the 1st grade to the 2nd grade; $A_{(2, 2)}$ is the repetition rate for the 2nd grade students, i.e. the proportion of those remaining in the grade. What Equation (3) says is that the size

of the student cohort at $x + 1$ th grade in the $t + 1$ th year is composed of those students of $N(x, t)$ who can successfully progress to $x + 1$ th grade, and those students of $N(x + 1, t)$ who have to repeat in the same grade.

To extend this line of thinking, let us use some symbols to denote the following concepts:

$N(x, t)$ = the student population at the x th grade in the t th year.

$m(x)$ = the mortality rate at the x th grade.

$d(x)$ = the dropout rate at the x th grade.

$r(x)$ = the failure rate at the x th grade when students are supposed to progress to the $x + 1$ th grade.

$p(x)$ = the progression rate for those who are in the x th grade and successfully progress to the $x + 1$ th grade.

Accordingly, a model can be generated from the aforementioned Markov process principle. The model, which is similar to that of Equation (3), can be expressed as follows:

$$(4) \quad N(x + 1, t + 1) = N(x, t) \cdot p(x) + N(x + 1, t) \cdot r(x + 1)$$

Besides, it is seen from the transitional matrix that:

$$(5) \quad p(x) = 1 - (m(x) + d(x) + r(x))$$

So the model in Equation (4) becomes:

$$(6) \quad N(x + 1, t + 1) = N(x, t) \cdot (1 - (m(x) + d(x) + r(x))) + N(x + 1, t) \cdot r(x + 1)$$

A Conversion Technique

It appears that this model is not unique in the field of educational planning. As a matter of fact, most of the mathematical models of student progression are structurally more or less similar. However, they are different in their methods of implementation. The main advance of this paper, therefore, rests in the fact that we attempt to incorporate some of the existing demographic techniques into the implementation of our model.

It is generally understood that the educational system is a structure of grade hierarchy. Consequently, the accomplishments of educational demographers, who also use age as a unit of measurement, are often ignored and their works are scarcely incorporated in educational model building. For instance, the work of Stockwell and Nam is cited by some educational planners (e.g., Correa, 1967; Dressel, 1967), and yet their ideas, particularly the measurement of dropout, have never been seriously employed.

Stockwell and Nam's measurement of dropout is very similar to the measurement of retirement in labor force analysis (Wolfbein, 1949). It is a

by-product of constructing the table of school life. First of all, there is the concept of "stationary school population," which is the result of multiplying age-specific enrollment rates by the stationary (life table) population.⁵⁾ Let us denote age as a , and the stationary school population at age a as $N'(a)$. The ratio of the population at the successive ages, $N'(a+1)/N'(a)$, shows the proportion of the life table population which remains in schools during a to $a+1$ interval. The complement of this proportion gives the propensity that the population at age a will not be enrolled in schools at age $a+1$. The causes of this "separation factor" appear to be mortality and dropout. So the dropout rate can be obtained by operationally differentiating the mortality rate from this separation factor.

The mortality rate in a life table is simply the ratio of death to the life table population at a given age, where deaths are those in a population who do not survive from age a to age $a+1$. We shall denote the mortality rate as $m(a)$. Then the propensity of dropout at age a is measured by:⁶⁾

$$(7) \quad d(a) = 1 - N'(a+1)/N'(a) - m(a)$$

Table 2 presents the rates of dropout and mortality by age for the United States school population in 1960. The mortality rate is constructed by assuming the risk of death in the school population is the same as the general population. This is perhaps not too far from the truth. The dropout rate is the residual of subtracting the mortality rate from the total separation factor, as Equation (7) indicates. It is shown that the dropout rate increases from 2 per thousand at ages 10-11 to 350 per thousand at ages 18-19, and then it decreases, with fluctuations, to 120 per thousand at ages 29-30+.

It appears that an empirical finding such as this is very consistent with our general knowledge of student progression in an educational system. For instance, the peak of dropping out of school occurs around age 18, which is approximately the time when students have completed high school. This observation raises a further question, namely, to what extent do the dropout rates in successive ages correspond to the dropout rates in a successive grade?

The question is also of practical importance, as it is generally observed that in the US different statistical agencies tend to use different classifications in publishing their educational data: some are age-specific, whereas others are grade-specific. For this reason, it is analytically necessary to obtain a transformation matrix which can show a correspondence between age and grade characteristics, so that a manipulation of the matrix will convert any demographic characteristic from an age vector into a grade vector.

TABLE 2

Mortality, Dropout and Separation Rates by Age, United States, 1960

Age	Population		Enroll. Ratio	Separation rate (per thousand)		Drop- out
	Life Table	School		Total	Death	
5	96,977	43,446	.448	0.7	0.7	—
6	96,913	80,825	.834	0.5	0.5	—
7	96,860	93,954	.970	0.5	0.5	—
8	96,815	94,685	.978	0.4	0.4	—
9	96,776	94,744	.980	0.4	0.4	—
10	96,741	94,709	.979	2.4	0.4	2.0
11	96,707	94,483	.977	2.4	0.4	2.0
12	96,671	94,254	.975	6.6	0.4	6.2
13	96,631	93,635	.969	17.0	0.5	16.5
14	96,583	92,044	.953	26.8	0.6	26.2
15	96,526	89,576	.928	69.6	0.7	68.9
16	96,457	83,339	.864	124.6	0.8	123.7
17	96,377	72,957	.757	333.5	0.9	332.6
18	96,287	48,625	.505	351.2	1.0	350.1
19	96,189	31,550	.328	281.3	1.1	280.2
20	96,085	22,676	.236	208.5	1.1	207.4
21	95,975	17,947	.187	237.7	1.2	236.5
22	95,859	11,887	.124	210.7	1.3	209.4
23	95,739	9,382	.098	154.1	1.3	152.9
24	95,618	7,936	.083	85.5	1.3	84.2
25	95,496	7,258	.076	93.3	1.3	92.0
26	95,374	6,581	.069	102.6	1.3	101.3
27	95,252	5,906	.062	98.0	1.3	96.6
28	95,128	5,327	.056	108.3	1.3	107.0
29	95,002	4,750	.050	121.2	1.4	119.8
30 +	94,871	4,174	.044	—	—	—

Source: *United States Life Table, 1959-61*, Public Health Service Publication No. 1252, Vol. 1, No. 1, Table 1, p. 8; *United States Census of Population, 1960*, Final Report PC(1)-1D, Table 165, p. 371.

Let us denote a school population at age a of grade x as $S(a, x)$. The total school population of all grades for age a will be $\sum_x S(a, x)$. It follows that there can be a matrix, T , with its elements as:

$$(8) \quad T(a, x) = S(a, x) / \sum_x S(a, x)$$

It is possible, then, to treat the age-specific dropout rate, $d(a)$, as a distribution vector, and postmultiply it to the matrix, $T(a, x)$. The result gives a vector, $d(x)$, which is the grade-specific dropout rate.

$$\begin{bmatrix} T(a_1, x_1) & T(a_1, x_2) & T(a_1, x_3) & \dots & T(a_1, x_m) \\ T(a_2, x_1) & T(a_2, x_2) & T(a_2, x_3) & \dots & T(a_2, x_m) \\ T(a_3, x_1) & T(a_3, x_2) & T(a_3, x_3) & \dots & T(a_3, x_m) \\ \dots & \dots & \dots & \dots & \dots \\ T(a_n, x_1) & T(a_n, x_2) & T(a_n, x_3) & \dots & T(a_n, x_m) \end{bmatrix} \times \begin{bmatrix} d(a_1) \\ d(a_2) \\ d(a_3) \\ \dots \\ d(a_n) \end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix} d(x_1) \\ d(x_2) \\ d(x_3) \\ \dots \\ d(x_m) \end{bmatrix}$$

$n \times m$
 $n \times 1$
 $n \times 1$

The same conversion technique can be employed to transform the age-specific mortality rate into the grade-specific mortality rate. An application of this measurement to the United States school population in 1960 is presented in Table 3. It shows the transformation matrix as well as the grade-specific dropout rate and mortality rate. The dropout rate appears to be a monotonously increasing function. It is less than 1 per thousand at the first grade, yet it increases sharply to about 300 per thousand at the end of high school age. On the other hand, the mortality rate is relatively constant. It is roughly about 5 per thousand, with a slight increase only after the 8th grade.

Measurement of the Repetition Rate

In some countries where reliable repeater figures are available the implementation of an educational planning model will involve only a very simple manipulation. For example, Liu has used repeater statistics in Colombia to project future school population (Liu, 1966). In most countries, however, such statistical data are generally lacking. So the measurement of the repetition rate becomes a more or less arbitrary analytical exercise. Although Gani, in a study of Australian university enrollment, has suggested that an arbitrary estimation of the repetition rate can also show an excellent projection of future school population (Gani, 1963), it seems more commendable to pursue a more rigorous statistical approach.

In its Dynamod II model, the United States Office of Education has proposed a less arbitrary method of estimating the rate of repetition. The technique is very much similar to a concept which demographers call "grade retardation" (see Folger and Nam, 1967: 8-11). For instance, in the estimate of the 1st grade's repetition rate, it is taken as:

$$(9) \quad (1) = \frac{N(8, 1) + N(9, 1)}{N(5, 1) + N(6, 1) + N(7, 1) + N(8, 1) + N(9, 1)}$$

where $N(a, x)$ is the school population at age a of grade x (Zabrowski and Hudman, 1967: 3-4).

TABLE 3
Distribution of School Population by Age and Rates of Dropout and Mortality for each Grade, United States, 1960

Age	I	II	III	IV	V	Grade VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
5	.06	.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6	.57	.06	.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7	.32	.54	.06	.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	.04	.32	.52	.04	.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	.01	.06	.33	.51	.03	.01	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	—	.01	.06	.33	.51	.04	.01	—	—	—	—	—
11	—	—	.01	.07	.33	.51	.05	.01	—	—	—	—
12	—	—	.01	.02	.08	.33	.26	.54	.06	.01	—	—
13	—	—	—	.01	.02	.07	.08	.30	.53	.06	.01	—
14	—	—	—	—	.01	.03	.03	.06	.30	.50	.06	.01
15	—	—	—	—	—	.01	.01	.03	.07	.30	.53	.05
16	—	—	—	—	—	—	.01	.01	.02	.02	.06	.24
17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.01	.01	.01	.02	.06
18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.01	.01	.03
19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.02
20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.01
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.02
22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.01
23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.01
24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.01
25+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.01	.01	.07
Total	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
$d(x)$	.0009	.0018	.0028	.0031	.0050	.0086	.0170	.0344	.0800	.1126	.2000	.2984
$m(x)$	.0005	.0005	.0004	.0004	.0004	.0004	.0004	.0005	.0006	.0007	.0008	.0009

Source: *United States Census of Population, 1960*, Final Report PC(1)-1D, Table 168, p. 377 and computed from Table 1.

To what extent the measurement of retardation can represent the true picture of the repetition rate remains an unanswered question, as there seems to be no empirical finding to verify such measurement so far. For this reason, we attempt to present another approach to measure the grade-specific repetition rate. Although it is not our contention that our measure is necessarily a more valid one, yet this alternative measurement may prove to be more consistent with the actual school-enrollment data.

Our approach is to make use of the model which is presented in Equation (6). The model can be changed by taking into account the measurement of the separation rate as proposed in the last section. The separation rate is, by Stockwell and Nam's definition, $m(x) + d(x)$, or mortality rate plus dropout rate. If we have the estimates of the separation rate, there can be a continuation rate, such as $c(x) = 1 - (m(x) + d(x))$. Then Equation (6) can be expressed as follows:

$$(10) \quad N(x+1, t+1) = N(x, t) \cdot (c(x) - r(x)) + N(x+1, t) \cdot r(x+1)$$

When rearranged, it becomes:

$$(11) \quad N(x, t) \cdot r(x) - N(x+1, t) \cdot r(x+1) = N(x, t) \cdot c(x) - N(x+1, t+1)$$

with the parameters $r(x)$ and $r(x+1)$ on the left side of the equation.

Let us assume that the mortality and dropout rates derived from the census data are applicable to the rest of the decade. By doing this, it is possible to implement the continuation rate $c(x)$ for the equation. Furthermore, the size of the student population in each grade is given by the yearly school enrollment statistics, and so the implementation of $N(x, t)$, $N(x+1, t)$ or $N(x+1, t+1)$ is also possible. Consequently, the only parameters left unsolved in Equation (11) are the repetition rates, $r(x)$ and $r(x+1)$.

It is obvious that Equation (11) is recursive with respect to every grade. Therefore, the student progression in each grade can be expressed in one of the equations; $r(x)$ can be $r(1), r(2) \dots$. If we substitute the coefficients $N(x, t)$ by α , $N(x+1, t)$ by β , and $N(x, t) \cdot c(x) - N(x+1, t+1)$ by λ , the following recursive equations are obtained:

$$\begin{aligned} \alpha_1 r(1) - \beta_1 r(2) &= \lambda_1 \\ \alpha_2 r(2) - \beta_2 r(3) &= \lambda_2 \\ \alpha_3 r(3) - \beta_3 r(4) &= \lambda_3 \\ &\dots\dots\dots \\ \alpha_{11} r(11) - \beta_{11} r(12) &= \lambda_{11} \end{aligned}$$

Here the repetition rates $r(x)$, where $x = 1, 2, 3, \dots$, are the only parameters. An application of these equations to the United States edu-

cational system will yield eleven equations. And there are twelve unknowns in these equations. The solution is possible only if one of the unknowns is given.

It is arbitrarily assumed that the repetition rate at the first grade is 0.15; to some extent such a proportion is based on the retardation concept, as Dynamod II suggests. With this assumption, the solution of the recursive equations yields the values of the grade-specific repetition rate, $r(x)$, where $x = 1, 2, 3 \dots 11$.

For illustration purposes, we apply this technique to the United States public school enrollment data from 1961 to 1965. Table 4 shows the estimates of the repetition rate at each level of education. It is found that the repetition rate is relatively high in the very low grades. It declines to its lowest point at the 4th or 5th grade. Then it rises at the high school level.

If the quality of the data does not change much from year to year, the repetition probabilities estimated through the above procedure will not show too much variation over time. Their stability contributes greatly to the reliability of the projection of future school population.

In a period from t_1 to t_n , the solutions of the recursive equations give $r_t(x)$, where $x = 1, 2, \dots 11$ and $r = 1, 2, \dots n$. An examination of their mean and variance is able to indicate if a stable pattern exists. If this is the case, a trend can be fixed to these values; for instance, the trend can be a linear equation such as $r_t(x) = a + bt$. The projected value of $r(x)$ at

TABLE 4

Repetition Rates by Grade in the United States Public Schools, 1961-1966

Grade	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	Average	Variance	Projected 1965-66
1-2	.1500	.1500	.1500	.1500	.1500	.0	.1500
2-3	.0996	.1022	.1037	.1003	.1014	.0	.1023
3-4	.0908	.0872	.0973	.0880	.0908	.0	.0912
4-5	.0856	.0792	.0927	.0810	.0845	.0	.0846
5-6	.0896	.0773	.0990	.0801	.0865	.0001	.0848
6-7	.0892	.0749	.1038	.0739	.0855	.0001	.0812
7-8	.1177	.0990	.1312	.0980	.1115	.0002	.1048
8-9	.1203	.0930	.1397	.0999	.1133	.0003	.1064
9-10	.1770	.1424	.1854	.1569	.1653	.0003	.1611
10-11	.2029	.1504	.2054	.1793	.1843	.0006	.1806
11-12	.2036	.1706	.1921	.1694	.1840	.0002	.1637

Source: Computed from *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1966*, Table 28, p. 24.

t_{n+1} will not differ much from the average value if the variance is not too large.

Table 4 also shows the mean, variance and the projected values of the 1965-66 repetition rate. Considering the fact that the quality of the data is not very satisfactory, it is interesting to note that the results do not show any particularly great deviation from year to year. As a matter of fact up to the 7th grade the repetition rates are very consistent. Their variances are negligible and after the 9th grade, the variance increases only slightly. Consequently, the projected repetition rate, as expected, is found to be not much different from the average value of the 1961-64 period. The deviation is especially low in the elementary schools. So the result seems to indicate that there is a stable pattern of repetition rates from year to year.

It appears that this technique of estimating the future repetition rate may be acceptable. Therefore, the projected repetition rate, along with the mortality and dropout rates, can be used in the projection of the future school population. The projection procedure will be simply the application of the cohort approach as presented in Equation (6).

Summary

This paper treats the size of the student cohort as affected by three components, namely, the previous cohort's mortality, dropout, and repetition. It assumes that the educational system is a closed population. It follows that a model of student progression can be implemented using the renewal theories of demographic analysis.

The major part of the paper attempts to assess the components of the model. It differs from some other models of educational planning, in that we propose a conversion technique to obtain grade-specific dropout and mortality rates, and we also suggest that the grade-specific repetition rate can be estimated by solving the recursive equations. Through extending this type of analysis, it is possible to reach a more realistic projection of school population.

Nevertheless, this paper has not attempted to elaborate in detail all the possible approaches for reaching a successful projection of school population. For instance, one area which has been omitted is that of stratification of the population. Males and females, whites and nonwhites, have significantly different educational parameters that change at different rates over time. Consequently, any effort to produce a useful model for other than very short-range projections must take into account the population strata.

We also conclude that a future effort should be made to limit the as-

sumption that the educational system is a closed population. Conceivably this assumption may not be totally unrealistic in some countries where dropouts have very little chance of re-entering school; however, it is too rigorous to be applicable to the United States public school system. A study by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics (1966) has shown that there are considerable numbers of dropouts who return to school. Therefore, we expect, that a future development of this paper shall be able to treat school population as an open system, and thus take migration and re-enrollment into account.

NOTES

1) This paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Statistical Association, New York, 1969. The project has been supported by the National Science Foundation under Contract No. GS-2630. The author is grateful for comments from Professors Ronald Corwin and William Petersen.

2) An extensive application of the Lexis diagram to demographic analysis can be found in PRESSAT (1961).

3) Here the concept of "retention rate" is used following the examples of DUNCAN (1965) and STOCKWELL and NAM (1963). However, the concept is used differently in the U.S. Office of Education's publications.

4) The treatment of educational systems as an input-output matrix has been shown in OECD (1967), Ch. 2.

5) For those not familiar with techniques of life table construction, a classical reference is: DUBLIN, L. I.; LOTKA, A. J.; SPIEGELMANN, M., *Length of Life*. New York: Ronald Press, 1949.

6) The formula is slightly different from what Stockwell and Nam present. They have adjusted the denominator (population) by a half of deaths. To the present writer, the adjustment seems to be unnecessary; however, it is not a main concern of this paper to discuss such a technical difference.

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UN MODELE DE PROGRESSION D'UNE POPULATION D'ETUDIANTS

par WEN L. LI, Columbus, Ohio

Ce rapport provient de l'urgent besoin d'évaluer les forces dynamiques du processus éducatif. La prémisse - qui est à la base de ce rapport - est que la progression d'une population d'étudiants peut être simulée dans un modèle qui explique ces forces. On considère, dans cette analyse, la grandeur d'un ensemble-étudiant, tel qu'il est affecté par trois composantes: la mortalité, le désistement et le redoubleage antérieurs de l'ensemble. Cette analyse suppose que l'ensemble scolaire est une population fermée. Il en résulte que l'on peut créer un modèle en utilisant la théorie de renouvellement dans l'analyse démographique. La plus grande partie de l'analyse s'efforce de déterminer les composantes de ce modèle. On propose une mesure des désistements dans les écoles, et on peut obtenir la fonction redoubleage par classe en résolvant les équations récurrentes. En généralisant ce genre d'analyse, il sera possible d'obtenir à l'avenir une projection plus réaliste de la population scolaire.

EIN MODELL ZUR PROGRESSION VON SCHULJAHRGÄNGEN

von WEN L. LI, Columbus, Ohio

Dieser Artikel entstand aus der dringenden Notwendigkeit, die zugrundeliegende Dynamik des Erziehungsprozesses zahlenmäßig erfassen zu können. Die vorliegende Arbeit fundiert somit auf der Prämisse, daß die fortschreitende Entwicklung einer Schülerpopulation meßbar ist und in einem Modell simuliert werden kann, das den zugrundeliegenden Veränderungsprozessen Rechnung trägt. In der vorliegenden Analyse wird die Größe eines Schulklassen-Jahrgangs in Abhängigkeit von drei Komponenten begriffen: nämlich von der Mortalität, der Abgängerate, und der Wiederholungsrate der früheren Schulklassen. Es wird somit implizit angenommen,

daß die Schulgemeinschaft eine abgeschlossene Population darstellt. Daraus folgt, daß ein Modell konstruiert werden kann, das auf der in demographischen Analysen gebräuchlichen Theorie der Wiederholungstendenz beruht. Der Hauptteil der vorliegenden Analyse versucht, die Komponenten des Modells zu bestimmen. Es wird ein Maß für die Schulabgänger rate vorgeschlagen, und die Funktion der Klassenwiederholungen (abhängig vom Klassenniveau) kann durch die Lösung rekursiver Gleichungen abgeleitet werden. Durch ausgedehnte Anwendung von Analysen dieser Art erscheint es als möglich, realistischere Einschätzungen zukünftiger Schülerpopulationen zu erhalten.

SOCIAL PROCESS, SOCIAL CHANGE, AND ENGLISH TEACHER EDUCATION

by MAURICE CRAFT, Exeter

To say that the degree of sophistication attained by a society's educational system is a key index of that society's level of development is probably an overstatement; the per capita consumption of coal or electricity may be a better guide. Nonetheless, industrialisation is inevitably accompanied by the growth of a formal educational bureaucracy, and universalistic procedures. The informal and particularistic socialisation of parents, priests, farmers and craftsmen (often combined within a single kinship group) gives way to compulsory formal schooling, first in basic and then more advanced skills and value commitments, with relatively objective and widely recognised tests of competence, and with advancement on the basis of merit.

It very soon follows that the preparation of the educators becomes formalised, and as the society becomes more complex, so teacher education becomes more elaborate. Indeed, it may be that teacher education offers a more valuable index of national development than the school system, for teachers' colleges normally mirror a society's ideological and structural features in detail, and their recruitment often reflects its avenues of opportunity and achievement.

But this is by no means the whole story, for all social institutions¹⁾ develop autonomous characteristics and may become more or less responsive to societal needs. Organisational structures and rituals frequently outlive the social functions they were originally established to satisfy and celebrate, particularly where social change (as in all industrial societies) is rapid. Secondly, the power distribution among governmental, religious and other social institutions may radically affect the development of a society's educational system. The growth and organisation of English teacher education thus reflects not only the needs of a developing industrial economy, but also the influence of the Churches, the changing role of the state, and the evolving practices and traditions of the teacher training colleges themselves.

This paper attempts an exploratory discussion of the operation of two of these broad social processes, and considers the evolution of English teacher education in relation to changing national needs (*societal pressures*) and to the responsiveness of teacher education itself (*institutional pressures*).

Beginnings

The present structure of English teacher education dates substantially from 1944 (the McNair Report), but systematic provision can be traced back to the 1840s when the first effective Factory Acts began to limit children's hours of work. The elementary schools of the early 19th century were provided by voluntary religious bodies and did not become a major responsibility of the state until 1870; but some subsidies and state inspection began in the 1840s and concern to ensure a supply of teachers quickly followed. By 1845, 22 church training colleges had come into existence, aided by state building grants, and in 1846 the introduction of the pupil-teacher system set the pattern of teacher education, state aided, inspected and certificated, but denominationally controlled, for the rest of the century.

The pupil-teacher was a promising elementary school child, aged thirteen, selected by Her Majesty's Inspector, and apprenticed to an accredited master up to the age of eighteen when he or she might compete for a scholarship to a training college.²) In 1846 the government also established the teacher's certificate, awarded on examinations conducted by the inspectors in the colleges for both internal students and practising teachers outside; both features survived until 1926. Some uniformity of syllabus thus emerged in the 1850s; but recruitment, staffing, certification and social function soon bequeathed the dichotomy of academic and vocational studies which is still unresolved in English teacher education. Recruitment, for example, included not only diligent (but ill-educated) school leavers but also ex-clerks and skilled tradesmen, as it does today; as regards staffing and certification, many of the principals and inspectors were Oxford and Cambridge graduates in holy orders, with little knowledge of the social setting of Victorian elementary schools; and while the *manifest* social functions were somewhat ambiguous – to convey vocational skills but also a smattering of learning, to inculcate social distance but also missionary dedication – a major *latent* function of the colleges from the beginning was to provide an avenue of advancement (into the church and other professional and white collar occupations), and this may have inhibited the development of a liberal curriculum through fear of "wastage".³)

In 1870, towards the end of a twenty year period of economic expansion (the Victorian "Golden Age"), a national system of elementary education had been established and schooling soon became compulsory and then free. Teachers became more numerous (one to every 67 persons aged 3–20 years in 1871, 1:58 in 1881, and 1:50 in 1901) and illiteracy fell dra-

matically.⁴⁾ But although the profession had grown by over 40% to more than 170,000 at the turn of the century,⁵⁾ less than one-third of the elementary school teachers were trained and certificated, a quarter were certificated but untrained, and the rest were neither.⁶⁾ The numbers of training colleges grew, from 35 in 1861 to 43 in 1888, all denominational and residential, and mainly providing a two-year course, some for men and some for women. But a major development of teacher education followed the 1902 Act which greatly expanded provision for secondary education; the pupil-teacher system, in practice a substitute secondary education, collapsed, adding to the demand for teachers created by the new secondary schools, and between 1904 and 1914 22 non-denominational local authority colleges were opened.⁷⁾ Some were non-residential and a few co-educational, and most possessed much improved buildings and amenities.

Demography explains only part of these changes. Admittedly, the population of England and Wales doubled between 1801-51 and again by 1901 largely through declining mortality, with ever larger generations of young children. But numbers alone could not have created the wide concern for the *economic* continuity of a rapidly industrialising society with its steadily increasing need for basic skills, and for a sober, reliable labour force to work long hours in ferocious conditions dictated by primitive technology and high consumer demand. Victorian England was also experiencing hazards to health, order and property in the new urban centres on an unprecedented scale, equipped with obsolete and ineffective techniques of social control, and so was concerned too about *political* stability, a concern which increased as the franchise was extended. These broad societal features were probably more significant in shaping the outlines of the austere Victorian training colleges than more autonomous institutional factors such as finance, staffing, or recruitment; but the establishment of six university day training colleges in 1890, for example, represented an interplay of societal and institutional factors, as we shall see.

The Twentieth Century

Twentieth-century developments in schooling and in teacher education are probably related more to rising levels of industrial technology, to the accelerating growth of white collar, administrative and professional work roles, to the rising expectations of white collar and skilled manual parents, and to demographic changes, rather than to the earlier and more limited concern for a diligent, sober and literate citizenry. At the same time, the steady growth of the educational bureaucracy itself⁸⁾ has come to generate a sometimes decisive impact on policy making.

After the rapid growth of local education authority (LEA) colleges up to

1914, total provision stagnated for thirty years, a result largely of economic depression, and the numbers of LEA and voluntary colleges remained unchanged from 1921-38.⁹) By 1938, the teaching force numbered around 200,000; 85% were employed in the elementary schools and of these three-quarters were by now certificated.¹⁰) The training colleges had consolidated their position as the main avenue of teacher education serving the vast majority of the nation's children; less than 10% of elementary school teachers were university graduates.

The training of graduates, the second avenue of teacher education, was initiated in 1890 with the opening of six University Day Training Colleges offering a three-year concurrent (degree/certificate) course. Compulsory elementary education after 1870 had led to an increased demand for teachers at a time when the quality of the colleges' recruitment, their rigid denominationalism, and arid regime was becoming increasingly out of step with the requirements of the times. What might have been an appropriate response to the mid-Victorian need for mass literacy became an anachronism from then on as the need for more and better teachers grew. The new training colleges, university affiliated and non-residential, became the university departments of education (UDEs) and by 1913 there were eleven, now offering a one-year training for graduates only and feeding largely into the expanded secondary school system. This dichotomy between college trained and university trained teachers, and the isolation of the colleges from university life thus arose out of an interplay of societal and institutional factors and it entrenched divisions which were to survive to the present day.

Postgraduate training was not highly valued, particularly by men, and most graduates moved directly into the secondary schools. By 1938, of 200,000 teachers (70% women), 30,000 were employed in secondary schools; 80% of these were graduates and 60% of these were trained graduates. But 7% of elementary school teachers were also graduates and almost all these were trained.¹¹)

Although numerically a very small part of English teacher education, the UDEs have contributed much. As integral parts of the universities they soon gave the study of education a new status and academic respectability, while the colleges had tended to concentrate on practical classroom skills.¹²) Dent suggests that they also had a bracing effect on the colleges "which began to enrich their programmes of study and to liberalise their restricted way of life".¹³) It has even been suggested that they helped some of the newer universities to survive by providing badly-needed grant-aided students.¹⁴)

In 1944, the McNair Committee sought to unify the teaching body and

its two avenues of professional training. Since 1929, the colleges had established a tenuous connection with the universities through Joint Examining Boards which gave the universities a co-ordinating and examining role; but the central issue, whether the training of all teachers could be fully integrated remained unresolved, and does so to the present day. Half the Committee sought a unified structure centred regionally on the universities; and half, fearing an unduly academic influence and not wishing to burden the universities with this numerically large responsibility, preferred college autonomy and development along existing lines. The outcome was a compromise. The universities established Institutes of Education to continue the co-ordinating role of Joint Examining Boards and to facilitate in-service and advanced study and research in education. Each Institute is governed by a Delegacy representing the university, the colleges, the LEAs, the central government and the teachers. But the UDE and each college retained its own identity and form of government. It is clear that institutional inertia has played a major part in this outcome.

In 1963, the Committee under Lord Robbins reported on the whole field of British higher education, and it too recommended the establishment of university schools of education, incorporating the colleges as autonomous bodies financed through the universities, but again this failed. The LEAs were unwilling to lose control of teacher supply (and of what had now become in many cases, large, prestigious colleges), and nor was the Government at a time of chronic teacher shortage and financial stringency. On the other hand, the training colleges henceforth became known as "colleges of education"; secondly, the Robbins proposal for the establishment of a B. Ed. degree largely or partly college-taught has now been implemented; thirdly, the LEAs subsequently accepted a considerable liberalisation of college government.¹⁵⁾ The colleges had gained in stature; but the final decisions probably reflected the history and organisation of the educational institution itself, rather than the need of an advanced industrial society for a more unified and less wasteful system of higher education. These internal divisions were further deepened in 1965 with the Government's formal acceptance of a "binary" policy in which there would be a clear separation between the "autonomous" university sector and the "public" sector embracing the colleges of education, a policy (paradoxically) designed to place "a substantial part of the higher education system ... under social control, directly responsible to social needs".¹⁶⁾

Present Structure and Organisation

Teachers may be trained in five ways, but the colleges of education produce by far the greatest number, as can be seen from Table I.

TABLE I
Initial Teacher Training, 1967 (England and Wales)

Type of Unit	Number of Institutions	Students	
		N	%
Colleges of education	161	94,895	91.0
UDEs	28	6,207	6.0
Colleges of education (technical)	4	1,535	1.4
Art teacher training centres	13	560	.4
Depts. of education in technical colleges	5	563	.4
Total	211	103,760	99.2

Source: Department of Education and Science, *Statistics of Education*, 1967.
London: HMSO, 1969, Vol. 4. p. 1.

Art teacher training centres are teacher education departments usually sited in colleges of art, although four of them are associated with universities. The departments of education in technical colleges were established in 1967 as an outcome of the "binary" policy, but all have joined their local Institutes of Education. The Institutes co-ordinate the work of the colleges and UDE in each region; but the final control of teacher education is vested in the Minister who, through the LEAs as well as by direct grant and instruction, can determine the numbers, accommodation, equipment and staffing of the (non-university) training establishments, the numbers of students in training, and the proportions training for primary or secondary teaching.

The Institutes are the means by which the universities supervise and co-ordinate the academic and professional work of the training establishments, approving curricula and syllabuses, the assessment of students and the award of the Teachers' Certificate which embodies a recommendation that its recipient be granted state recognition as a qualified teacher. Each university institute is thus regarded as an "Area Training Organisation" (ATO), governed by a Delegacy representing all relevant interests. ATOs vary enormously in size: in 1968 six of the twenty ATOs had less than 4 colleges each (three of them only 2 each), eight more had between 5 and 10 each, five had between 10 and 17 colleges, and London had 30 colleges.¹⁷⁾

The great majority of the colleges of education (148 out of 166, in 1968

are "general" colleges, although some may also offer in-service and advanced courses for serving teachers in specialised areas of curriculum or method. The home economics (i.e. housecraft) and physical education colleges (7 of each kind in 1968) also now offer some general training. The four technical colleges of education offer a one-year course for qualified tradesmen and technicians training as teachers of technical subjects in colleges of further education.¹⁸⁾

As already suggested, the colleges of education may be provided by LEAs or voluntary bodies, and their respective proportions have gradually changed (Table II).

TABLE II
Colleges of Education by Providing Body, 1928-68

Providing Body	1928 (N = 72)	1938 (N = 73)	1948 (N = 90)	1958 (N = 136)	1968 (N = 166)
	%	%	%	%	%
LEA	31	29	44	63	68
Church of England	40	40	28	18	16
Roman Catholic	11	11	12	9	10
Other *	18	20	16	10	6

* Colleges provided by Methodists, Free Churches and undenominational bodies.

Source: Derived from William TAYLOR, *Society and the Education of Teachers*. London: Faber and Faber, 1969, p. 65, and Robbins Report, *Higher Education*. London: HMSO, 1963, Vol. 2 (A), p. 66.

LEA colleges are financed from a "pool" to which all LEAs contribute sums in proportion to the average numbers of primary and secondary pupils in their areas. (The central government repays most of the expenditure from this pool). The voluntary colleges are grant-aided very substantially by the central government - up to 80%, or more, for both capital and current expenditure. A most striking development has been the increase in the proportion of LEA colleges to 68% in 1968 from 29% in 1938; this is undoubtedly related to the dramatic expansion of teacher education in the 1950s and 1960s which is considered below, but the disparity between the trends of Church of England and Roman Catholic figures is interesting.

Colleges have grown in size since 1938, when McNair reported that of the 83 colleges then in existence nearly 80% had under 150 students and 34% under 100 (Table III). At the present time, several even exceed 1,500 students.

TABLE III
Size of Colleges of Education, 1958-68

No. of students	1958	1962	1968
1000+	—	1	14
500+	3	19	100

Source: Robbins Report, *Higher Education*, London: HMSO, 1963, p. 110; Department of Education and Science, *Reports on Education: No 49*, London: HMSO, 1968

The colleges have also changed from being almost entirely residential and single-sexed. Even as recently as 1961, 70% of students were resident in college or in college halls or hostels, but by 1969 this was down to 39%, with 34% in lodgings and 27% living at home,¹⁹ a function of the need for economy in a period of rapid expansion. Similarly, McNair reported that only 8% of colleges were co-educational in 1938 (7 out of 83), and this proportion had risen to over one-third in 1960²⁰ and over 70% in 1968.²¹ But some home economics and physical education specialist colleges still admit women only.

One final aspect of social composition is the great increase in the numbers of colleges admitting older ("mature") students, again a function of the expansion of the 1960s. These students, transferring from other careers or returning to study after raising families, comprised about 20% of the colleges' entry in 1968. Most are day students at residential colleges; others attend the sixteen special day colleges opened between 1959-69 or the thirty college "outposts" which have training facilities within reach of mature students unable to follow a residential course.²²

Developments Since 1944

There have been three main developments in initial teacher education since McNair: the emergency training scheme of 1945-51, the expansion of the 1950s and 1960s, and the far-reaching changes in curricula and organisation of this latter period.

The emergency training scheme was devised to help meet immediate post-war needs, and to staff the raising of the school-leaving age to fifteen in 1947. Three temporary colleges opened in 1945, and by 1947 there were 55 offering an intensive 14 months course for 13,500 students, many of them ex-servicemen. Between 1949-51 the scheme was gradually closed down, having produced about 35,000 qualified teachers. The scheme ran alongside the normal two-year course for school-leavers, but ETC students were required to complete a two-year and not one-year probationary period.

The second major development, (and perhaps the most significant in the history of English teacher education) has been the spectacular expansion of the numbers in training in the 1950s and 1960s. This has been touched on above in discussing the increasing numbers of colleges (and particularly LEA colleges), the increasing size of colleges, the decline in residence, and the provision for mature students. Teacher education had stagnated between the wars and the numbers of college students fell from about 13,000 in 1920 to some 12,000 in 1929, and to around 9,000 in 1937.²³) The emergency training scheme boosted numbers between 1945–51; but in addition, seventeen new, permanent LEA colleges were opened between 1946–48, and student numbers rose rapidly to some 25,000 in 1955.²⁴) *Institutional* factors facilitated these immediate post-war changes: for example, the expansion of sixth forms which increased the supply of qualified college entrants, particularly girls; increased salary scales; and the establishment of the “teacher training pool” which facilitated the financing of LEA college building. But undoubtedly the changes were precipitated by *societal* factors, viz. the teacher shortage imposed by the war years and raising the school leaving age in 1947; and societal demands maintained pressure on the colleges into the 1950s, and particularly, the 1960s.

The postponed births of the war years appeared in 1946 and 1947 as the “bulge”, enlarging the school population of the 1950s; but the effect of this was magnified by the “trend”, the increasing numbers of children staying on at school. Nonetheless, it was decided in 1957 to increase the length of the college course from two to three years from 1960,²⁵) when the “bulge” would have almost completed its passage through the schools. It would be tidy to argue that this decision reflected an advanced industrial society’s needs for talent and therefore for improved school-teaching, but it was almost certainly taken because of the fear of a teacher surplus when the “bulge” had passed. Nonetheless, it is questionable whether massive public expenditure would have been preferred to teacher unemployment had there been no force at all in the educational investment argument.

However, by 1960 further societal pressures had arisen. In 1956, the birthrate rose again, unexpectedly, and this new trend continued until 1964, the numbers born in that year being 31.7% higher than in 1955.²⁶) This second “bulge” began to pass into the schools from 1960, aggravating a shortage of teachers which was arising out of two additional unforeseen pressures: the average length of school life was increasing more rapidly than ever, and the “wastage” of young women teachers who were marrying earlier – within a year or two of leaving college – and in greater numbers, had become more acute. Both “bulge” and “wastage” reflected

large-scale demographic trends: higher marriage rates,²⁷⁾ earlier marriage,²⁸⁾ earlier family building, and an increase in illegitimacies, together with the effects of Commonwealth immigration. The economic prosperity of the period is doubtless one of many interrelated economic, social and ideological factors which influenced not only "bulge" and "wastage", but also the "trend" to staying on at school.

Table IV illustrates these trends in college admissions and total student numbers over the 40-year period 1926-67.

TABLE IV
College Admissions and Total Enrolment, 1926-67
(Men and Women, England and Wales)

Year	Admissions	Total Enrolment
1926	7,500	12,500
1932	6,500	n.a.
1938	6,000	10,500
1945	8,000 *	13,500 *
1947	20,000 *	28,000 *
1949	19,500 *	28,500 *
1951	14,000	25,000
1953	12,500	24,000
1955	13,000	25,000
1957	14,500	27,500
1959	16,500	31,500
1961	18,000	34,500
1963	23,000	54,000
1965	31,000	73,000
1967	38,500	96,000

* Includes Emergency Training Colleges.

n.a.: not available

All figures have been rounded to the nearest 500.

Source: Board of Education, *Education in England and Wales, 1926-27*, London: HMSO, 1928, Tables 89, 90; *Education in 1935*, London: HMSO, 1936, Table 95; Ministry of Education, *Statistics Relating to Education for the Years 1935-46*, London: HMSO, 1948, Table 90; *Education 1900-1950*, London: HMSO, 1951, Tables 54, 56; *Education in 1951*, London: HMSO, 1952, Tables 60, 61; *Statistics of Education, 1961*, London: HMSO, 1962, Tables 30, 32; Department of Science and Education, *Statistics of Education, 1967*, London: HMSO, 1969, Vol. 4, Tables 2, 6.

In the six years 1959-65, admissions almost doubled, and they increased by almost one-third again in the next three years. Similarly, with student numbers, McNair's figure of around 10,000 students in training in 1938

had multiplied $2\frac{1}{2}$ times within twenty years; in the six years 1957-63 the figure doubled again, and it had doubled yet again before the end of the decade.

The third major post-war development has been in the area of curriculum and organisation, and these qualitative changes, some consequential, others coincidental, have created *institutional* justifications to support the *societal* pressures for a new college role in British higher education in the 1970s. Expansion brought new libraries, science and language laboratories, craft and drama workshops, gymnasias, and items of academic and administrative equipment (closed circuit television, for example) too expensive for smaller units. Larger staffs have meant a wider curriculum now studied at greater depth in the new three-year course. The Robbins proposal for a four-year concurrent B.Ed. degree has been implemented in most ATOs; a greater number of university graduates are now taking a one-year course in the colleges as well as in the UDEs and this proportion will increase;²⁹⁾ and the colleges are enlarging their role in in-service and advanced training for experienced teachers.³⁰⁾ The entry qualifications of college students has risen³¹⁾ (although most are less well qualified than undergraduates),³²⁾ but comparable data on college staff is lacking. However, men staff have come to outnumber women in the 1960s, and they tend to be better qualified than women and more concerned about further study and research.³³⁾ A final qualitative change of some significance to this discussion has been the greater involvement of academic staff in college decision-making, and the liberalisation of the relations between colleges and their LEAs which followed the Weaver Report of 1966, and which may have been a concession to the colleges which failed to receive the fuller membership of university schools of education recommended by Robbins in 1963.

The Future of the Colleges

In 1971, teacher education is once again in the forefront of educational debate, and in the terms of this paper some of the proposals and counter-proposals seem to reflect *institutional* pressures, pressures from within the educational system, while others seem to originate farther afield, in *societal* concerns. There is, of course, a constant interplay. The former Government's decision, in 1969, to set up a Parliamentary Select Committee to examine teacher education may have been rooted, ultimately, in the nation's demographic and economic trends (which are discussed below); or it may simply have been a reaction to institutional pressures, the growing criticisms of colleges by teachers, for example. Equally, the former Government's decision to institute a detailed local inquiry into the

structure and functioning of each ATO in 1970³⁴) emanated from the government Department of Education and Science and was manifestly an *institutional* decision, but it may well have reflected wider concern for educational efficiency and productivity.

The same ambivalence applies to most of the current unease about English teacher education. Practically all the policy statements made by individuals and professional associations in 1969–70, for example, might be simply related to the sitting of the Parliamentary Select Committee, a “Hawthorne effect”, and not, as they may appear to be at first sight, spontaneous expressions of opinion by educationalists. So the analysis of institutional and societal elements becomes somewhat speculative. However, given this important qualification, this paper hypothesises that the views of students, teachers, and college and university lecturers,³⁵) on the future shape of British higher education (and particularly of teacher education) have gained their present currency because the *societal* climate of opinion is favourable; and secondly, that this societal climate of opinion reflects several crucial underlying trends.

There is a striking consensus in the view being offered by students, teachers, lecturers and others that the several strands of British higher education should be unified into a more rational and less wasteful system,³⁶) and that the role of the colleges of education should be broadened to include not only training for allied professions but also non-vocational undergraduate courses;³⁷) and it is difficult to ignore three salient features of the social context in which this view is being expressed. The first is *demographic*: the number of eighteen-year-olds reached a peak in 1965 and then declined (the “bulge” of the late 1940s), but the “bulge” of the mid-50s will arrive in higher education from 1973 onwards. The second feature is *ideological*: the “trend” to staying on at school has continued unchecked, adding yearly to the numbers qualified to enter higher education. In 1955, 4.5% of young people were achieving two or more advanced level passes; by 1961 the figure was 6.9% and by 1967 no less than 10.9%.³⁸) The third contextual feature is *economic*: at one level, the country cannot afford the soaring costs of higher education which reflect not only demographic and ideological changes but also the far higher cost per student compared with that in schools. Expenditure on universities has trebled since 1960 and doubled since 1963, compared with corresponding increases of 89% and 52% for schools.³⁹) At a deeper level, the steady contraction of unskilled work, and the steady growth of highly skilled and in particular of clerical, administrative and professional occupations demands the continued expansion of further and higher education.

No doubt these factors are interrelated: growth of GNP, as already

suggested, may have influenced patterns of marriage and family-building in the mid-1950s, and (together with the continuing democratisation of British society) educational and occupational aspirations also. The combined "bulges" and "trend" have inflated educational costs, and long-term occupational changes promise no relaxation of this upward course of expenditure: the demand for advanced technical and professional qualifications from the manufacturing and service sectors is certain to accelerate; secondly, the continued rise of *women's* white-collar and professional employment may well have a profound influence on the aspirational levels of future generations;⁴⁰ and thirdly, the trend to large-scale capital-intensive industry and the "affluent worker" may also be expected to enhance levels of aspiration.⁴¹)

It is in this context that the current debate about the future pattern of British higher education is taking place, a debate which ranges from the proposal for the "comprehensive university", a unified regional structure incorporating teacher education and all other branches of further and higher education,⁴² to the more cautious but nonetheless important suggestions that colleges of education cease to be "monotechnic" establishments, and now broaden their role.⁴³) Societal influences (demographic, ideological, economic) appear to be uppermost, but as this paper has suggested, this was not always so and the complex interaction of societal and institutional pressures has varied over time. In its beginnings, English teacher education responded to the fundamental needs of early industrialism - literacy and social stability. With the diversification of the economy, the rise of a sizeable middle class, the entrenchment of the ethos of the early Victorian colleges, and the development of secondary education, teacher education came to reflect these societal and institutional forces through its two avenues, the colleges and the UDEs. The inter-war stagnation of the economy was paralleled in teacher education, entrenching the internal divisions which both McNair and Robbins failed to bridge, and leading to the "binary" policy, an attempt to implement the talent-seeking and talent-developing needs of advanced industrialism through the mechanisms of an earlier age.

In the 1970s, teacher education has become a large, creative, and influential sector of higher education with the will and capacity to accept a broader role. If the fragmented, binary system is as dysfunctional in the face of mounting societal demands as its critics claim, perhaps English teacher education will soon come to assume a very different place in the mainstream of a unified pattern of higher education.

NOTES

- 1) The term "social institution" is used throughout this paper to mean not an organisation but a set of interrelated norms centred about a fundamental human problem. The social institution of the *family*, for example, is concerned with the regulation of sex needs, the production and care of children, and the provision of subsistence, shelter and companionship. *Education* as defined above may also be regarded as a social institution.
- 2) H. C. DENT, *The Training of Teachers in the UK*. London: Longmans, 1962. By 1848 there were 200 pupil-teachers, and within little more than a decade, over 13,000.
- 3) In the 1960s and '70s, as discussed later, the colleges have come to be increasingly regarded as an important sector of higher education, and the provision of purely non-vocational (as well as multi-vocational) courses is not far off.
- 4) D. C. MARSH, *The Changing Social Structure of England and Wales, 1871-1961*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965, p. 128. Marsh reports the 1901 Census finding that "the proportion of persons who could not sign the marriage register other than by mark fell from 194 to 25 per 1,000 males and 268 to 29 per 1,000 females between 1871 and 1901."
- 5) *Ibid.*
- 6) J. LAWSON, "The Historical Background", *Aspects of Education*, 3, 1965, University of Hull, pp. 14-28.
- 7) According to Dent, *op. cit.*, the numbers of training college places almost doubled during this period, from 7,056 in 1903-4 to 13,050 in 1912-13.
- 8) Department of Education and Science, *Education and Science in 1969*. London: HMSO, 1970. The system included well over a million local government employees (including teachers), commanding more than 6% of GNP in 1969.
- 9) William TAYLOR, *Society and the Education of Teachers*. London: Faber and Faber, 1969.
- 10) McNair Report, *Teachers and Youth Leaders*. London: HMSO, 1944.
- 11) *Ibid.*
- 12) Lawson, *op. cit.* (Note 6). It may be that the situation has now been reversed with the bigger colleges and their large Education Department staffs increasingly differentiating the study of Education, and the far smaller UDEs with less time in a one-year course tending to concentrate on methodology and offering a limited exposure to the foundation disciplines.
- 13) Dent, *op. cit.* (Note 2), notes that "it is from this time that one hears of libraries, student common rooms and student clubs and societies as regular features of residential college life."
- 14) W. H. G. ARMYTAGE, *The Role of an Education Department in a Modern University*. Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1954, quoted by Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- 15) Weaver Report, *Report of the Study Group on the Government of Colleges of Education*. London: HMSO, 1966, implemented by the Government in 1967.
- 16) Department of Education and Science, *Administrative Memorandum 7/65*. London: HMSO, 1965.
- 17) Taylor, *op. cit.* (Note 9).
- 18) In England, colleges of further education are for children and adults beyond school-leaving age (at present 15 years).
- 19) Department of Education and Science, *Reports on Education: No 49*. London: HMSO, 1968, and *Education and Science in 1969, op. cit.* (Note 8), p. 62.
- 20) Dent, *op. cit.* (Note 2).
- 21) H. C. DENT, *The Educational System of England and Wales*. London: University of London Press, 1969.
- 22) Department of Education and Science, *Reports on Education, op. cit.* (Note 19).
- 23) John VAIZEY and John SHEEHAN, *Resources for Education*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1968.
- 24) Ministry of Education, *Statistics of Education: 1961, Part 2*. London: HMSO, 1962.

25) This had been considered as early as 1888. See the Cross Report, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Elementary Education Acts*. London: 1888. It was also recommended by McNair in 1944.

26) R. K. KELSALL, *Population*. London: Longmans, 1970.

27) 1911: 552 out of every 1000 women aged 20-39 in England and Wales were married.

1931: 572 out of every 1000 women aged 20-39 in England and Wales were married.

1951: 731 out of every 1000 women aged 20-39 in England and Wales were married.

1961: 808 out of every 1000 women aged 20-39 in England and Wales were married.

This trend was found for all age-groups. Kelsall, *op. cit.*, p. 21, comments that for both men and women aged 15-24 it had more than doubled between 1931 and 1964.

28) "Nearly 29% of spinster brides in 1961 were under twenty compared with only 11% in 1938 and 10% in 1931." Kelsall, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

29) 1,000 men and women were taking the postgraduate Certificate in Education in some 20 colleges in 1967, 1,900 in 40 colleges in 1969 (Department of Education and Science, *Education and Science in 1969*, *op. cit.*, Note 8). After 1973, new graduates will be ineligible to teach without this Certificate, and this is leading to an expansion of UDEs and of the numbers of colleges accepting graduates.

30) Almost all the one-term in-service courses for teachers (of which there were 182 in 1967, a doubling since 1965) are college-based, and some colleges also run Teachers' Centres (i.e. in-service training centres). The one-year 'supplementary' courses are declining; but the number of college-based one-year advanced Diplomas (normally taught by Institutes) is growing.

31) E. G. PIERSON, "Training Colleges in Transition", *Aspects of Education*, 3, 1965, University of Hull, pp. 29-40. According to him, 66% of admissions in 1964 had one or more advanced level passes in the General Certificate of Education (and 40% two or more), compared with 32% (and 18%) in 1955. This would be partly a function of the postwar 'trend'.

32) Taylor, *op. cit.*, (Note 9), p. 176.

33) *Ibid.*

34) Secretary of State's letter to Vice-Chancellors, 19 February, 1970. This has not so far been rescinded by the new Government.

35) Select Committee on Education and Science, *Teacher Training: Minutes of Evidence*, 30, vi, London: HMSO, 1970 (Evidence of National Union of Students). National Union of Teachers, *The Future of Teacher Education*. London: NUT, 1969, and *Teacher Education: the Way Ahead*. London: NUT, 1970. Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education, *Higher Education and Preparation for Teaching*. London: ATCDE, 1970. Association of University Teachers, *Universities in the 1970s*, London: AUT, 1970.

36) Critics of the binary policy argue that it fosters problems of status and a maldistribution of scarce resources.

37) The colleges of education now comprise a large sector of higher education. In 1969 there were 219,000 university students in Britain and 112,000 students in colleges and departments of education outside the universities. See Department of Education and Science, *Education and Science in 1969*, *op. cit.* (Note 8).

38) R. LAYARD; J. KING; C. MOSER, *The Impact of Robbins*. London: Penguin, 1969.

39) Department of Education and Science, *Statistics of Education: 1967*. London: HMSO, 1969.

40) Marsh notes the "astounding" increase of 122% in the number of female clerks and typists in England and Wales from 1931-51, *op. cit.*, (Note 4), p. 147. Much literature in the sociology of education has commented upon the connection between a mother's white collar occupation before marriage and subsequent patterns of motivation and achievement in her children. See, for example, Elizabeth G. COHEN, "Parental Factors in Educational Mobility", *Sociology of Education*, 38, 5, 1965, pp. 404-25.

41) J. H. GOLDTHORPE, D. LOCKWOOD, F. BECHHOFFER, J. PLATT, *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1969. For an

application of this thesis in the area of educational aspirations see Derek TOOMEY, "Home-Centred Working Class Parents' Attitudes Towards their Sons' Education and Careers", *Sociology*, 3, 3, 1969, pp. 299-320.

42) Robin PEDLEY, *The Comprehensive University*. University of Exeter, 1969.

43) Committee of Vice-Chancellors, *University Development in the 1970s*. London, 1970.

PROCESSUS SOCIAL, CHANGEMENTS SOCIAUX ET FORMATION DES ENSEIGNANTS EN ANGLETERRE

par MAURICE CRAFT, Exeter

Les sociétés devenant de plus en plus complexes, leurs dispositions relatives à l'éducation de leurs futurs citoyens en vont de même. Il pourrait être exagéré de prétendre que la sophistication du système pédagogique d'une société est un indice clef de son niveau de développement économique et social, mais cette affirmation contient néanmoins beaucoup de vrai. De même, les dispositions d'une société en vue de la formation de ses enseignants semblent souvent présenter un indice encore plus significatif. D'autre part, on ne peut pas ignorer la tendance de toutes les institutions sociales à adopter des caractéristiques autonomes qui ne coïncident peut-être pas toujours avec les besoins sociaux dominants. C'est pourquoi, il est possible qu'un système de formation d'enseignants dans une société en rapide mutation révèle plus des besoins du passé que ceux du présent; et il est possible aussi qu'il indique la répartition changeante du pouvoir entre plusieurs institutions de base — religieuses, gouvernementales et économiques.

La formation d'enseignants en Angleterre reflète donc non seulement les besoins d'une économie industrielle en expansion, mais aussi l'influence des églises, le rôle en mutation de l'état, et les pratiques et traditions en mutation des écoles normales elles-mêmes. Ce rapport examine le fonctionnement de deux de ces vastes processus sociaux et considère l'évolution de la formation d'enseignants en Angleterre par rapport aux besoins nationaux en mutation (pressions de la société) et à l'adaptabilité de la formation d'enseignants (pressions institutionnelles). Commenant avec l'apparition des premiers collèges supportés par l'Eglise dans les années 1840, ce rapport trace l'influence croissante de l'Etat, la libéralisation progressive des collèges et le développement d'un système parallèle de formation d'enseignants dans les universités. En 1914, un certain nombre de collèges non-confessionnels financés publiquement ont fait leur apparition, et après la stagnation des années d'entre-deux-guerres, ce groupe de collèges est devenu beaucoup plus nombreux que tous les autres.

Depuis 1945, la formation d'enseignants en Angleterre s'est développée considérablement. Tous les collèges offrent un cours de trois ans et la plupart offrent aussi le titre de "Bachelor of Education"; ils sont devenus mixtes et sont des collèges pour externes. Ils ont de plus une idéologie beaucoup plus libérale qu'à n'importe quelle époque du passé. Mais la division s'est maintenue entre la formation d'enseignants basée sur l'université et les collèges financés publiquement malgré plusieurs efforts importants pour pallier à cette différence. Ce rapport indique que les pressions de la société contestent une fois de plus le mauvais fonctionnement du système fragmenté de l'éducation supérieure en Grande-Bretagne.

SOZIALER PROZESS, SOZIALER WANDEL UND DIE LEHREREAUSBILDUNG IN ENGLAND

VON MAURICE CRAFT, Exeter

In dem Maße, in dem eine Gesellschaft an Komplexität gewinnt, werden auch ihre Einrichtungen zur Bildung der heranwachsenden Bürger komplexer. Es wäre vielleicht übertrieben zu behaupten, daß die Verfeinerung des Bildungswesens einer Gesellschaft ein unbedingter Gradmesser ihres sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklungsstandes sei, es ist jedoch einige Wahrheit darin enthalten. In diesem Zusammenhang scheinen die Vorkehrungen einer Gesellschaft für die Ausbildung ihrer Lehrer oft ein noch aussagekräftigeres Kriterium zu sein. Andererseits tendieren alle gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen dahin, autonome Charakteristika zu entwickeln, wodurch sie nicht immer mit den vorherrschenden sozialen Bedürfnissen Schritt halten können. Das Lehrerausbildungssystem in einer sich rasch wandelnden Gesellschaft mag daher mehr über die Bedürfnisse der Vergangenheit aussagen als über die der Gegenwart, und es kann die wechselnde Machtverteilung unter den verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Grundinstitutionen – kirchlicher, staatlicher und wirtschaftlicher Natur – reflektieren.

Die Lehrerausbildung in England spiegelt somit nicht nur die Bedürfnisse einer sich entwickelnden Industriegesellschaft wider, sondern auch den Einfluß der Kirchen, die sich wandelnde Rolle des Staates und die sich im Laufe der Zeit entwickelnden Verfahrenspraktiken und Traditionen der Lehrerbildungsstätten selbst. Dieser Artikel befaßt sich mit der Wirkungsweise von zweien dieser sozialen Grundprozesse, indem er die Entwicklung der englischen Lehrerbildung im Verhältnis zu den sich wandelnden nationalen Bedürfnissen (gesellschaftsbedingte Zwänge) und zu dem entsprechenden Stand des Lehrerausbildungssystems selbst (institutionelle Zwänge) untersucht. Beginnend mit der Gründung der ersten kirchlichen Colleges (in den vierziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts) schildert der Artikel den wachsenden Einfluß des Staates, die allmähliche Liberalisierung der Colleges selber und das Entstehen eines parallelen Systems der Lehrerausbildung an den Universitäten. Bis 1914 war eine Reihe von nicht-konfessionellen, öffentlich finanzierten Colleges entstanden, und nach der Stagnation während der Zeit zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen begann diese Gruppe alle anderen zahlenmäßig weit zu übertreffen.

Seit 1945 hat sich das englische Lehrerausbildungswesen beträchtlich ausgeweitet. Alle Colleges bieten einen 3-jährigen Studiengang an und die meisten zusätzlich den Grad eines Bachelor of Education. Sie sind koedukativ geworden, weitgehend ohne Wohnortbindung, und sind in ihrem Ethos wesentlich liberaler als jemals zuvor. Aber die Trennung zwischen universitätsgebundenen Lehrerausbildungsstätten und den öffentlich finanzierten Colleges ist, trotz mehrerer bedeutender Überbrückungsversuche, bestehen geblieben. Dieser Artikel vertritt die These, daß wieder einmal infolge gesellschaftsbedingter Zwänge die Funktionsmängel des fragmenthaften britischen Hochschulsystems in Erscheinung treten.

THE AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF ENGLISH PRIMARY EDUCATION

by GILBERT F. PEAKER, Grasmere, England

Introduction

In England the aims of education are, in the last resort, determined by the general public, whose elected representatives enact legislation to govern the educational process. But the language used in the legislation is necessarily rather vague and general, and while the associated documents are somewhat more specific a large area of important detail remains subject to local option. Thus to say that children are to be educated in accordance with their age, ability and aptitude, and in accordance with the wishes of their parents, is a declaration of principle that requires much interpretation to reduce it to practice. For example, does it imply that all children are to have an equal share of the available resources? Or is the parable of the talents to be followed, so that those who profit most from the early stages receive a larger share later on? Or should it be the opposite or compensatory principle? Are children to be taught in relatively homogeneous groups, made up of fast or slow learners as the case may be, so that each group can proceed at its own pace, or should fast and slow learners be intermingled? Should the school programme be child centred or subject centred, and what can this distinction mean? What should be the scope of the curriculum?

About all these questions there is continuing controversy, which perhaps tends to conceal a fair measure of underlying agreement, at any rate so far as primary education is concerned. For example, most of the champions of child-centred education would agree that subject matter is not wholly unimportant, and most of those who give primacy to subject matter would agree that the personal relation between teacher and child cannot be ignored. Special, and rather costly, arrangements are made for teaching the most handicapped children in special schools, and in ordinary schools classes for the backward are commonly smaller than other classes, so that each child in them has a larger share of the available resources, and these policies are accepted even by those who think that it is better to follow the parable of the talents in the later stages of education.

My own experience of the English Primary School began in 1907, when I entered one at the age of five. My recollections are of varied days, in which for the most part we were kept quietly and busily learning, with intervals of violent physical activity. These were not physical education, in the modern sense, though we had a drill period every day, but were

playground games of a very vigorous and satisfactory kind. There were three departments, organised by standards, which must I suppose have corresponded roughly to the closely defined standards of the somewhat earlier days of payment by results. At any rate promotion depended upon progress made, because children of ten were scattered from Standard Six to Standard One. After the war this system was gradually replaced by promotion by age, with streamed classes in large schools, the change being pretty well complete by the middle twenties. One of my early recollections is of the "Boots for the Bairns" fund, which existed to provide footwear for children who otherwise would have been barefoot. The acute poverty which this fund was designed to relieve has been greatly mitigated during the ensuing 60 years, but it still remains the case that the range of difference between the best homes and the worst is far greater than the range between the best schools and the worst that are allowed to exist. Moreover, as Sir Cyril Burt¹) has said: "Two months in every year, two days in every week, and all except five hours out of every 24 are spent by the child not at school but somewhere else - at home, in the street, or wherever he takes his recreation." Hence, the author goes on, it is not enough to study the school and teacher; it is equally essential to study conditions outside. The strong relation between home background and educational achievement is amply illustrated in the surveys described below.

To what extent and in what directions are the educational achievements to-day in advance of those of 60 years ago? This is not an easy question to answer, for three reasons. In the first place, the evidence now extant about the achievements of 60 years ago is rather scanty. Secondly there have been some changes in value judgments, so that less stress is placed on some kinds of work in schools, and more on others. In the third place it is hard to disentangle the effects of changes in the schools and changes in the outside world.

As to the scanty evidence there are many persons still alive, including the writer, who remember particular primary schools as they were in the days before the 1914 war. But clearly there is no guarantee that such memories are even moderately representative of the whole body of schools and pupils. The first national survey carried out with proper attention to the rules of probability sampling did not take place until 1952. Sir Cyril Burt has evidence from a small judgment sample of inner London schools which extends back to 1914 but, in view of the great changes that have taken place in inner London, partly owing to the heavy bombing in the 1939 war, there must be serious doubts about the representativeness of this sample through the ensuing 60 years. There is some indirect evidence

from the great growth in the numbers of pupils taking public examinations. It is true that the direct reference of this evidence is to the secondary stage. But common sense suggests, and the evidence from the second Plowden enquiry ²⁾ described below strongly confirms, that improvements at the secondary stage must depend very largely upon improvements in the primary schools.

An example of a change in values is to be found in the increase in the proportion of teachers who believe that children are more likely to write well in the long run if they are at first encouraged to write freely, about topics on which they have something spontaneous to say, than if they are checked by being called on to correct mistakes. This is on the principle that those who are afraid to make mistakes will make little. However this may be, it is plain that such free writers will be very apt to make mistakes in the early stages, and may therefore do rather badly on an old-fashioned test that counts their vices and not their virtues.

The development of television is one obvious example of a change that makes it hard to disentangle effects of changes in the schools and changes in the world outside. The general improvement in welfare is another. However this may be, some solid evidence of improvement in reading over the last twenty years is provided by the national surveys reported in the next section.

Standards of Reading

So far as they relate to primary pupils, the results of the national surveys beginning in 1948 are given succinctly in Table I.

TABLE I
Percentile Scores in Reading Comprehension for Pupils Aged Eleven

Percentile Rank	Scores			
	1948	1952	1956	1964
90	18.4	19.5	21.1	22.8
80	15.9	16.8	18.8	20.5
70	14.2	15.1	16.7	18.4
60	12.7	13.6	14.7	16.4
50	11.3	12.2	13.0	14.7
40	9.8	10.7	11.3	13.0
30	8.1	9.0	9.6	11.3
20	6.6	7.2	7.9	9.4
10	3.9	4.9	5.6	7.5
Mean Score	11.6	12.4	13.3	15.0

Source: *Progress in Reading, 1948-64*. London: HMSO, 1966. *Children and Their Primary Schools* (The Plowden Report). London: HMSO, 1967, Vol. 2, pp. 260-6.

The same reading comprehension test has been used for all the surveys in the chain. It was devised by Dr A. F. Watts H.M.I. and Professor P. E. Vernon. It contains 35 questions and has a time limit of 10 minutes. For each question the pupil has to select the right answer from five given words. The questions become progressively harder. The first questions could be read and answered by an intelligent child in the infant school. The later questions need the same sort of vocabulary and understanding as the leading article in a good newspaper. The average gain in score over the 16 years is shown in the lowest row of the table as 3.4 points. It is remarkably steady, since it is made up of 0.8 and 0.9 for the first two periods of four years, together with 1.7 for the final period of eight years. It is apparent from the body of the table that over most of the range a point of score is equivalent to about six percentile ranks. Consequently the gain of 3.4 points is equivalent to about 20 percentile ranks. For example, a score of 11.3 represented the fiftieth rank in 1948, but only the thirtieth rank in 1964. Another way of representing the gain is to note that for pupils aged 11 a point of score is equivalent to five months of reading age, so that the gain of 3.4 is equivalent to about 17 months of reading age. Calculation of the standard error of the gain in mean score shows that it is 18 per cent of the gain for the 1948 judgement sample, and 14 per cent over the probability sample proper from 1952 to 1964. The gain in months can then be stated as 17 ± 3.0 .

The strength of the evidence in favour of the remarkable progress illustrated by the table above can be considered under two heads. These are, the appropriateness of the test and the accuracy of the sampling. The questions are practically independent. The accuracy of the sampling would need to be demonstrated whatever the test, and the appropriateness of the tests would need to be considered whatever the accuracy of the sampling, and indeed if every child in the whole country had been tested.

The general nature of the test is that it consists of 35 questions increasing rapidly in difficulty. It is called a test of reading comprehension, and it seems likely that the early questions test mainly reading, and the later ones comprehension. The early questions are so simple that almost any pupil could answer them if they are put to him orally, so that if he fails to answer them it is reasonable to think that this is because he cannot read them. On the other hand a pupil may have mastered the mechanics of reading and still be quite unable to obtain a high score because he lacks the vocabulary, the general knowledge, and the understanding needed to grasp the meaning and give the answer when he is confronted by the later questions. At one end the test answers the question "Can he read at all?", and at the other end the question "Can he read to some purpose, like an

educated man?". It would be hard to ask for more in the course of 10 minutes.

If the test were to be used as the sole measure of the ability of a particular child it could very properly be objected that however much the authors were guided by previous trial in their choice of questions they must perforce in the last resort select one question and reject another, and that in so doing they are making a random distribution of good and bad fortune among the children who will subsequently take the test. But it is the essence of randomness that it tends to cancel out over large numbers, and the object of the surveys is not to make judgements about individuals, but to assess the progress of populations, by means of samples large enough for the good and bad luck to cancel out. Even where the distribution of good and bad fortune is not random, the effects are eliminated provided that the proportions remain the same. This is strikingly illustrated by the constancy of the bias of the test in favour of boys, which has been very steady at about a point from the beginning. Analysis has shown that this bias lies almost entirely in nine of the questions, with one of them accounting for more than a fifth of the total. This is a case where the distribution of luck implied by the choice of question is known not to be random, but to favour one sex. But because the favour is constant it does not invalidate the comparisons of one year with another.

These arguments go some way to suggest that different methods of assessing average progress will lead to much the same conclusions for a moderately long period. They are not, however, demonstrative. Many definitions of reading ability and many methods of assessment have been proposed, and experiment has shown only moderate correlations between them for individual pupils. Although it seems likely that there would be much closer agreement between them over long term changes in averages there is no conclusive evidence of this.

Can the comparisons be taken further back?

Comment on the progress shown by the national surveys described above has frequently taken the form: "It is all very well to illustrate the advance made since 1948, but were not things at a very low ebb in 1948, only three years after the end of World War II? Should not the comparison be extended backwards, if possible to the days before the First World War?" The difficulty about taking the comparisons back to 1914 is that before 1952 there were no properly constructed national samples, in this or any other country. Sir Cyril Burt, it is true, has evidence derived from a small judgement sample of ten schools in inner London,³) given in Table II.

TABLE II

Achievement of Primary School Children in Inner London, 1914-65.
(1914 = 100)

Date	Reading Compre- hension	Reading Accuracy	Spelling	Mechanical Arithmetic	Problem Arithmetic	Mean
1914	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1917	96.4	94.0	92.1	88.3	91.3	92.4
1920	99.9	98.6	97.3	96.9	98.7	98.3
1930	105.1	99.3	97.3	100.0	93.5	99.0
1945	93.3	93.3	87.1	85.9	92.0	90.3
1955	97.8	93.8	91.3	88.6	94.3	93.2
1965	99.3	95.4	92.0	92.5	96.3	95.1

The first column shows a substantial gain in reading comprehension from 1945 to 1965, although when allowance is made for the scales of the two tests this gain is only two thirds of the gain shown by the national samples from 1948 to 1964. This is in line with the ILEA survey of reading comprehension recently published, which gives 94 as the mean score for eight year olds in inner London on a test recently standardized nationally. Inner London suffered very heavily from bombing, and now contains a very large proportion of recent immigrants, so that on both accounts it seems likely that substantial adjustments would be needed to make the inner London figures representative of the country as a whole. In other words, although Sir Cyril's inner London chain shows 1965 at the same level as 1914 for reading comprehension it may well be that for the country as a whole there has been a net gain of half a dozen points or more.

On the other hand it seems quite likely that the relativities between the different tests shown in the lowest row of the table, or something like it, would hold for the country as a whole, because of changes of stress in the curriculum. No one doubts the importance of reading comprehension, but spelling and mechanical arithmetic are less stressed in the majority of schools to-day than they were in 1914. There is argument about whether this is a good thing, but not about whether it is a fact. Consequently it is to be expected that, in comparison with 1914, relatively low scores would be obtained in these tests, more particularly since their form has not been changed during the half century that has elapsed.

International Comparisons

How, it may be asked, can this account of generally rising standards be squared with the complaints frequently heard about the low reading ability of some boys and girls as they pass from the primary to the secondary schools? The answer is not far to seek. The first table given above shows that between 1948 and 1964 the score at the tenth percentile rose from four to eight points. Viewed as an improvement this is considerable. Viewed as an absolute achievement even a score of eight points out of a possible score of 35 represents a rather poor performance, leaving much room for improvement. This is true, and provides a strong case for those who urge vigorous measures to improve methods at the tail end. But when we are considering whether there is ground for complaint or whether remedial measures are likely to meet with rapid success, we must look at the matter in perspective. On the one hand we should look at the present standards in this country in comparison with those of the past and here we note a steady though slow improvement, at any rate over the last 20 years. On the other hand we should compare standards in this country with those abroad. It will be possible to do this directly when the current IEA survey is completed in 1971, since reading comprehension is one of the six areas studied in this survey. The first IEA survey was concerned with mathematics,⁴) the most international of all subjects, and here, for the age group of boys and girls of 13, England occupied a middle place in a compact group comprising the Netherlands, Australia, Germany, Scotland and France, well below Japan, Israel and Belgium, but equally well above the United States, Sweden and Finland: in short, not the very button of fortune's cap, nor the soles of her shoes.

Home Background

In the international studies mentioned above, as in the Plowden studies in this country, the pupil's school achievement has been found to be highly correlated with his home background. This, after all, is to be expected. Before the pupil enters school he has been conceived, born, and brought up by his parents in a certain neighbourhood. After he enters school he still, as Sir Cyril Burt remarks, spends two months every year, two days every week and all but five hours out of every twenty four elsewhere. The first Plowden study, of which the 1964 reading test formed part, was concerned with three age groups, then at the head and the foot of the junior school and at the head of the infant school. This was in 1964. In 1968 the same cohorts of children were surveyed again; by this time they were in the fourth and the first forms of the secondary school, and in the last¹/₂ year of the primary school.

The children in the study were originally drawn by a two-stage stratified sampling process which produced a sample of 150 primary schools and about 500 boys and 500 girls in each of the three age groups. The parents of these children were interviewed by the Government Social Survey in 1964 and again in 1968. School information was collected in 1964 by the Department, and in 1968 by the National Foundation for Educational Research. Altogether this evidence produced about 300 variables, most of which were grouped into 24 clusters, according to their subject matter. Each cluster was then weighted, to produce a single compound variable, and nine other variables were retained as singletons. Thus the variable called "Parental Circumstances 1964" was the weighted result of thirteen of the original variables, while "Teachers 1964" was the weighted sum of seven.

The main result of the regression analysis was that on the average for the four secondary age and sex groups the 1964 variables could account for 66% of the variation in the combined score on the three 1968 tests, and that the 1968 variables could add only 7% to this. For the two primary groups, the corresponding figures are 55% and 13%. This accords well with the proverbial wisdom that the child is the father to the man, and with the old Jesuit's saw, "Give me a child for the first seven years and I care not who has him thereafter". For the four older groups of boys and girls the events in and before 1964 account for nearly ten times as much variation as the events of the next four years. For the two younger groups, still in the primary school in 1968, the ratio is only four to one. As one would expect, the pattern becomes more firmly established as time goes on. There is more change between the ages of seven and eleven than between the ages of eleven and fifteen. But life does not begin at seven, nor end at fifteen, and this is a strong implication that the pattern at seven is governed by the pattern at three, or two, or one, and that the pattern at twenty one is governed still more firmly by the pattern at fifteen. This, after all, is mere common sense and common experience:

The moving finger writes, and, having writ
Moves on, nor all thy piety nor wit,
Can move it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all thy tears wash out a word of it.

Need for Nursery Schools

There is nothing novel about the qualitative aspect of the Plowden evidence; what is new is the quantitative aspect, exemplified in the 66% and the 7%. The other piece of proverbial wisdom, that it is never too late to mend, must be kept in mind but the evidence strongly suggests that

mending is much easier at an early stage than at a later one, and this is an argument in favour of nursery schooling. The prospect that schooling can counter the effects of an unfavourable home background is brighter in early childhood than later on. This can be said with confidence. It is less easy to be confident that, even in early childhood, the prospect is very bright. This doubt arises from the fact that on the Plowden evidence, teaching appears to play a relatively small part in comparison with home background.

There are two reasons why the teaching variables account for so little. One has already been mentioned. It is that the range between the best homes and the worst is far greater than the range between the best schools and the worst, because really bad schools are not allowed to exist. The second reason is that there are a very large number of ways in which good teaching can exert its effect, and that as yet no one has been able to devise ways of measuring them and combining the measures into a variable that takes full account of the range that does exist. In other words it is likely that on the one hand teaching cannot do a great deal to compensate for unfavourable family background, but on the other hand that what it can do is underestimated in the account given above.

The evidence from the Plowden surveys about the importance of home background is supported by the massive studies in the United States reported in *Equality of Educational Opportunity*⁵⁾ and *Our Nation's Schools*.⁶⁾ (US Department of Health, Education and Welfare/Office of Education). The evidence is that home background works mainly in two ways – through language and through encouragement. It is plain that the development of language is what most distinguishes mankind from the rest of the living world, and that for each of us the major accomplishment of our lives occurs in the early days when we learn to talk. We learn by imitating our parents, and we learn well or badly according to our parent's command of language. The occupational class of parents is such a powerful factor because the command of language is associated with occupational class. This is particularly the case when "command of language" is understood to refer to the kind of language that is used in school. But, it may be objected, why should primacy be given to this kind of language? Are there not other kinds of language, idiomatic and salty enough in themselves to deserve respect? That there is something in this objection is shown by the continual growth of slang from the beginning of recorded time, and, nowadays by the very wide popularity of such kinds of language in broadcasting by sound and sight. The first rejoinder to this is that slang not only grows but also decays. A more serious objection is that mankind has already so large an investment in the kind of language used

in schools that its replacement, even by an intrinsically better kind, would be a most serious and doubtful undertaking. The late A. C. Aitken, perhaps the most eminent algebraist of our time, never wearied of pointing out that decimalisation was a retrograde step. What we need, said Aitken, is not a system of decimal measures. We need duodecimal arithmetic. And he established beyond doubt the intrinsic superiority of duodecimal arithmetic. If intrinsic superiority were all that was at stake duodecimals would win hands down. But everybody who has learned arithmetic has learned decimal arithmetic, and hardly anyone, apart from Aitken, is equally familiar with duodecimals. The weight of human capital invested in decimals is so great that the duodecimal proposal was never seriously considered. In the same way, even if it were true that the language of the street, the hippie or the disc jockey were superior to the language of the school, the laboratory or the library it would remain the case that there is too much human capital locked up in the latter for a change to be lightly contemplated. Consequently an imperfect familiarity with the language of the schools remains the most serious of educational handicaps, apart from lack of wit.

None the less it is plain that the school must take its children as it finds them, and build upon what command of what sort of language they actually possess on entry. This is a most formidable task, rendered somewhat easier when the parents co-operate in intention, and somewhat harder when they do not. Parental attitudes also are correlated fairly highly with occupational class. On both counts, therefore, the prospects for compensatory education are less bright than could be wished.

In the United States, there has already been a large investment in programmes of compensatory education, with results no greater than the considerations above would suggest. This is paralleled in England by the policy of educational priority areas suggested in the Plowden report. In this case the policy of the parable of the talents which is to reinforce strength, is replaced by its opposite, which is to strengthen weakness. This is a question of the aims of education, on which the educational researcher, as such, has nothing to say, although, in his capacity as a citizen he may hold strong views to which he is as much entitled as any other member of the public. Teachers of goodwill engaged in the task will do their utmost to make the policies successful, and the researcher can help in assessing the degree of success. But in the last resort the question is one of ethics, and it is for the general public to judge.

Why Progress is Slow

Teaching is a difficult art. Experienced and reflective teachers know that success is only to be obtained by striking when the iron is hot; teachers have many irons in the fire, or out of it, and these irons get hot at different times and in different ways. The pupil can only take the next step when he is ready to do so; the difficulty lies in discerning when this moment first occurs. The doctrine of striking while the iron is hot has been documented in great detail in Piaget's monumental work, which sets out the stages of understanding the world from birth, as they occurred in his own children and among some older children at school in Geneva. The clear implication is that the parent or teacher is beating the air and ploughing the sands if she is too far ahead, and also that she is failing in her duty if she is too far behind; attempts to anticipate the child's growth are foredoomed to failure, but equally that growth depends upon a continual supply of appropriate mental food. On the whole the first part of Piaget's teaching has enjoyed a wider acceptance in England than the second. The first part has been interpreted as meaning "Children should not be pushed" more frequently than the second has been interpreted as "Children should not lack the opportunity to learn". Thus there have been instances of infant schools that positively discouraged parents from teaching children to read before they went to school, despite the fact that many children had mastered the rudiments before they first passed the school porch. In the same way some children are quite capable of notions about number before they go to school. There is even evidence that some literate parents have been more fearful that their children should be over-stimulated than that they should be bored.

However the main problem concerns not the parents who don't supply mental food because they fear this may be harmful, but the parents who don't supply mental food because they can't – in other words because they lack language of the kind appropriate to the school, the library and the laboratory. Here the teacher has to do what she can, building on the language already learned, as occasion serves. But when does occasion serve, and how?

It is plainly easier to approach the ideal of suiting the teaching to the individual child if the distance between the stage reached by the child who has made most progress and the child who has made least is not enormous. To secure this was the aim, both of the early organisation by standards, and of the organisation in streams that succeeded it. The first fell into disfavour because it was felt to be hard on the dunces – the children of ten taught in the same classes as bright children of six – and the second has

long been under attack for essentially the same reason; the children in the lower streams, it is said, feel that they have been abandoned. There is a good deal of evidence, including that in the Plowden Report, that on the whole the streamed organisation has produced a somewhat higher level of achievement than the unstreamed organisation, but the champions of the latter maintain that this is unimportant in comparison with the social gains. They also urge that unstreamed classes are likely to do better as more teachers become familiar with them.

Some Good Schools

The basic problem in teaching the backward child can be stated very easily. It is to engage his interest, if only because his interest will be engaged in something else if it is not engaged in the work of the school. As Dr Watts wrote:

In works of labour, or of skill,
I would be busy too;
For Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do.

Perhaps the increase in crime that has taken place in the last 20 years is a measure of the extent to which schools have failed to engage the interests of some of their pupils.

The failure is not universal. Many instances are known of schools which do succeed, in spite of the most unfavourable circumstances, in harnessing the energies of their pupils. A striking example is to be found in the New-som report 7) where the achievements of 19 schools specially selected from the worst slums in the country are set beside those of a representative national sample of 147 schools. Five of the slum schools have achievements above the national average. Of the schools in the representative sample of 147 there were 30 in problem areas, and of these, 13 had achievements above the national average. All these were secondary modern schools, but the Plowden evidence makes it clear that their achievements must have reflected to a very large extent those of the primary schools that fed them.

It should be recognised that behind the achievements of outstanding schools there lies an amount of skill, insight, and devotion that society has no right to demand of ordinary human nature, but some reason to expect in rare instances, and, it may be added, some duty to recognise and reward when it occurs. The pioneers have rare qualities, but less is demanded of those who follow in their train. For this reason the practices of outstanding schools provide patterns for wider adoption, although whether a particular pattern can profitably be adopted in any school

must really depend upon the tastes and talents of the staff. Music, drama, physical activity and art and craft have all been among the means by which outstanding schools have engaged the interests of their pupils. Up to a point interest is transferable; a child who has found one thing that he can do with a will is more likely to find others. A habit of cheerful activity grows stronger with time, and so does a habit of boredom. The habit of cheerful activity is therefore more likely to be established, and the habit of boredom avoided, if a wide range of activity is available, though the range should not, of course, be so wide that all the activities become desultory.

"Praise is the best diet for us, after all," said Sydney Smith, and one of the advantages of having many activities in a school is that it makes it more likely that every pupil can deserve praise for something. Disraeli went further, when he said that everyone liked flattery, and that with royalty it should be laid on with a trowel. Perhaps it would be going too far to say that this applies also to very young or very backward children but there is much to be said for seizing any occasion for praise, however small, provided the praise will be felt to be deserved. This question of giving praise when due may be more important than the question of streaming or not streaming. A judicious diet of praise, and a refusal to accept adverse judgments as final are parts of one recipe for success in teaching. Both can do something to compensate for lack of encouragement at home which, after the language difficulty, is perhaps the most serious impediment.

NOTES

1) Sir Cyril BURT, *The Backward Child*. London: University of London Press, 1937. p. 118.

2) G. F. PEAKER, *The Plowden Children Four Years Later*. London: NFER, 1971. The Plowden Report was entitled *Children and their Primary Schools*. 2 vols. London: HMSO, 1967.

3) *Guardian*, 7 November, 1969, and private communication from Sir Cyril Burt.

4) Torsten HUSEN (ed.), *International Study of Achievement in Mathematics*. 2 vols. London: Wiley, 1967.

5) J. S. COLEMAN, et al., *Equality of Opportunity*. Washington: U.S. Office of Education, 1966.

6) MAYESKE, et al., *Our Nations Schools*. Washington: U.S. Office of Education, 1970.

7) Newsom Report, *Half our Future*. London: HMSO, 1963. p. 290.

LES BUTS ET RESULTATS DE L'EDUCATION
PRIMAIRE EN ANGLETERRE

par GILBERT F. PEAKER, Grasmere, Angleterre

Les grandes directives fixées par la législation affirmant que tous les enfants en Angleterre ont le droit d'être éduqués selon leur âge, leurs capacités et aptitudes, et désirs des parents, constituent une déclaration de principe susceptible des interprétations très variées. La controverse se poursuit parmi les partisans de l'éducation centrée sur l'enfant et ceux qui mettent l'accent sur le contenu, parmi ceux qui croient aux programmes compensatoires et ceux qui prétendent que l'influence du milieu familial est irrévocable.

La condition de l'éducation primaire en Angleterre à l'heure actuelle peut être évaluée en comparant le rendement obtenu dans plusieurs disciplines avec ceux des dernières années. Des comparaisons directes s'étendant sur une période de plus de vingt ans sont cependant impossibles par suite du manque de statistiques concernant le passé et par suite d'autres changements institutionnels ou de la société qui se sont produits au cours de cette période. Quant à la compréhension des textes de lecture, une série d'études faites sur une base nationale depuis 1948 indiquent une amélioration constante. Ces études ont utilisé un test de 10 minutes pour la compréhension des textes comprenant 35 questions disposées par ordre de difficulté. Des données datant de 1914 et résultant d'un petit échantillon de jugement des écoles situées au centre de Londres sont peu concluantes.

Il faudrait, en plus de la comparaison des normes actuelles de l'éducation primaire en Angleterre, tenter également des comparaisons internationales. Celles-ci seront possibles lorsque l'étude relative à la compréhension des textes faite par l'IEA et couvrant environ vingt pays, sera terminée cette année. Les recherches faites dans le domaine de l'éducation primaire indiquent une forte corrélation entre les résultats scolaires et le milieu familial. En effet, selon les données de l'étude de Plowden, l'enseignement semble jouer un rôle relativement peu important par rapport au milieu familial. Ce dernier opère principalement de deux façons : par la langue et les encouragements. Comme les écoles utilisent la langue des classes moyennes, une bonne connaissance de la langue est associée au niveau professionnel des parents. Ces considérations suggèrent que les perspectives d'éducation compensatoire sont moins brillantes qu'on pourrait le souhaiter. Les programmes compensatoires aux Etats-Unis, ainsi que la politique des domaines de priorité pédagogique en Angleterre ont eu des résultats limités.

Il est tout-à-fait évident que les améliorations de l'éducation de l'école secondaire doivent dépendre considérablement de l'amélioration des écoles primaires. Il existe en Angleterre quelques écoles situées dans les bas-quartiers, où les résultats sont au-dessus de la moyenne nationale et les données de l'étude de Plowden attestent que ces résultats sont le reflet des écoles primaires qui ont alimenté ces écoles. Les méthodes utilisées dans ces écoles primaires devraient nous fournir des exemples à adopter sur une plus grande échelle.

ZIELE UND LEISTUNGEN DER PRIMÄRERZIEHUNG IN ENGLAND

von GILBERT F. PEAKER, Grasmere, England

Die von der Gesetzgebung festgelegte allgemeine Richtlinie, die besagt, daß jedes englische Kind das Recht habe, seinem Alter, seinen Fähigkeiten und den Wünschen seiner Eltern gemäß ausgebildet zu werden, ist als Erklärung eines Prinzips anzusehen, daß auf verschiedenste Weise interpretiert werden kann. Die Kontroversen zwischen denjenigen, die eine kinderzentrierte Erziehung befürworten, und denen, die Bildungsinhalte betonen, sowie zwischen Befürwortern von kompensatorischen Programmen und denen, die weiterhin aufrechterhalten, daß der Einfluß von Elternhaus und sozialer Umwelt unwiderruflich sei, bleibt bestehen.

Die Leistungsfähigkeit der heutigen Primärerziehung in England kann bestimmt werden, indem man in verschiedenen Gebieten den heutigen Leistungsstand mit dem der jüngsten Vergangenheit vergleicht. Ein direkter Vergleich über einen Zeitraum von mehr als 20 Jahren ist jedoch unmöglich, da einerseits Statistiken, die sich auf den vergangenen Zeitraum beziehen, fehlen und andererseits entscheidende gesellschaftliche und institutionelle Veränderungen während dieser Zeit eingetreten sind. Hinsichtlich des Leseverständnisses hat eine Reihe von Studien, die seit 1948 auf nationaler Ebene durchgeführt wurden, ständige Leistungsverbesserungen aufgezeigt. Dabei wurde ein 10 Minuten dauernder Leseverständnis-Test angewendet, der aus 35 nach Schwierigkeit geordneten Fragen besteht. Entsprechende Ergebnisse für eine kleine Beurteilungsstichprobe von Schulen im Londoner Stadtkern, die bis zum Jahre 1914 zurückreichen, lassen keine Schlußfolgerungen zu.

Zusätzlich zum Vergleich des gegenwärtigen Leistungsstandards der englischen Primärerziehung mit dem der Vergangenheit sollten auch internationale Vergleiche vorgenommen werden. Nach Beendigung der IEA Studie über Leseverständnis im Jahre 1971, die etwa zwanzig Länder umfaßt, wird diese Möglichkeit gegeben sein. Untersuchungen im Bereich der Primärerziehung weisen auf eine hohe Korrelation zwischen Schulleistung und dem sozialen Hintergrund des Elternhauses hin. Gemäß den Ergebnissen der Plowden Studie scheint die Art des Unterrichts im Vergleich zu den sozialen Variablen des Elternhauses tatsächlich eine relativ geringe Bedeutung zu haben. Variablen des Elternhauses wirken in zweifacher Weise – sie nehmen vorwiegend durch Sprache und Ermutigungen Einfluß. Da in der Schule die Sprache der Mittelklasse gebraucht wird, hängt Sprachbeherrschung mit der sozialen Klasse der Eltern zusammen. Solche Betrachtungen lassen die Aussichten für kompensatorische Erziehung weniger günstig erscheinen als man wünschen möchte. Sowohl die kompensatorischen Programme in den Vereinigten Staaten als auch die Politik der bildungsmäßigen Prioritätengebiete in England hatten nur begrenzten Erfolg.

Es ist überaus deutlich, daß Verbesserungen in der Sekundärbildung notwendigerweise weithin von Verbesserungen in den Grundschulen abhängen. Es gibt in England einige Slumschulen mit Leistungen, die über dem nationalen Durchschnitt liegen, und die Ergebnisse von Plowden machen klar, daß dies durch die vorherige Erziehung in den Grundschulen bedingt ist. Es erscheint daher angebracht, aus dem Vorgehen dieser Schulen des primären Bildungsbereiches Folgerungen zu ziehen, die modellhaft zu einer weiteren praktischen Anwendung führen.

COMMUNICATION - BERICHT - COMMUNICATION

PREDICTION DE LA REUSSITE UNIVERSITAIRE EN REPUBLIQUE DEMOCRATIQUE DU CONGO 1)

Esquisse du problème de l'accès à l'Université

Devant l'accroissement considérable et rapide des effectifs de finalistes de l'enseignement secondaire, le Ministère de l'Education Nationale a été amené à instaurer dès 1966 un examen à l'entrée des Universités congolaises. La réussite à cet examen est la condition mise à l'obtention d'une bourse d'études pour l'enseignement universitaire. Outre son rôle de sélection, l'examen a pour objectif d'orienter les élèves soit vers les facultés des Sciences Positives (Médecine - Pharmacie - Agromonie - Biologie - Chimie - Géologie - Géographie), soit vers les facultés des Sciences Humaines (Droit - Philologie romane, africaine ou germanique - Philosophie - Histoire - Sciences Politiques et Sociales - Commerce - Anthropologie culturelle - Psychologie et Pédagogie), soit encore vers les propédeutiques préparatoires aux études universitaires (Propédeutique scientifique préparatoire aux études en Polytechnique, Physique ou Mathématique - Propédeutique Sciences - Propédeutique Lettres). Cet objectif justifie le nom donné depuis 1969 à cet examen: Epreuve d'Oriantation (E.O.).

A titre d'indication sur le taux d'accroissement des diplômés du secondaire au cours des dernières années, signalons qu'en 1966, 1.800 élèves environ ont présenté l'E.O.; quatre ans plus tard, en 1970, ce nombre passe à 10.300, soit une augmentation de 475%.

Examinant, à l'échelle internationale, les conditions d'admission à l'université, Frank Bowles soulignait déjà en 1964 que le déséquilibre entre le nombre de candidats et le nombre de places disponibles dans les universités constitue un des problèmes les plus cruciaux de l'enseignement supérieur.²⁾ Cette situation ne fait qu'empirer dans la plupart des pays du monde, y compris les pays en voie de développement. Parmi ces derniers, le déséquilibre apparaît le plus nettement dans les pays où l'autorité coloniale avait concentré la majorité de ses efforts en éducation sur la création et le développement d'un enseignement primaire, sans établir parallèlement les bases suffisantes d'un réseau secondaire et supérieur.

A ce déséquilibre quantitatif s'ajoute un déséquilibre d'ordre qualitatif: un grand nombre, - voire la majorité -, de ceux qui terminent leurs études secondaires et qui, de par leur diplôme, sont admissibles à l'enseignement supérieur, ne possède pas les capacités intellectuelles et le bagage minimum de connaissances requis pour réussir à l'Université. Une des raisons essentielles en est l'essor brutal de l'enseignement secondaire après l'accession à l'indépendance politique, dans la mesure où les ressources tant matérielles (locaux et moyens didactiques) qu'intellectuelles (niveau de formation des enseignants) se sont rapidement et presque inévitablement révélées insuffisantes pour répondre aux nouveaux besoins.

Il n'entre pas dans notre propos de nous étendre davantage sur cette situation qui constitue néanmoins la toile de fond de la présente étude. Une approche plus exhaustive du problème de l'orientation à l'entrée des universités congolaises de 1966 à 1970 et des épreuves d'orientation universitaire vient d'être publiée.³⁾ Nous nous limiterons à évaluer brièvement l'étendue du déséquilibre qualitatif, à la lumière d'une récente publication consacrée au rendement de l'université de Kinsha-

sa: 4) un quart des élèves qui ont présenté les examens de fin d'études secondaires ainsi que l'Epreuve d'Orientation de 1969, ont réussi à la fois ces deux types d'examens. Ils étaient donc admissibles, avec une bourse d'études, dans les trois Universités du Congo, Lubumbashi, Kisangani et Kinshasa. Parmi eux, les quelque 400 élèves qui entrent la même année en première année de candidature (toutes facultés) à l'Université de Kinshasa, ne réussissent pas tous pour autant cette première année. En Sciences Humaines, la proportion de réussite est de 3 sur 4; elle n'est que de 1 sur 2 en Sciences Positives. Quant aux Universités de Lubumbashi et de Kisangani, nous ne disposons pas encore de leurs statistiques; la somme des effectifs de ces deux Universités étant cependant inférieure aux effectifs de Kinshasa, il apparaît peu probable que les taux de réussite pour l'ensemble des trois Universités diffèrent significativement des nôtres. 5)

Conditions légales d'accès à l'université

La législation congolaise stipule que l'admission dans une première année de candidature universitaire avec le bénéfice d'une bourse d'études gouvernementale est soumise à deux conditions: l'obtention d'un diplôme d'Etat ou d'un diplôme équivalent et la réussite avec 50% des points à au moins une des deux parties (Sciences Humaines et Sciences Positives) de l'Epreuve d'Orientation. Quant à l'admission avec bourse dans une propédeutique, elle est subordonnée à l'obtention d'un certificat d'Etat ou d'un certificat équivalent et à la réussite avec 45 à 49% des points à au moins une des parties de l'E.O. 6)

On peut donc schématiser ainsi les diverses possibilités:

1. Accès en candidature: diplôme d'Etat ou équivalent et 50% des points à l'E.O.
2. Accès en propédeutique: soit a) diplôme d'Etat ou équivalent et 45-49% des points à l'E.O.
soit b) certificat d'Etat ou équivalent et 45% des points à l'E.O.
3. Nonaccès à l'université: échec aux examens d'Etat ou aux examens équivalents et/ou moins de 45% des points à l'E.O.

Les diplômes et certificats d'Etat sont délivrés après la réussite à des examens, — partiellement écrits, partiellement oraux —, instaurés pour la première fois en 1967 par le Ministère de l'Education Nationale. L'objectif de ces examens est de sanctionner le cycle des six années d'études secondaires d'une manière uniforme pour tous les élèves d'une même section d'Humanités, quel que soit l'établissement scolaire fréquenté. Depuis leur instauration, les examens d'Etat se tiennent à la fin de chaque année scolaire dans différents centres répartis sur toute l'étendue du pays. Elaborés par les services du Ministère, ils sont appliqués par des jurys d'examineurs nommés par le même Ministère. Les diplômes sont accordés aux élèves qui obtiennent au moins 50% des points pour chacune des branches examinées. Les certificats sont accordés aux candidats qui obtiennent au moins 50% des points dans l'ensemble de ces branches, mais qui comptent des échecs partiels importants dans certaines d'entre elles. Les diplômes d'Etat de toutes les sections d'Humanités sont légalement équivalents du point de vue de l'accès à l'université.

Depuis 1967, les Epreuves d'Orientation se déroulent normalement aux mêmes périodes et dans les mêmes centres que les examens d'Etat.

Toutefois, en 1968, l'Education Nationale estima inopportun de sélectionner encore les diplômés du secondaire avant leur entrée à l'université, et ce sans expliciter pour autant les motifs qui l'y avaient amenée. L'absence de sélection et d'orienta-

tion eut notamment pour effet d'accroître du simple au double les effectifs de nouveaux étudiants en Faculté des Sciences à Kinshasa : 600 étudiants furent effectivement inscrits en première année de candidature. Le corps professoral de cette Faculté, conscient de ce qu'une proportion importante des nouveaux inscrits ne présentait vraisemblablement ni les aptitudes, ni les connaissances de base, ni les motivations indispensables à une réussite probable dans cette orientation, décida alors d'appliquer aux étudiants l'E.O. utilisée l'année précédente. Cette épreuve devait permettre de dégager une image objective de la composition de cette première année et de proposer éventuellement aux autorités académiques et gouvernementales de prendre les mesures qui s'imposeraient en fonction des résultats constatés.

Les études en Sciences Positives à l'Université de Kinshasa

Avant de définir les objectifs particuliers de notre étude, il importe de préciser les caractéristiques essentielles des cycles d'études dont relèvent les échantillons d'étudiants qui seront considérés.

La première année de candidature en Sciences (en abrégé : 1^{ère} B.C.G.) est commune aux futurs médecins (7 années d'études), pharmaciens (5 années), agronomes (5 années) et licenciés en Sciences (biologiques, chimiques, géologiques ou géographiques : 4 années). Cette polyvalence de la première année présente de nombreux avantages : à côté de l'économie réalisée en personnel enseignant et en moyens didactiques, elle permet aux étudiants de différer leur orientation définitive et de s'informer concrètement des exigences des différents cycles d'études ainsi que de leurs propres capacités à les entreprendre.⁷⁾

Par la suite, aux diverses orientations correspondent des programmes d'enseignement différents assurés par des facultés distinctes : Faculté de Médecine à partir de la deuxième année; Ecole de Pharmacie, Faculté d'Agronomie et Faculté des Sciences à partir de la troisième année.

Les études d'ingénieur civil ainsi que les Sciences physiques et mathématiques (en abrégé : I.P.M.) ne seront pas envisagées ici. Les conditions d'accès à ces études diffèrent de celles en vigueur pour les autres orientations, puisque ces études sont normalement précédées d'une année de "Propédeutique scientifique", préparatoire à l'épreuve spéciale d'admission.

Depuis 1966, le nombre d'étudiants inscrits en 1^{ère} B.C.G. représente approximativement 40% du total des étudiants inscrits de toutes les premières années d'études universitaires, sans tenir compte des étudiants inscrits en I.P.M. Quant au taux de réussite en 1^{ère} B.C.G., il est de 33% pour l'ensemble des quatre dernières années académiques (1966-67 à 1969-70; 1512 étudiants = 100%), accusant ainsi une diminution marquée par rapport au taux moyen de réussite des années 1961-62 à 1965-66 qui s'élevait à 60% (465 étudiants = 100%).

Le volume croissant d'étudiants en Sciences Positives joint au taux croissant de déperdition justifie déjà à lui seul une analyse détaillée des variables qui seraient en relation avec la réussite universitaire.

Objectifs de l'analyse

La présente étude a pour objectif principal de déterminer quelle est la validité prédictive de l'Epreuve d'Orientation vis-à-vis de la réussite en Sciences Positives à l'université. Le critère de réussite sera envisagé sous trois angles : celui de la réussite aux examens partiels qui clôturent le premier trimestre de la première année d'étu-

des; celui de la réussite aux examens terminaux de cette première année; celui enfin de la probabilité d'accès à un diplôme terminal.

Les objectifs secondaires de l'étude sont

- d'établir dans quelle mesure les antécédents des étudiants peuvent aussi être mis en relation avec la réussite universitaire. Les variables considérées ici sont la section d'enseignement secondaire suivie, les résultats à l'examen d'Etat et la fréquentation d'une année propédeutique avant l'entrée à l'université.

- de déterminer la validité des critères retenus par la Faculté des Sciences, soit pour proposer la réorientation dans une autre faculté des étudiants qui échouent le plus nettement, soit pour recommander à la réinscription en Sciences les étudiants qui, tout en ayant échoué en 1^{ère} B.C.G., montrent par leurs résultats, qu'ils pourraient réussir en redoublant l'année.

- de comparer enfin les taux de réussite de deux catégories d'étudiants: ceux qui réussissent leur première année sans la redoubler et, d'autre part, ceux qui redoublent cette première année.

L'Epreuve d'Orientation universitaire

L'E.O. envisagée ici est celle de 1967. Celle de 1966, année de l'instauration de l'épreuve, a déjà fait l'objet d'une autre publication,⁸⁾ qui porte sur l'analyse factorielle des résultats. Par ailleurs, le nombre relativement restreint de candidats qui ont réussi l'E.O. 1966 et se sont inscrits à l'université, ne permet pas d'établir de façon suffisamment nette le degré de validité de cette première version. Quant aux E.O. de 1969 et de 1970, elles ont été élaborées suivant un modèle similaire à celui de 1967 qui est présenté ci-après.

L'Epreuve d'Orientation de 1967 a été élaborée, à la demande du Ministère de l'Education Nationale, par une commission composée d'une vingtaine de professeurs appartenant aux diverses facultés de l'université de Kinshasa, ainsi qu'aux deux autres universités. La coordination du travail et sa supervision technique étaient confiées au Service d'Orientation de l'Université de Kinshasa. Après élaboration, chaque sous-épreuve a été revue et critiquée par chacun des membres de la commission ayant compétence dans la branche concernée, faute de pouvoir réaliser un prétest sur un échantillon représentatif des élèves auxquels l'E.O. serait appliquée.

Les 240 items qui constituent l'E.O. sont pour la plupart des items à choix forcé entre cinq distracteurs. Ils sont groupés en quatre cahiers, dont les deux premiers constituent la Partie Sciences Humaines, tandis que les deux derniers constituent la Partie Sciences Positives. Les quatre cahiers ont été remplis par tous les candidats au cours des quatre mêmes demi-journées et sans pression de temps, dans 31 centres d'examen disséminés sur toute l'étendue du pays.

La Partie Sciences Humaines comporte cinq sous-épreuves:

1. *Raisonnement verbal* (20 items): Le sujet doit découvrir le mot qui entretient avec un second mot le même rapport logique que le rapport qui existe entre deux autres mots donnés.

2. *Compréhension de textes* (4 textes accompagnés chacun de 5 items): Chaque texte présente un bref exposé propre à une discipline des Sciences Humaines (Economie, Politique, Education, Psychologie ...) Pour répondre aux questions qui suivent chaque texte, le sujet doit indiquer soit ce qui est affirmé dans le texte, soit ce qui peut en être déduit logiquement.

3. Langue française

a) *Synonymes* (10 items): Le sujet doit découvrir le mot dont la signification se rapproche le plus de celle du mot inducteur.

b) *Définitions* (20 items): Le sujet doit découvrir la définition qui convient le mieux au mot inducteur.

c) *Phraséologie* (20 items): Le sujet doit indiquer quelles sont les propositions d'une série qui constituent des phrases françaises correctes.

4. *Histoire* (20 items): Epreuve de connaissance portant sur des noms, des événements ou des dates historiques.

5. *Littérature* (20 items): Epreuve de connaissance portant sur des auteurs, des oeuvres, des périodes ou des classifications littéraires.

La Partie Sciences Positives comporte également cinq sous-épreuves:

1. *Mathématique* (20 items): Epreuve de connaissance en arithmétique, algèbre, géométrie, trigonométrie.

2. *Physique et Chimie* (30 items): Epreuve de connaissance, dont les questions sont soit à réponse libre, soit à choix multiple.

3. *Vocabulaire scientifique* (20 items): Le sujet doit découvrir la définition qui convient le mieux au mot inducteur.

4. *Aptitude spatiale* (20 items): L'épreuve consiste en vingt séries de dessins. Le premier dessin de chaque série représente un tas de briques. Le sujet doit imaginer qu'il se trouve de l'autre côté du tas et qu'il regarde dans le sens indiqué par une flèche. Il doit alors découvrir le dessin qui correspond à ce qu'il verrait.

5. *Compréhension de textes* (un texte suivi de 20 items): Epreuve parallèle à celle de compréhension de textes en Sciences Humaines. Le sujet traité ici était le cycle de l'azote.

Les 4.269 protocoles de l'Epreuve d'Orientation de 1967 remplis par les élèves ont été corrigés à l'aide de grilles par plusieurs équipes de professeurs et assistants de l'université. En fonction de ces résultats, les élèves ayant réussi au moins une des parties de l'épreuve ont été orientés soit vers les candidatures (35% de ceux qui ont présenté l'E.O., dont 19% en Sciences Humaines et 16% en Sciences Positives), soit vers les propédeutiques (15%, dont 9% en Sciences Humaines et 6% en Sciences Positives).

Les échantillons considérés

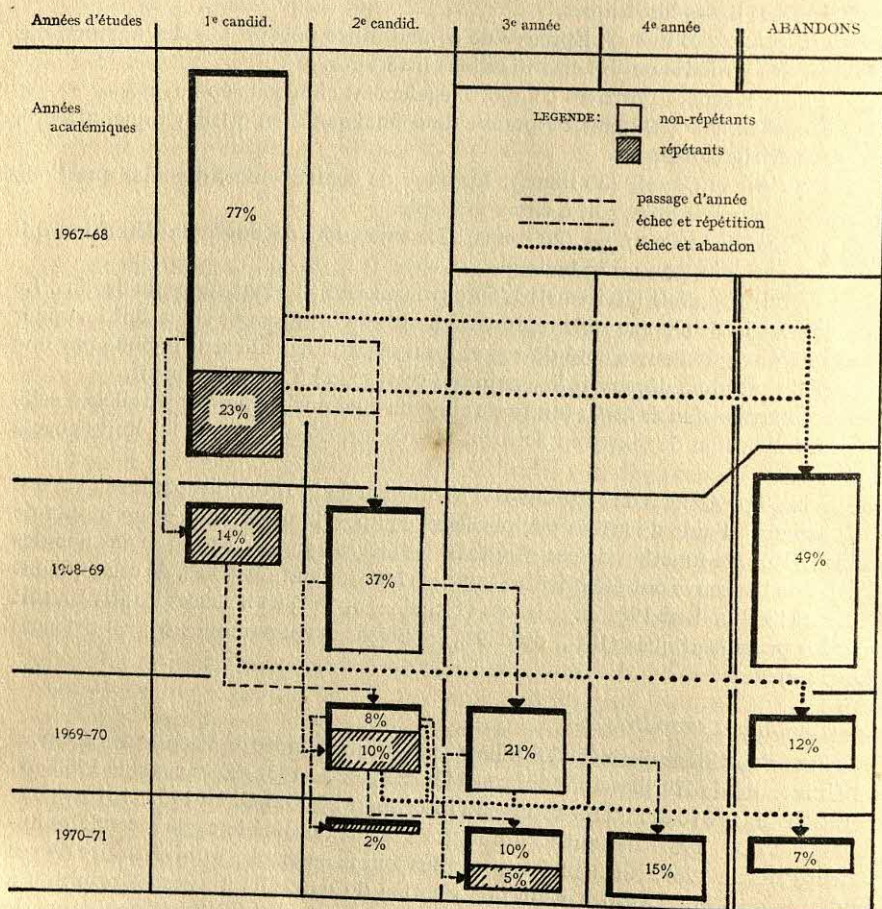
Deux échantillons distincts d'étudiants en première année de Faculté des Sciences à l'Université de Kinshasa ont été considérés: ceux de 1967-68 et ceux de 1968-69.

1. Parmi les 318 étudiants nationaux inscrits en 1^{ère} B.C.G. en 1967, 181 avaient présenté l'E.O. 1967. Les autres étudiants avaient terminé le cycle secondaire antérieurement à 1967. Nous analyserons plus loin le curriculum universitaire de ces étudiants de 1967 à 1970. La mise en relation du curriculum avec les résultats à l'E.O. de cet échantillon sélectionné permettra d'estimer la validité prédictive de l'E.O. vis-à-vis de la réussite en première année en Sciences Positives et vis-à-vis de l'accès probable au diplôme terminal, et ce pour l'ensemble de la population qui a présenté l'épreuve.

2. Parmi les 600 étudiants inscrits en 1^{ère} B.C.G. en 1968, 447 ont présenté l'E.O. 1967 ainsi que les examens finaux de cette première année. (Les autres étudiants n'ont soit pas présenté l'E.O., soit pas présenté d'examens terminaux). Avec ce second groupe, nous disposons des résultats d'un échantillon pratiquement non sélectionné. La mise en relation des résultats aux examens terminaux de première

FIGURE 1

Evolution et localisation des effectifs de la première candid. en Sciences de 1967 à 1970 (N = 318 = 100%)



En 1970-71, des 30% d'étudiants inscrits en 3^e et 4^e années, 12% sont en Médecine, 7% en Agronomie, 6% en Sciences B.C.G., et 5% en Pharmacie.

année et des résultats à l'E.O. permettra de vérifier la validité prédictive de cette dernière vis-à-vis de la réussite à l'université.

1. *Validité prédictive de l'Epreuve d'Orientation (Echantillon sélectionné de 1967-68 à 1970-71).*

La 1^{ère} B.C.G. de 1967-68 comptait 318 étudiants nationaux, dont 72 (soit près d'un quart) étaient des redoublants qui avaient échoué l'année précédente. Pour l'ensemble des deux sessions d'examens de 1968, le taux de réussite de cette première année est de 37%. Près de la moitié (49%) des étudiants abandonnent leurs études après échec, tandis que les 14% restant qui ont aussi échoué se réinscrivent en première année en 1968-69. La *Figure 1* montre l'évolution de 1967 à 1970 ainsi que la localisation par discipline de ces effectifs de la 1^{ère} B.C.G. Elle permet de constater qu'actuellement (1970-71), 30% des étudiants se trouvent en troisième ou en quatrième année d'études: ils ont donc passé le "cap" des deux premières épreuves et auront normalement tous accès, sauf interruption ou échec inattendus, à un diplôme universitaire terminal.

Ces taux de rendement à court et à moyen terme, - 37% de réussite en première année; 30% d'accès probable au diplôme quatre ans plus tard -, ne peuvent être interprétés qu'en les comparant à d'autres données. Le rendement en 1^{ère} B.C.G. 1967-68 apparaît légèrement supérieur au rendement moyen en 1^{ère} B.C.G. des quatre dernières années académiques (33%). Quant à l'accès au diplôme, le rendement observé ne diffère pas significativement de celui observé dans les autres universités: pour l'ensemble des disciplines universitaires et dans les pays considérés par l'étude de l'UNESCO, Bowles signale que moins d'un tiers des étudiants réussissent finalement à obtenir un grade universitaire.⁹⁾

Parmi les étudiants de 1^{ère} B.C.G. 1967-68, 181 avaient présenté l'Epreuve d'Orientation de 1967. On a déterminé les coefficients de corrélation (r de Bravais-Pearson) entre, d'une part, les résultats à chacune des deux parties de l'E.O. 1967 et, d'autre part, les résultats aux trois critères suivants:

- Examens partiels de première année: résultats globaux en pour cent.
- Examens terminaux de première année: réussite à une des deux sessions de 1968 ou échec aux deux sessions.
- Accès probable au diplôme terminal: avoir ou non terminé avec succès les deux premières années d'études, quel que soit le nombre de sessions présentées.

TABLE I

Corrélations (r de Bravais-Pearson) entre résultats à l'épreuve d'orientation et réussite à l'université
(N = 181)

	Partie Sciences Humaines	Partie Sciences Positives
Examens de première année		
Examens partiels	.63	.78
Examens terminaux	.48	.72
Accès probable au diplôme	.57	.64

Tous les coefficients de la *Table I* sont estimés pour l'ensemble de la population qui a présenté l'E.O., et ce à partir des coefficients trouvés pour l'échantillon sélectionné d'étudiants qui a réussi la Partie Sciences Positives de l'E.O. La correction du r correspondant à l'échantillon tient compte de la moindre dispersion des résultats consécutive à la sélection.¹⁰) Ainsi, pour la Partie Sciences Humaines, l'écart-type des résultats de la population s'élève à 14,50; il est seulement de 9,20 pour l'échantillon. A la Partie Sciences Positives, l'écart-type pour la population vaut 13,70. Il se réduit à 5,00 pour l'échantillon qui a été sélectionné sur base de ses résultats à cette partie.

Quel que soit le critère externe envisagé, les coefficients de validité de l'E.O. sont particulièrement élevés, démontrant ainsi que l'Epreuve d'Orientation constitue un prédicteur très satisfaisant de la réussite universitaire. D'une manière générale, cette validité apparaît même largement supérieure à celle des examens d'admission tels qu'ils sont pratiqués dans les universités américaines, depuis de nombreuses années.¹¹) Après avoir analysé une série de prédicteurs possibles de la réussite universitaire aux U.S.A., Garrett conclut en effet que les meilleurs d'entre eux, à savoir les résultats en fin d'études secondaires et les résultats à des batteries de tests de connaissances ou de niveau intellectuel, présentent des indices de validité (r) de l'ordre de .45 à .49.¹²) Plus récemment, Bloom et Peters rapportent que les meilleurs examens d'admission universitaire aux Etats-Unis donnent lieu à des coefficients de validité compris entre .55 et .65; les coefficients peuvent atteindre rarement le niveau de .70, lorsque des combinaisons particulièrement élaborées de prédicteurs sont isolées.¹³)

En ce qui concerne la Partie Sciences Positives de l'E.O., on observera que les coefficients diminuent régulièrement de .78 à .64 lorsque la période séparant l'épreuve de la réussite-critère s'allonge. L'accroissement de cet intervalle va sans aucun doute de pair avec une influence accrue de facteurs personnels, d'ordre psychologique et affectif plutôt qu'essentiellement intellectuel. Comme le soulignait Wechsler, ce sont vraisemblablement ces "non-intellective factors in general intelligence" qui font mentir les résultats aux tests, parce que ces derniers ne peuvent en tenir suffisamment compte.¹⁴)

Les examens partiels de la fin du premier trimestre en faculté corréleront très nettement avec les résultats à la Partie Sciences Positives de l'E.O. Il faut d'ailleurs ajouter que les partiels s'avèrent aussi un excellent prédicteur de la réussite en fin d'année puisque la corrélation partiels-terminaux s'élève à .73.

Si les résultats à la Partie Sciences Humaines présentent des corrélations moins élevées avec la réussite universitaire en Sciences Positives, ces corrélations demeurent cependant encore très satisfaisantes: .63 avec les partiels et .57 avec le critère d'accès au diplôme terminal. Abstraction faite des connaissances dans les disciplines scientifiques, il semble donc bien que les capacités d'analyse logique et de compréhension de textes ainsi que les aptitudes verbales, les connaissances en français et le niveau de culture générale tels que testés dans l'E.O. soient étroitement liés à la capacité d'entreprendre avec succès des études universitaires en Sciences Positives. Le critère à moyen terme, c'est-à-dire l'accès au diplôme terminal, corréle d'ailleurs à un niveau presque équivalent avec les résultats aux deux parties de l'E.O. ($r = .57$ et .64 respectivement).

Vis-à-vis du critère d'accès au diplôme, en Sciences Positives on observe même que les résultats à la Partie Sciences Humaines ont une capacité discriminative légèrement supérieure à celle des résultats à la Partie Sciences Positives: 50% des

étudiants ayant un résultat égal ou supérieur à 60% des points pour la Partie Sciences Humaines accèdent au diplôme terminal, contre 23% seulement de ceux qui ont, pour cette même partie, un résultat inférieur à 60% des points. Par comparaison, 44% de ceux qui ont un résultat égal ou supérieur à 60% pour la Partie Sciences Positives accèdent au diplôme, contre 25% de ceux qui ont un résultat inférieur à 60% pour cette même partie.

2. Valeur prédictive des antécédents des étudiants

a) Si on considère le passé scolaire des 318 étudiants de la 1^{ère} B.C.G. 1967-68, on relève que six étudiants sur dix sont issus des sections d'Humanités scientifiques; or 29% seulement des diplômés de ces sections accèdent ultérieurement à un diplôme universitaire terminal. Trois étudiants sur dix sortent d'Humanités littéraires: ils accéderont au diplôme universitaire à concurrence de 37% d'entre eux. Quant au dixième restant, il est issu des sections d'Humanités dites "orientées" (pédagogiques, agronomiques, commerciales, etc.): il accèdera au diplôme universitaire à concurrence de 29%, le meilleur taux étant celui des anciens d'Humanités agronomiques dont 3 sur 7 pourront obtenir un diplôme universitaire terminal.

Il apparaît donc paradoxalement que ce seraient les sections littéraires de l'enseignement secondaire qui offriraient le plus de chances pour une réussite ultérieure dans les études scientifiques à l'université. Le moindre rendement des Humanités scientifiques est sans doute partiellement imputable au nombre insuffisant de personnel qualifié pour l'enseignement des branches scientifiques dans ces sections. Il est probable aussi que cette situation n'est pas étrangère à la conception traditionnelle, encore trop largement répandue, selon laquelle les Humanités littéraires doivent être réservées aux "meilleurs éléments", les élèves plus médiocres étant relégués dans les sections scientifiques.

Les résultats à l'Epreuve d'Orientation de 1970 semblent confirmer ces hypothèses: 84% des élèves diplômés d'Humanités littéraires réussissent l'E.O., contre 63% des diplômés d'Humanités scientifiques et 28% seulement des diplômés d'Humanités orientées.¹⁵⁾

b) La variable "résultats à l'examen d'Etat" de 1967 pour les sections d'Humanités scientifiques constitue également un prédicteur valable de la réussite universitaire. Pour les 115 étudiants détenteurs d'un diplôme d'Etat scientifique, la corrélation entre cet examen et la réussite en 1^{ère} B.C.G. est de l'ordre de .56; entre l'examen d'Etat et l'accès au diplôme terminal, la corrélation s'élève à .63. Ici encore, il s'agit de coefficients estimés pour la population totale à partir des coefficients calculés pour l'échantillon sélectionné.

Il n'a pas été possible d'établir la valeur prédictive des examens d'Etat pour les autres sections d'Humanités étant donné la rareté des effectifs d'étudiants détenteurs de diplômes d'Etat de ces sections. En Humanités littéraires notamment, le diplôme homologué délivré par l'établissement était généralement considéré comme équivalent au diplôme délivré suite à l'examen d'Etat. On se limitera à rappeler encore ici le rendement très faible à l'E.O. 70 des diplômés d'Etat issus des sections d'Humanités orientées.

Les corrélations entre l'examen d'Etat pour les sections scientifiques et chacune des deux parties de l'Epreuve d'Orientation de 1967 sont très satisfaisantes: de l'ordre de .64. On ne peut cependant négliger le fait que l'examen d'Etat constitue un examen de type traditionnel, à questions ouvertes partiellement orales et partiellement écrites. A l'instar des examens traditionnels peu standardisés au point de

vue de l'administration, de la correction et de la cotation, la validité de l'examen d'Etat risque donc davantage d'apparaître fluctuante d'une année à l'autre, et ce malgré toutes les précautions prises par ceux qui l'organisent. Vu le nombre sans cesse croissant d'élèves qui le présentent (plus de 10.000 en 1970), cet examen ne pourra vraisemblablement conserver efficacité et valeur que si ses organisateurs adoptent des modalités de passation et de correction à la fois plus pratiques et plus objectives: examen écrit à questions fermées, dépouillé mécanographiquement comme ce fut le cas pour l'E.O. de 1970.

c) Le fait d'avoir ou non fréquenté et réussi une année propédeutique avant l'entrée en 1^{ère} B.C.G. constitue la troisième variable relevant des antécédents des étudiants. Il faut rappeler ici que la propédeutique est principalement réservée aux élèves qui, à l'examen d'Etat, ont obtenu un certificat et non un diplôme d'Humanités, tout en obtenant, à l'E.O., un résultat moyen mais jugé insuffisant pour leur permettre l'accès en candidature. L'objectif de l'année propédeutique est de combler, en français et en mathématique principalement, les lacunes présentées par ces élèves. Pour l'échantillon de 44 étudiants qui ont réussi l'année propédeutique et se sont inscrits en 1^{ère} B.C.G. en 1967, il apparaît que cet objectif n'a été que très partiellement atteint: dix d'entre eux seulement accéderont ultérieurement au diplôme terminal, soit un taux de 23%, significativement inférieur à celui de 32% rencontré pour l'ensemble des étudiants qui se sont inscrits en candidature sans passer par une propédeutique. Cette dernière donnée confirme indirectement la validité de l'Epreuve d'Orientation puisqu'on ne considère ici, par définition, que la marge des résultats moyens inférieures à cette épreuve.

3. Validité des critères utilisés pour proposer à la réinscription ou à une réorientation les étudiants qui échouent

La Faculté des Sciences a établi deux critères objectifs pour les étudiants déjà inscrits en 1^{ère} B.C.G. et qui échouent soit aux examens partiels du premier trimestre, soit aux examens terminaux:

a) Les étudiants qui ont obtenu un résultat global inférieur à 30% des points aux examens partiels sont invités à abandonner leurs études en Sciences Positives et à envisager de s'inscrire dans une autre faculté ou en propédeutique. En 1967-68, la plupart des 53 étudiants visés par cette mesure n'en tiennent effectivement pas compte et poursuivent leurs études; 47 d'entre eux, soit 89%, abandonneront après avoir échoué en 1^{ère} B.C.G. à deux ou quatre sessions, c'est-à-dire sans redoubler ou en redoublant l'année; les six autres étudiants réussissent leur première année en la redoublant, mais échouent en deuxième épreuve et abandonnent leurs études. Aucun de ces étudiants ne pouvant finalement accéder à un diplôme terminal, le critère utilisé apparaît donc parfaitement justifié.

b) Les étudiants qui ont échoué aux examens terminaux de 1^{ère} B.C.G. et qui ont néanmoins obtenu un résultat global supérieur à 44% des points sont recommandés à la réinscription en première année avec une bourse d'études. De l'échantillon de 1967-68, 71 étudiants qui avaient échoué aux examens terminaux ont ainsi redoublé la première année sur recommandation de la faculté: 48 d'entre eux (66%) ont réussi cette première épreuve "en bis" et 23 (32%) accèdent à un diplôme terminal quatre années plus tard. Le rendement des "recommandés" est donc quasi équivalent à celui de l'ensemble des 318 étudiants (30% d'accès au diplôme). Par contre, des 41 étudiants qui redoublent la première année contre l'avis de la faculté, 12 seulement réussissent cette première épreuve "en bis" et deux (5%) passeront le cap

de la deuxième épreuve pour accéder à un diplôme terminal. Les redoublants non recommandés en première année n'ont donc pratiquement aucune chance de poursuivre leurs études avec succès: le critère de recommandation utilisé ici apparaît lui aussi très valable.

TABLE II

*Comparaison des probabilités d'accès au diplôme terminal
selon différentes catégories d'étudiants*

	Total des effectifs en 1ère B.C.G.	Etudiants qui réussissent la 1ère B.C.G. sans redoubler l'année	Etudiants qui réussissent la 1ère B.C.G. après l'avoir redoublée sur recommanda- tion de la Faculté	Etudiants qui réussissent la 1ère B.C.G. après l'avoir redoublée contre l'avis de la Faculté
	N=318=100%	N=82=100%	N=48=100%	N=12=100%
% de réussite en 2ème année et probabilité d'accès au di- plôme terminal	30	89	48	17

4. Rendements comparés des redoublants et des non-redoublants en première année

La Table II reprend les indices de rendement des deux catégories de redoublants et les met en parallèle avec le rendement des étudiants qui réussissent la 1ère B.C.G. sans redoubler l'année.

Il ressort indiscutablement de ces données que les étudiants qui ont le plus de chances d'accéder à un diplôme universitaire terminal sont ceux qui réussissent leur 1ère B.C.G. en une seule année. Environ un sur dix d'entre eux seulement échouera définitivement avant la fin du cycle d'études. Les proportions de deperdition sont par contre de 5 à 8 pour dix dans le cas des redoublants qui réussissent la 1ère B.C.G.

5. Vérification de la validité prédictive de l'Epreuve d'Orientation (Echantillon non sélectionné 1968-69)

Des 600 étudiants de la 1ère B.C.G. 1968-69, 447 ont présenté à la fois l'E.O. de 1967 à la faculté (novembre 1968) et les examens terminaux de première année (octobre 1969). Les coefficients de corrélation entre résultats à ces examens et résultats à l'E.O. sont les suivants: $r = .58$ avec la Partie Sciences Humaines et $.72$ avec la Partie Sciences Positives.

Contrairement à ceux rapportés à la Table I, il s'agit ici de coefficients qui n'ont pas été corrigés pour diminution d'écart-type. Les étudiants de cette première année sont tous détenteurs d'un diplôme d'Etat mais, d'autre part, les diplômes d'Etat de toutes les sections d'Humanités sont légalement considérés comme équivalents et donnant tous accès à l'université, y compris aux études en Sciences Positives. On peut donc considérer que les étudiants ont malgré tout été sélectionnés dans une

certaine mesure, encore que très minime. Si l'on tient compte de cette sélection partielle et de la perte d'écart-type qui en résulte, les coefficients de validité estimés pour la population totale deviennent respectivement de l'ordre de .65 pour la Partie Sciences Humaines et .80 pour la Partie Sciences Positives.

L'Epreuve d'Orientation voit ainsi sa validité prédictive confirmée à un niveau équivalent à celui qui avait été déterminé pour l'année académique antérieure. On peut la considérer comme un prédicteur extrêmement efficace de la réussite universitaire et son utilisation comme instrument de sélection et d'orientation à l'entrée des universités congolaises apparaît donc largement justifiée.

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Université de Kinshasa	- 2.516	54%
Université Officielle du Congo (Lubumbashi)	- 1.751	37%
Université Libre du Congo (Kisangani)	- 431	9%
Total	4.698	100%
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JEAN-PAUL DELVAUX, Kinshasa, République du Zaïre

BOOK REVIEWS – BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN – ANALYSES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

ALTBACH, PHILIP C. (ed.), *The Student Revolution: A Global Analysis*.
Bombay: Lalvani, 1970. pp. 404. \$ 10.

In this book of 16 readings, aimed at an Indian audience, the editor, Philip Altbach, an experienced commentator of student political activism, emphasizes the fact that political revolts have been sparked off by only a small number of campus radicals. In the USA, he points to the Young Democrats and the Young Republicans, numbering under 250,000 and the Students for a Democratic Society, numbering 7,000, a fraction of the some 6 million students in higher education, most of whom are a-political or moderates or non-aligned conservatives.

Yet future historians must necessarily take account of students' role in such political changes as Perez Jiminez' downfall in Venezuela in 1952, Peron's overthrow in Argentina in 1955, the demonstrations in Poland in 1956, the Hungarian revolt in 1956, the Japanese-USA Security Treaty riots in 1960 which forced the Kishi government's resignation, Diem's fall in Vietnam in 1963, the anti-Sukarno movement in Indonesia in 1966, the presidential resignation of De Gaulle in France and the shortened career of Lyndon B. Johnson in the USA.

The key reasons given for university student unrest in India, for example, include rapidly increasing enrollment since 1947 where the absence of comparable expansion of facilities has resulted in poor living and working conditions – a theme common to most developing countries. In the USA, concern about human rights, the Viet Nam War, and the threatened environment have awakened long dormant student activism. In Japan, student unrest has derived from the increasing expense of research projects with little government support along with impersonal student-faculty relations. In Indonesia, a tight job market is a prime cause of student discontent. Western European youth exhibits a special sensitivity to issues of justice and truth. For Czechoslovakian youth there have been few avenues for expressing dissatisfaction with poor facilities, the shortage of scholarships, and unsatisfactory living conditions. In mainland China, the betrayed idealism and frustrated careerism felt by the Red Guard are not likely to dissipate soon. Anger over educational deficiencies as much as national politics accounts for Latin American student unrest.

While the dozen contributors treat youth problems sympathetically, they perhaps do not sufficiently stress the speed of modern change and the rapidity of communication among youth. Within this context the values gap between generations looms larger now than ever before in history. Youth has always been concerned with political improvement. In recent times, however, it has formed a storm center of seemingly contradictory demands and vaguely formed solutions for society's tangled problems. We have yet to see workable propositions for the radical renewal of man and society which the student movement has advocated.

FRANKLIN PARKER, Morgantown, Virginia

ANWEILER, OSKAR (Hrsg.), *Bildungsreformen in Osteuropa*. Reihe: *Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1969. 208 S. DM 15.80.

The 1960s saw the publication of several works on the educational systems and problems of East Europe. At least a half-dozen volumes in Russian, German, and English come to mind. To the massive compilation, *Das Schulwesen sozialistischer Länder in Europa*, published in 1962 by the Deutsches Pädagogisches Zentralinstitut in East Berlin, there has now been added a collection of essays by an international authorship under the editorial direction of Professor Anweiler of the University of Bochum, one of the most perceptive specialists in comparative education in general and in Soviet education in particular.

The ten essays comprising the volume under review include three utilizing the comparative perspective, four on the USSR, and one each on the German Democratic Republic (DDR), Poland, and Czechoslovakia. They focus on the changes in primary and secondary education from the late 1950s through the late 1960s. Topics such as higher and vocational education were omitted for lack of space and dearth of research studies.

In the opening chapter, Dr. Nigel Grant of the University of Edinburgh points out the growing significance of polytechnical training in East European countries from the mid-1950s onward. Of special importance as an impulse toward change in the entire Eastern area were the Khrushchev Reform and the Educational Act of 1958. It was by no means surprising, in terms of the reality of international relations in East Europe, that other countries, such as Bulgaria in 1959 and Czechoslovakia in 1960, followed the Soviet example rather closely. Grant calls attention to national variations among the Communist countries with respect to foreign language emphasis, teacher training, and other details. However, "Allgemein kann gesagt werden, daß die Bildungspolitik in der UdSSR und den anderen osteuropäischen Ländern . . . in den Grundfragen noch weitgehend ähnlichen Linien folgt . . ." (p. 25). His citations are derived from writings in Russian, Czech, German, Polish, and English.

The relation of economics to planning in Soviet education is explored with abundant documentation by Dr. Detlev Glowka of the Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung, while Dr. Ludwig Liegle of the University of Bochum analyzes the family and other social factors as contributors to scholastic success. Dr. Bernhard Schiff of the Pädagogische Hochschule Lüneburg shows the impact of educational research activities upon school reform, and Professor Wolfgang Mitter of the same institution explores in detail the dichotomy of unity and differentiation in Soviet schools. "So fördert die offizielle Bildungspolitik einerseits spezielle Ausbildungsgänge für eine Minorität (Begabter und Behinderter), während sie andererseits für die Majorität der 'Massenschulen' das Prinzip der Einheitlichkeit artikuliert" (p. 133). The problems of differentiated education in the German Democratic Republic, Poland, and Czechoslovakia are described respectively by Prof. Dr. Theo Dietrich of the Pädagogische Hochschule Bremen, Dr. Mieczysław Pecherski of the University of Warsaw, and R. Radim Palouš of the University of Prague. Miss Gerlinde Hurtienne, also of the University of Bochum, attempts a comparative analysis of polytechnical training in the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany. In the final chapter, Anweiler looks critically at the claims made for the democratization of education and evaluates the significance of the similarities and differences between education in East and West Europe.

The approach to the theme of this volume is scholarly and objective, rather than publicistic and tendentious. The reader obtains useful insights into some of the educational problems in Eastern Europe. Such a collection suggests the need for a more thoroughgoing and more specifically comparative work on the development, organization, problems, achievements, and shortcomings of education in the various East European Countries.

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN, Philadelphia

BECK, CARLTON E. (ed.), *Perspectives on World Education*. Dubuque, Iowa; Wm. C. Brown, 1970. pp. 434. \$ 7.95.

This book is a rather popular review of the education systems of selected countries in Europe, Asia, America and Africa. It is based on contributions by 50 authors, edited by Carlton E. Beck, professor at the University of Wisconsin, who is also the author of the introduction and two papers. Many of the authors are natives of the countries which they describe.

The description of the educational systems of particular countries, preceded by the general characteristics of education in Europe, Asia, Near East, South America and Africa, is nearly encyclopaedic. The book contains much informative data on the genesis, current situation and development trends of the educational systems in 45 countries.

However, the book is not a strictly scientific, comparative analysis of world education. The editor allowed the authors of the particular papers considerable freedom as regards the selection and presentation of their materials. Hence the absence of a uniform structure. Some papers stress the problems of school administration, others lay particular emphasis on the organisation of education, while still others oscillate between a description of the achievements and a record of the difficulties encountered. Due to this approach the book is diversified and more interesting to the general reader than a strictly scientific work. However, it cannot fully satisfy a specialist in comparative education. It is a pity that some studies have been emasculated by disregarding important elements of the educational system, such as some out-of-school educational institutions, and even whole systems, such as the educational system of the German Democratic Republic in the study entitled: "Germany" or of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the study on "Vietnam." And there are quite a number of similar shortcomings.

The editor's intention was to describe the educational systems in the selected countries and to show the general trends of development in these countries. The method of showing the characteristic features of the systems of various continents is certainly more pertinent than the traditional tendency to examine each educational system according to European or American criteria.

It is well known that the practice of taking the European or North American pattern as a norm that had to be approximated to, proved to be destructive both in theory and practice. But the education problems of the contemporary world should be considered not only from the point of view of the region but also from the point of view of history and political systems. So we have to analyse educational systems from these points of view to realize that, for example, the present Japanese system has more in common with the U.S.A. or even that of some European countries than with the educational systems of other Asian countries such as Afghanistan and

Pakistan. The vast area of the Soviet Union, belonging partly to Europe and partly to Asia, has a specific educational system different from the capitalistic systems of Europe and Asia. Unfortunately, these problems have not found enough consideration in the book.

This remark applies both to the very interesting study of M. J. MacLeod on South America and to that of C. E. Beck on Asiatic systems as conditioned by the philosophy of life, as well as to most of the other country studies. Most authors attach too great importance to the dominant assumptions of education, thereby underestimating the role of out-of-school education which differentiates contemporary educational systems in considerable degree. That is why the perspectives on contemporary world education have not been elucidated clearly enough.

In spite of these reservations, however, this book may be recommended to teachers in various countries and others, both experts and laymen, interested in problems of education.

TADEUSZ J. WILOCH, Warsaw

BLAUG, MARK, *An Introduction to the Economics of Education*. London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1970. pp. 363. £ 3.50.

Blaug, einer der bekanntesten Ökonomen der London School of Economics, legt mit diesem Buch eine der bisher seltenen Einführungen in die neue sozial wissenschaftliche Teildisziplin "Bildungsökonomie" vor. Bildung und Wissenschaft als Produktivkraft zu betrachten, sie also zum Gegenstand ökonomischen Raisonnements zu machen, ist spätestens seit Ende der sechziger Jahre auch für Pädagogen und Bildungspolitiker nicht mehr ungewöhnlich. Blaug führt diese Aktualität des bildungsökonomischen Problems allerdings nicht in erster Linie auf veränderte gesellschaftliche Interessen der ökonomischen Theoretiker zurück. Diese greifen, so sieht es der Autor, auf die Traditionen der klassischen englischen Ökonomie des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts zurück, von der die Ausbildung der Arbeitskräfte als zentrale Bedingung der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung betrachtet wurde.

So idealistisch diese Interpretation auch klingen mag, sie findet ihren harten Kern doch in der Tatsache, daß die klassische Ökonomie als – zu ihrer Zeit noch realitätsbezogene – Erklärung der Frühphase kapitalistischer Industrialisierung mit dem Problem der Ausbildung in einer Weise konfrontiert war, die der aktuellen Bildungspolitik in manchem ähnlich ist: Die Unterwerfung immer größerer Bevölkerungsgruppen unter die Bedingungen wissenschaftlich angeleiteter Produktion, d.h. die Industrialisierung machte im 19. Jahrhundert in allen kapitalistischen Ländern eine Reihe von einschneidenden Veränderungen des Bildungssystems notwendig (z.B. Einführung der allgemeinen Schulpflicht, Ergänzung der handwerklichen Lehre durch mehr theoretisch orientierte Instruktionen in der Berufsschule sowie Formalisierung der Ausbildung für gehobene technische und Verwaltungsberufe innerhalb von Fach- und Hochschulen). Nimmt man die Intentionen der heutigen Bildungsreform zum Maßstab, dann hat sich das im 19. Jahrhundert geschaffene Bildungssystem bis in die Zeit nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg strukturell nicht geändert – ein Grund, weswegen sich die nach-klassische Ökonomie mit dem Problem der Ausbildung nicht mehr sonderlich beschäftigen mußte.

Wenn heute "Bildungsökonomie" wieder zu einer dringlichen Fragestellung geworden ist, dann liegen dem unter anderem einschneidende Veränderungen des

Industrialisierungsprozesses (Automation, Zunahme des Dienstleistungssektors usw.) zugrunde. Diese sind in ihren bildungspolitischen Konsequenzen mit den Schlagworten vom steigenden Qualifikationsbedarf oder von der "Wissensexplosion" spekulativ und nur unzureichend beschrieben. Eine stichhaltige Erklärung des Zusammenhangs zwischen dem Wandel industrieller Arbeit und den korrespondierenden Ausbildungsgehalten ist bisher von den Sozialwissenschaften bei weitem noch nicht gegeben worden.

Diese wissenschaftliche Leerstelle wird nicht zuletzt von einer bildungsökonomischen Theoriebildung verschuldet, die sich, wie der methodische Ansatz von Mark Blaug, weiterhin im Fahrwasser des Manchester-Liberalismus bewegt und ihrer gesamten Argumentation die Annahme zugrundelegt, die marktwirtschaftliche Organisation der sozialen Beziehungen sei die wirksamste und gerechteste gesellschaftliche Ordnungsvorstellung.

Blaug, der inzwischen als einer der wichtigsten europäischen Epigonen dieser zuerst in den USA wieder ins Leben zurückgerufenen "neo-klassischen" Bildungsökonomie gelten kann, verteidigt deren Hauptgedanken, das "Humankapitalkonzept", auf den ersten 60 Seiten seines Buches mit eloquenten Sätzen. Dem in der akademischen Ökonomie ungeschulten Leser kann zum Verständnis stichwortartig nur soviel gesagt werden: Das "Humankapitalkonzept" geht davon aus, daß die einzelnen und die Gesellschaft als Ganzes die Ausbildungsanstrengungen (und die Vorsorge für die Gesundheit) als eine Investition in den Menschen betrachten, dessen ökonomische Produktivität auf diese Weise gesteigert wird. Da die qualifizierten Menschen ihre Produktivität erst im Laufe ihres Arbeitslebens realisieren können, besitzt die Ausbildung den Charakter eines langlebigen Wirtschaftsgutes. Sie ist somit den Investitionen in materielles Vermögen vergleichbar. Diese Analogie wird fortgesetzt durch die Unterstellung, der einzelne verhalte sich bei seinen Ausbildungsentscheidungen – als rational entscheidender *homo oeconomicus* – wie ein Unternehmer, der Investitionen plant. Die Ausbildungsanstrengungen werden durch Ausbildungskosten (einschließlich des während der Ausbildung geleisteten Einkommensverzichts), der Ausbildungserfolg durch die späteren Arbeitseinkommen gemessen. Mit Hilfe dieser Annahme lassen sich dann Renditevergleiche zwischen verschiedenen Ausbildungsinvestitionen und anderen öffentlichen und privaten Investitionen anstellen.

Die meßtheoretischen Probleme solcher Rentabilitätsrechnungen, die während der vergangenen fünfzehn Jahre vor allem von amerikanischen Ökonomen in großem Umfang vorgenommen wurden, referiert Blaug auf insgesamt 115 Seiten seines Buches. Ein Kapitel ist der Frage gewidmet, wie sich der Beitrag der Ausbildung zum Wachstum des Sozialprodukts berechnen läßt. Aus der Perspektive seiner marktwirtschaftlichen Theorie setzt sich Blaug dann kritisch mit den Versuchen auseinander, rein mengenmäßig den Bedarf an qualifizierten Arbeitskräften zu prognostizieren (dem sogenannten "Manpower-Ansatz").

In einer normativen Schlußfolgerung seiner theoretischen Grundgedanken wendet sich Blaug am Ende seines Buches jenen Einschränkungen zu, die einer vollkommen marktwirtschaftlichen, am monetären Gewinnstreben orientierten Bildungsorganisation entgegenstehen. Dem wesentlichen Einwand, daß nämlich die Finanzierung der Ausbildung von den meisten Bevölkerungsschichten nicht aus ihrem Einkommen und wegen der Unmöglichkeit, "Humankapital" hypothekarisch zu belasten, auch nicht von Privatbanken vorfinanziert werden kann, begegnet der Autor mit einem Finanzierungsmodell, das zugleich den Anspruch einer demokratischen

Bildungsorganisation erhebt: es wird vorgeschlagen, den einzelnen Schülern zu Beginn ihrer Ausbildung "Anrechtscheine" für ein bestimmtes Quantum allgemeiner Bildung auszuhändigen, mit denen sie auf einem Markt zwischen konkurrierenden privaten Ausbildungsangeboten wählen können. Damit wäre von der materiellen Seite – in Blaug's Verständnis – die Gleichheit der Bildungschancen hergestellt und sozialstaatliche Bildungspolitik und -planung weitgehend durch einen "Bildungsmarkt" ersetzt. Für die berufsbezogene Ausbildung, insbesondere die Hochschulen, wird vorgeschlagen, die Studenten zur Zurückzahlung der Ausbildungskosten zu zwingen, um ihnen damit einen materiellen Anreiz für ein intensives Studium aufzuerlegen und um gleichzeitig die Koordinierung von Bildungssystem und Beschäftigungssystem statt durch Bildungsplanung marktwirtschaftlich zu regeln.

Wegen der restriktiven Annahmen und des normativ-analytischen, d.h. gegen eine empirische Überprüfung immunisierten Charakters der Blaug'schen Bildungsökonomie kann seine Einführung in diese neue sozialwissenschaftliche Teildisziplin keine wirkliche Hilfe für diejenigen Lehrer, Wissenschaftler und Bildungspolitiker sein, die nach einer theoretischen Orientierung bei der Bewältigung pädagogischer Praxis suchen. Dieses Buch dient eher einer Restauration überkommener Ideologien als einer Rationalisierung der Bildungspolitik.

ENNO SCHMITZ, Berlin

BLAUG, MARK (ed.), *Economics of Education 2. Selected Readings*. Harmondsworth: Penguin 1969. pp. 396. 50 p. \$ 2.15.

SCHERER, FRANZ, *Ökonomische Beiträge zur wissenschaftlichen Begründung der Bildungspolitik*. Studien und Berichte Nr. 16. Berlin: Institut für Bildungsforschung in der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, 1969. 193 S. DM 10.

HÜFNER, KLAUS, *Traditionelle Bildungsökonomie und systemorientierte Bildungsplanung*. Studien und Berichte Nr. 17. Berlin: Institut für Bildungsforschung in der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, 1969. 201 S. DM 10.

Nach Mark Blaug schlug die Geburtsstunde der "neueren Bildungsökonomie" mit der Ansprache von Theodor W. Schultz, seinerzeit Präsident der American Economic Association, auf der Jahrestagung dieser Gesellschaft im Jahre 1960. Seither haben sich viele namhafte Ökonomen bildungsökonomischer Probleme angenommen, und in kurzer Zeit entstand eine kaum noch zu übersehende Flut von Arbeiten. In den ersten Jahren dieser Aktivität entwickelten sich theoretische und angewandte Forschung in wechselseitiger Befruchtung gleich rasch. Es dauerte jedoch nicht lange, da geriet die Bildungsplanung ins Kreuzfeuer der Kritik. Die verantwortlichen Kommaßstelle genau in vorgegebener Zeit Ist- und Soll-Wert einander angleichen wollten. Den Bildungsplanern wurde vorgeworfen, sie huldigten einem reinen Ökonomismus; die Bildungsplanung und auch Bildungsforschung beschränkten sich darauf, den Zusammenhang zwischen Ausbildung und wirtschaftlicher Entwicklung zu beschreiben und zu erklären vernachlässigten jedoch bewußt oder unbewußt den Einfluß des Bildungssystems auf die soziale Entwicklung; die Bildungsplaner machten also ihre Kalkulationen ohne Rücksicht auf das emanzipatorische Interesse der

Gesellschaft. Aus diesem Grunde sei Forschung und Planung auf eine neue Grundlage zu stellen.

Somit kann das von Blaug herausgegebene "Lesebuch" als eine Zwischenbilanz der ersten Epoche der neueren Bildungsökonomie angesehen und begrüßt werden. Folgerichtig wird der Leser dort Beiträge zu folgenden beiden großen Problemkreisen der bisherigen Forschung finden:

- Analyse der makro-ökonomischen Aspekte des Ausbildungssystems (hier wird der Zusammenhang zwischen Ausbildungsniveau und Produktivität, Einkommensverteilung und Mobilität der Arbeitskräfte sowie die Probleme des "brain drain" untersucht) und
- Analyse der mikro-ökonomischen Aspekte der Bildungsinstitutionen (hier werden Fragen der Effizienz und der Produktivität im Bildungssystem selbst sowie Finanzierungsprobleme behandelt).

Bildungs- und Arbeitsökonomie werden bald in vielen Universitäten zum festen Bestandteil des Vorlesungsprogramms gehören. Lernenden und Lehrenden wird mit diesem Buch eine hervorragende Diskussionsgrundlage geboten, die sie rasch erweitern können, wenn sie die im Anhang angegebene Literatur heranziehen.

Das Buch ist in fünf Teile gegliedert. Im ersten Teil, "The International-Comparisons Approach to Educational Planning in Developing Countries", berichten F. H. Harbison und Ch. A. Myers über ihre Untersuchungen in 75 Entwicklungsländern. Sie ermittelten eine enge Korrelation zwischen dem Bruttosozialprodukt je Einwohner und einem statistisch gewogenen "Bildungsindex", der die Leistungen dieser Länder für das Ausbildungssystem widerspiegelt. In der Interpretation ihrer Ergebnisse kommen sie zu dem Schluß, daß die Entwicklungsländer als Voraussetzung für wirtschaftliches Wachstum zunächst große Anstrengungen im Ausbildungsbereich unternehmen müssen. In den zwei folgenden Artikeln kritisieren M. J. Bowman und A. K. Sen das Vorgehen und die Schlußfolgerungen von Harbison und Myers. Die Streitfrage lautet: Hängen die Bildungsausgaben vom Volkseinkommen ab oder umgekehrt? E. R. Rado und A. R. Jolly möchten wissen, wieviel Ressourcen für das Ausbildungssystem abgezweigt werden müssen, wenn das Pro-Kopf-Einkommen in vorgegebener Zeit um einen bestimmten Prozentsatz ansteigen soll. Sie kommen zu dem Ergebnis, daß die erforderliche Zahl der Hochqualifizierten schneller wachsen muß als das Sozialprodukt. Danach scheint es also nur eine Frage der Zeit zu sein, bis alle Arbeitskräfte eine hochqualifizierte Ausbildung besitzen werden. W. C. Cash verweist in seiner Kritik außerdem auf das mangelhafte statistische Material in den Entwicklungsländern. Er spricht sich deshalb für den Kosten-Ertrags-Ansatz als Planungsmethode aus.

Im zweiten Teil, "Mathematical Models in Educational Planning," führen J. Tinbergen und H. C. Bos, A. K. Sen, S. Bowles sowie P. Armitage und C. Smith Denk- und Entscheidungsmodelle vor. Tinbergen und Bos beschreiben in ihrem Denkansatz die Beziehungen zwischen wirtschaftlichem Wachstum und Ausbildungssystem. Sen würdigt ein Modell und gibt Anregungen zu seiner Erweiterung. Bowles präsentiert ein lineares Entscheidungsmodell, mit dessen Hilfe in bezug auf das Lebenseinkommen das optimale Ausbildungsniveau bestimmt werden kann. Armitage und Smith wollen mit ihrem Funktionsmodell die innere Struktur des Ausbildungssystems beschreiben und die Auswirkungen von Parameter-Änderungen und Veränderungen der Variablen berechenbar machen.

Im dritten Teil, "International Migration of Human Skills," wird die Auseinandersetzung zwischen H. G. Grubel und A. D. Scott, B. Thomas und H. G. Johnson

über die Wohlfahrtsauswirkungen, die Ursachen und die zu treffenden Maßnahmen bezüglich eines "brain drain" wiedergegeben. Der "brain drain" ist vor allem für die Entwicklungsländer ein ernstzunehmendes Problem, da er den Trend ihrer (relativen) Verarmung verstärkt.

Im vierten Teil, "Productivity and Efficiency of Education," erläutern J. A. Kershaw, M. Blaug und C. F. Carter die Probleme der Produktivitäts- und Effizienzmessung im Ausbildungssystem. Steigende Produktivität ist ein Indikator für die Zunahme des technischen Fortschritts, während Effizienz ein Ausdruck für den Kosten minimierenden momentanen Einsatz der produktiven Ressourcen ist. Die Meßprobleme resultieren aus der Schwierigkeit, sinnvolle und operationelle Maße für *inputs* und *outputs* zu definieren. Angesichts der steigenden Studentenzahl verlangt jedoch die Frage, ob die vorhandenen Mittel effizient eingesetzt und die Produktivität erhöht werden können, besondere Aufmerksamkeit.

Im fünften Teil: "The Finance of Education" diskutieren A. Peacock, J. Wiseman, G. W. Horobin und R. L. Smyth Finanzierungsprobleme des Bildungssystems. Im Mittelpunkt der Auseinandersetzung steht die Frage nach der optimalen finanziellen Belastung von öffentlichen und privaten Haushalten.

Die beiden Arbeiten von K. Hüfner und F. Scherer sind als "kritische Standortbestimmung" der ersten Epoche der neueren Bildungsökonomie zu verstehen, was ja bereits als ein wesentlicher Beitrag zur "größeren Rationalität" in der Bildungsplanung gelten muß. Darüber hinaus bemühen sie sich, Strategien für die Planungs- und Forschungspraxis vorzustellen. Wer sich also über den neuesten Stand der Diskussion über die Probleme der Bildungsplanung und über ihre mögliche Fortentwicklung, informieren will, sollte diese beiden Arbeiten zusammen mit den *Economics of Education* zur Hand nehmen.

OTTO ROLOFF, Regensburg

BUTCHER, H. J.; PONT, H. B., *Educational Research in Britain*. 2. London: University of London Press, 1970. pp. 298. £ 3.25.

The book provides both accounts of current research and reviews of completed work in certain fields. Some of the reviews deal with educational research being carried out by particular institutions such as the National Foundation for Educational Research, the Schools Council, and the National Bureau for Cooperation in Child Care. Others are organised according to particular areas of study. These are: The Transfer from Primary to Secondary Education, the Teaching of Mathematics and Languages, Religious Education, Curriculum Model Building, Compensatory Education, The Arts-Science Dichotomy, Delinquency, University Teaching Methods, Medical Education, Education for Business and Management, and The Economics of Education. The various sections are written by different authors and there is a certain amount of inconsistency in the method of approach. Douglas Pidgeon, writing about the National Foundation for Educational Research, for example, gives a brief outline of the various projects which have recently been, or are being, undertaken by NFER, but does not summarise the results of these studies. This is unfortunate because many of the interesting and important results obtained in these researches will, as a result, have a that much smaller chance of becoming part of the general store of knowledge. Similarly, Jack Wrigley's account of the

Schools Council work might have been more useful had it been more comprehensive, and if the material had been brought together under project headings, somewhat as is done in the Schools Council's own report on its activities.

Some of the reviews within particular areas are extremely worthwhile but they could have been made more useful if care had been taken to draw attention to all ongoing (and as yet unpublished) research in each such area, and if more emphasis was placed on research that *should* be going on.

Although it is in no way a criticism of the book, this reviewer is left with a rather disturbing question, namely "What *educational* research is going on?" In saying this he reflects the opinion of Jack Wrigley, who remarks that in curriculum development research many of the awkward problems of education have been deliberately by-passed and ignored. There has been a failure to think about what the aims of education are; what we are really about. It seems ludicrous to attempt to evaluate curriculum developments such as comprehensive education, discussion lessons, Nuffield science, etc. when we cannot assess whether these techniques are achieving the important *social* objectives they are designed to achieve – promoting respect for other members of society, furthering self-confidence rather than confirming feelings of inadequacy, willingness to listen to and work with others, readiness to take initiative and reliance on self-help, etc. Indeed if one is concerned with educational outputs in these areas it is absurd to look for the appropriate educational inputs in such global and non-specific ones as "Comprehensive Education," "Nuffield Syllabuses" (often seen only as a better means of getting pupils to *learn* the material) or "Discussion Lessons" (often regarded merely as a means of getting students to obtain higher grades). It is true that there are passing references to these problems in the book; the fact that the *objectives* of Nuffield science are only half understood is alluded to, reference is made to the subjective and "un-measurable" benefits of discussion lessons, and to the relatively great overlap of the personalities, interests, and dispositions of arts and science pupils. But these are passing references and their implications for education and research are not developed. Indeed these implications are often played down by emphasis on such points as the need to develop better aptitude tests, the undesirability of allowing pupils to drop mathematics at eleven years of age, and the need for more research in the traditional areas of education. Thus, although Pont's discussion of the development of scientific versus artistic self and reference-group images is excellent, it is alarming that he fails to raise the question of what knowledge, skills, and attitudes, *are* of vocational value to scientists and others working in a technological society. It seems to me highly likely that current scientific education *is* inappropriate for careers in science or, for that matter, elsewhere in society. But even more inappropriate is training in the humanities. The problems this dilemma must raise for students and employers are just not mentioned; neither are the difficulties of carrying out socio-technical studies of various sections of the population in order to ascertain their educational needs.

One might conclude by reading more into Jack Wrigley's last sentence than he may have intended. He writes that there is now a much greater shortage of qualified and competent research workers than there is of money for educational research. Unfortunately one would not be surprised to find that money suddenly became scarce if one sought to obtain some of the "surplus" funds in order to embark upon the more important research that has been alluded to here. Indeed, Wrigley includes a telling account of the publication policy of the Schools Council. Although

this policy is unquestionably admirable when compared with the publications activities of many government funded research organisations, one cannot help feeling a little uneasy with an organisation so committed to its policies that it discourages publication of conflicting research results. When one knows that it is even more easy to influence what appear to be the results of social science inquiries by failing to commission relevant research, one cannot help feeling even more uneasy about the Schools Council's role. One might even ask it to set aside some money for research which was *designed* to be disturbing, bearing in mind that such research is more likely to be described as "statistically unsatisfactory" or "incompetent" than more acceptable research of a similar standard.

In summary, the book should prove valuable to anyone wishing to keep abreast of educational research in Britain. It could be more useful if it provided a more comprehensive and detailed list of ongoing projects and if it was written in such a way that it was more likely to stimulate worthwhile research along the lines mentioned and speed up the adoption of educational innovations in the classroom.

JOHN RAVEN, Dublin

CICOUREL, A. V.; KITSUSE, J. I., *The Educational Decision Makers*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963. pp. 178. \$ 2.95 (paper).

BELL, ROBERT M. R.; STUB, HOLGER R., *The Sociology of Education: A Casebook*. Revised Edition. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1968. pp. 399.

The importance of *The Educational Decision Makers* derives partly from its methodological approach and partly from its substantive findings, which have implications for schools as social systems, the functions of counselling in schools, and the link between education and mobility. The study's methodological orientation is phenomenological and owes much to Alfred Schutz and Harald Garfinkel. The object of the study is the process of differentiation amongst pupils, according to courses taken, in a large high school situated in a high income suburb in a metropolitan region. Its purpose is to go beyond the official statistics which classify individuals and seek to determine how the individuals became so classified. This approach follows Schutz's contention that the purpose of sociological investigation is to determine the common sense constructs of the members of the group under consideration. A considerable amount of work in the sociology of education takes a categorization (e.g. college-bound/non-college bound students) as a given, and then compares these groups on various criteria e.g. sex, race, socio-economic background. Cicourel and Kitsuse reject this approach in favour of examining how these categorizations arise in the first place. In this study they are concerned with how the administrative arrangements of the school, and particularly the role of the counsellors, function to differentiate students.

The authors take as a starting point the Parsonian contention that college-going is virtually ascribed for middle-class pupils. They set out to show that even in the predominantly middle-class Lakeshore High, differentiation – in short, "labelling" – occurs in spite of the aspirations of the parents. The investigation begins by seeking to determine whether or not middle-class parents expected their children to go to college. On the basis of open-ended interviews with students, parents and coun-

sellors, it was established that the majority of the students were college-orientated but they did not have specific information about the courses which they would have to take in order to enter college. This finding raised the question of how orientation to college is to be explained in the absence of relevant knowledge.

The next stage of the investigation was concerned with how students were allocated to courses with different degrees of likelihood that they would lead to college entrance. The materials indicated that this allocation was based partly on objective data such as test scores but also on the more diffuse evaluations of the counsellors regarding student behaviour, motivation, and general pupil role derived from a variety of informal sources. Thus the perceptions of the counsellors emerged as important determinants of allocation, and the research then looked at the procedures used by the counsellors. These procedures are illustrated by case material. The material shows not only how the counsellors function, but Cicourel and Kitsuse suggest that the greater professionalization of counselling actually "produces" problems since the specialist counsellor is orientated towards identifying pupil difficulties, especially in clinical terms.

The investigation thus demonstrated how differentiation has become bureaucratized in schools like Lakeshore High. The authors suggest that this requires some modification of Turner's ideal type of "contest mobility" as applied to the American high school. Sociologists who have studied British schools (e.g. Hargreaves, Lacey, Ford, King) have demonstrated how formal streaming has the effect of polarising pupils and hence generating a self-fulfilling prophecy. Thus from the British point of view it is suggestive that a movement from streaming to counselling as a mode of differentiation might not, in itself, dispose of the "sponsored mobility" pattern.

Readers such as *The Sociology of Education: a Casebook* are difficult to review. Unless they are organized according to a particular perspective, there is little that one can do except list the contents and state what might have been included or excluded – a rather subjective exercise deriving from the interests of the reviewer. This reader contains mostly very familiar pieces and one or two less well-known ones. The familiar ones have appeared in many other contexts. For example, five of the twenty three entries have appeared in Halsey, Floud and Anderson's *Education, Economy and Society* (i.e. papers by Havighurst, Rogoff, Parsons, Turner, and Clark). A number of other papers – by Becker, Bell, Friedenberg, Moeller, Gordon, Henry – have appeared in other readers in recent years. There are also pieces from well-known full-length books by Johnson, Whyte, Baltzell and Sanford. The fact that most of the articles are familiar indicates that they have been generally thought to be important references for students, and to this extent the reader serves a useful purpose.

The contents are too eclectic to provide a distinctive perspective on the sociology of education, except perhaps that the emphasis is on *sociology of education* rather than on *educational sociology*. In their introduction the authors write of educational sociology that, "while this work may have been of value and interest to the educator, it is not sociology." This may have been true of the past, but one would have thought that by now the sub-discipline of sociology of education had attained sufficient respectability to be able to afford to tackle issues arising from the practical problems faced by schools rather than to use schools as settings for testing sociological theory.

ERIC HOYLE, Bristol

DARL, ANNA; COOPER, KAREN; HARRIS, SUSAN; HARRIS, JENNIFER; MARTIN, GEORGE, *System of Personal Development. Activium for the Exercise of the Brain and Development of the Mind*. London: Institute for Personal Development, 1969. pp. 250.

In den letzten Jahrzehnten sind – vor allem im Zusammenhang mit Demokratisierungstendenzen – in den Vereinigten Staaten und in Europa Trainingsmethoden entwickelt worden, die der Verbesserung bestimmter Funktionsbereiche der Persönlichkeit, wie z.B. der Selbst- oder Fremdwahrnehmung, der Kreativität usw. oder der Einübung neuer Einstellungen und Verhaltensweisen dienen. Diesen Trainingsmethoden ist auch das "System of Personal Development" zuzurechnen, das von den Autoren als wichtige wissenschaftliche Entdeckung im Bereich von Psychologie und Erziehung angesehen wird.

Das Buch ist das erste in einer Reihe von Veröffentlichungen des Instituts über das "System". Es wendet sich an jeden, der ernsthaft an seiner Persönlichkeitsentwicklung interessiert ist, sowie vor allem an Lehrer, Schulleiter und Schulverwaltungen, in der Hoffnung, daß sie sich für die Aufnahme der "Persönlichkeitsentwicklung" in den Lehrplan der Schulen einsetzen. Psychologen, Psychiater und Mediziner werden auf eine spätere Veröffentlichung unter dem Titel *A New Dimension to Psychology* verwiesen.

George Martin beschreibt zunächst die Geschichte der Entdeckung des "Systems", die im wesentlichen mit seiner eigenen Lebensgeschichte identisch ist. Als uneheliches Kind russischer Eltern in China unter erheblichen seelischen Belastungen aufgewachsen, versuchte er als Erwachsener, seine neurotischen Schwierigkeiten durch autosuggestive Selbsterziehung im Sinne von Coué zu überwinden. Anfang der fünfziger Jahre begann Martin in Zusammenarbeit mit Anna Darl die dabei gewonnenen Einsichten in eine Trainingsmethode umzusetzen. Ein Studio wurde in London gegründet, etwas später das Institute for Personal Development, dem sich Anfang der sechziger Jahre Karen Cooper aus Deutschland und Susan und Jennifer Harris aus den USA anschlossen. Heute existieren bereits zwei weitere Institute, in der Nähe von Stockholm und in Amsterdam. In Holland ist "Persönlichkeitsentwicklung" bereits versuchsweise in einigen Schulen als Unterrichtsfach eingeführt worden.

Im ersten Teil des Buches wird erklärt, was unter Persönlichkeitsentwicklung zu verstehen ist. Zu keiner Zeit war der Abstand zwischen dem technischen und dem moralischen Fortschritt größer als heute. Das könne nur anders werden, wenn sich jeder weiterentwickelt, d.h. mehr Kontrolle über seine Antriebe und Gefühle erlangt, vernünftigeren Gebrauch von seiner Energie macht und seine kreativen Fähigkeiten entfaltet.

Im zweiten Teil wird das "System" beschrieben. Es werden drei Stufen der Persönlichkeitsentwicklung unterschieden, die von den meisten Teilnehmern in einem Kursus durchlaufen werden. In der "korrigierenden Entwicklung" lernt der Teilnehmer, seinen Impulsen freien Ausdruck zu geben und Eigenheiten der Haltung, Mimik usw. zu kontrollieren. In der "Charakter-Entwicklung" hat er Gelegenheit, bisher nicht vorhandene Eigenschaften zu entwickeln und im Zusammenhang damit Hemmungen und Fixierungen zu überwinden. In der "kreativen Entwicklung" schließlich übt er sich im kreativen Denken und Verhalten.

Im dritten Teil wird über die Anwendung des "Systems" berichtet. Ein Kursus der Persönlichkeitsentwicklung dauert 64 Stunden und wird innerhalb von vierzehn Tagen (wie im Institut) oder in einem längeren Zeitraum (z.B. bei Durchführung in Schulen, Volkshochschulen und Hochschulen) absolviert. Er besteht aus 20 dreistündigen Sitzungen, in denen die Teilnehmer in Gruppen zu zehn unter Kontrolle eines Lehrers Übungen zunehmenden Schwierigkeitsgrades durchführen. Über die Art der Übungen werden keine genauen Angaben gemacht. Es handelt sich offenbar um Konzentrations-, Entspannungs-, und Ausdrucksübungen, wie sie sich in ähnlicher Form auch im Repertoire der Steinerschen Eurhythmie, des Yoga, des autogenen Trainings sowie der jüngsten Variante des "Sensitivity Trainings", der sogenannten "Therapy for Normals," finden.¹⁾

Ein solches Training setzt zweckentsprechende Räumlichkeiten voraus. Das "Activium", in dem die Kurse des Instituts stattfinden, besteht aus einem großen Studio für die Zusammenkünfte aller Teilnehmer, kleineren Gruppenräumen usw., und ist technisch mit allen erforderlichen Geräten einschließlich eines Video-Recorders ausgestattet.

Vor Beginn des Kurses wird den Teilnehmern ein Leitfaden ("Schedule of Personal Development") zur Verfügung gestellt, der die wichtigsten Grundsätze der Methode ("Concentration, Imagination, Muscular Freedom and a Sense of Truth"), die Lernziele ("You and Others", "Discovering Yourself", "Developing Yourself", "Checking Yourself", "Living to Full Capacity",) und Verhaltensregeln ("Working in the Studio") enthält. Dieser Leitfaden wird während des Kurses dazu benutzt, den Stellenwert der einzelnen Übungen im Zusammenhang des Trainings zu bestimmen; er soll dem Teilnehmer aber auch nach Abschluß des Kurses helfen, allein weiterzuarbeiten.

Im vierten Teil des Buches wird die Theorie dargestellt, die dem "System" zugrundeliegt. Die Autoren gehen von einem eklektischen Persönlichkeits- und Verhaltensmodell aus, in das u.a. Elemente aus der Tiefenpsychologie, der behavioristischen Lerntheorie und der Kybernetik eingegangen sind. Kernstück der Theorie ist die Unterscheidung von drei intraphysischen Hindernissen der Persönlichkeitsentwicklung: Ungleiche Verteilung der Energie auf die verschiedenen Schichten der Persönlichkeit, Hemmung natürlicher Impulse als Folge des Aufwachsens in einer restriktiven Umwelt, zu schwache oder zu starke Kontroll- und Steuerungsinstanz ("Conscious Control Zone"). Das Training basiert auf der folgenden Technik, die – weniger gezielt und darum weniger effektiv – auch in der herkömmlichen Erziehung verwandt wird: "... (1) sending the right messages to the brain (2) allowing the brain to compute these messages and (3) thus producing the right natural impulses from the brain." (S. 209).

Auch wenn man das Buch nur an der Absicht seiner Autoren mißt, für die von ihnen entwickelte Trainingsmethode zu werben, läßt es viel zu wünschen übrig. Sein Informationswert ist im Verhältnis zu seinem Umfang gering. Man erfährt – wie schon angedeutet – wenig Konkretes über die Übungen, die doch das Herzstück der Methode sind. Das ist aus mindestens zwei Gründen bedauerlich: Einmal wird das "System" als eine Universalmethode der Charaktererziehung verstanden, die sowohl bei "Normalen" wie bei Neurotikern mit Erfolg angewendet werden kann. Zum anderen werden über die Effektivität der Methode wahre Wunderdinge berichtet: "Within four days, Richard was a *transformed* human being." (S. 93). Selbst wenn man den verständlichen Enthusiasmus der Autoren in Rechnung stellt, der auch für die Weitschweifigkeit der Darstellung verantwortlich sein dürfte, sind die angeblich

erzielten Erfolge doch so spektakulär, daß der Leser zu Vergleichen mit anderen einschlägigen Methoden angeregt wird. Dazu reichen aber die Angaben über die Methode bei weitem nicht aus. Die Autoren, denen offenbar selbst klar ist, daß sich ein solcher Vergleich aufdrängt, beschränken sich auf unqualifizierte Angriffe auf die Psychoanalyse im allgemeinen (S. 105ff.), auf Gruppentherapie und "Sensitivity Training" im besonderen (S. 123 u. 190).

Über die Theorie, die – zumindest in ihrer in diesem Buch explizierten Form – erheblich hinter dem heutigen Stand der einschlägigen Forschung zurückbleibt, braucht hier kein Wort verloren zu werden, zumal sie ja in einer gesonderten Veröffentlichung ausführlicher behandelt werden soll.

Mit diesen kritischen Bemerkungen soll der Wert der Methode nicht angezweifelt werden. Oft ist die Praxis – gerade im Bereich der Erziehung und der Psychotherapie – besser als ihre Selbstdarstellung.

Trotz der erwähnten Mängel dürfte das Buch vor allem für Lehrer aller Schularten und Mitarbeiter in der Erwachsenenbildung, die für Innovationen aufgeschlossen sind, von Interesse sein. Um prüfen zu können, ob das "System" in den Lehrplan der Schulen und der Institutionen der Erwachsenenbildung aufgenommen werden sollte, empfiehlt es sich jedoch, die weiteren in Aussicht gestellten Veröffentlichungen abzuwarten oder durch Teilnahme an einem Kursus für "Persönlichkeitsentwicklung" die Methode aus eigener Anschauung kennenzulernen – den Autoren zufolge ohnehin der einzige Weg, um zu einem fundierten Urteil zu kommen.

GERD DOERRY, Berlin

Deutscher Bildungsrat, *Strukturplan für das Bildungswesen. Empfehlungen der Bildungskommission*. Bonn: Deutscher Bildungsrat, 1970. 398 S.

This report was prepared by the *Deutscher Bildungsrat*, an official commission, national in scope, charged with making recommendations for the reform of the German educational system, with the exclusion of institutions of higher education, which are the concern of the *Wissenschaftsrat*. The *Bildungsrat* is composed of prominent educators and laymen as well as representatives of the federal government and the *Länder* (states). The recommendations aim to suggest basic principles and a general structure, rather than to spell out details on curricula.

The first two parts of the report deal with the legal basis and goals of learning at the various stages of development of learners. Attention is then focused on the need for curriculum reform, new teaching methods and materials, and teacher-training procedures allowing for individualization in programming and instruction at each stage of education. Special emphasis is placed on various aspects of counseling in its relation, not only to the needs of students, but also to parental attitudes and to teacher education as a whole.

1) Auch in den Lernzielen besteht zwischen dem "System der Persönlichkeitsentwicklung" und der "Therapie für Normale" eine gewisse Übereinstimmung. Vgl. I. R. Weschler, F. Massarik und R. Tannenbaum, "The Self in Process: A Sensitivity Training Emphasis" in I. R. Weschler und E. Schein (eds.) *Issues in Human Relations Training*, Washington, 1962, pp. 33–46; s. auch A. Däumling, "Sensitivity Training" in *Gruppenpsychotherapie und Gruppendynamik, Ergebnisse und Berichte*, Band 2, hrsg. von R. Battagay u.a., Göttingen, 1968, S. 113–123.

The main body of the report deals with recommendations on the various phases which are to be established gradually and, in substance, are to consist of the following: (a) an elementary stage for children aged three to five, (b) a primary stage beginning with school admission, to be lowered from the present age six to age five, and extending to the start of an *Orientierungsstufe* (orientation stage) which would extend, with regional variations, from age ten to twelve, (c) a secondary stage divided into a lower and an upper phase, and (d) further education, including education for those who have already entered employment. With respect to the secondary stage, one innovation would be the introduction of a first phase *Sekundarstufe I* which, at age 14, would offer to many pupils the *Abitur I*, a certificate differing from the present *Mittlere Reife* because it would be based on achievement during the last two years of school and on an examination following differentiated curricula. The *Sekundarstufe II*, beginning about age 16 and leading qualified students to the *Abitur II*, would diverge even further from the present system. This *Abitur* could be earned both in academic and in largely vocational institutions, and instruction would involve some compulsory and many elective courses (often less than a year in length), in contrast with the rather rigid distinctions between different types of present *Gymnasien*. While this *Abitur II* would result in admission to higher education – one of many evidences of the report's emphasis on equality of educational opportunity – schools and higher institutions would decide jointly which courses of study at the *Sekundarstufe II* would be required for admission to specific studies at the higher level.

For teacher education, the principal curriculum ingredients suggested are pedagogical and social sciences, school subjects and their respective methodologies, and practical training. Contrary to the division presently prevailing in the training of German secondary school teachers, into university coursework and subsequent practical training in the *Studienseminar*, the report states that gradually all teacher-training functions are to be incorporated into programs of higher education.

In the recommendations dealing with administrative structure envisioned for the future, major emphasis is placed on the increased responsibility of the federal government. The *Bildungsrat* raises the possibility of strengthening the *Bundesrat* (upper chamber of parliament, in which the *Länder* as such are represented) in this area of basic decisions about education on a national scale. Coordination of federal-state efforts is also recommended.

The final chapter deals with the financial implications of the recommendations made and is followed by statistical tables providing data on school-age populations, pupil and teacher ratios, school expenditures, etc., going from 1961 as far into the future as appropriate for each category.

The report neither initiates school reform nor claims to do so. In fact, in many ways it continues along such lines as the integrated *Gesamtschule* (comprehensive school), extension of compulsory education and numerous other developments of the last few years, and develops these further. The recommendations attempt to bring into an integrated whole a greater number of pupils and teachers (as evidenced, for example, by the emphasis on pre-school and primary education), as well as school categories, by eliminating elitism in education, so that all school types intended for the same age group can be placed on an equal footing.

The *Bildungsrat* is aware of the fact that its report will be widely discussed by the political, educational, regional, and other forces interested in education. That discussion, as well as the report itself, should be of great interest to comparative

educators looking at trends in education, not only in Germany, but in other countries including their own.

WALTER HAHN, Salt Lake City

FISCHER, JOSEPH (ed.), *The Social Sciences and the Comparative Study of Educational Systems*. Scranton, Penn.: International Textbook Company, 1970. pp. 533. \$ 10.00.

There was a time when the study of "Comparative Education" consisted of what was largely a juxtaposition of descriptive accounts of educational systems in various nations; the yield of such efforts were massive amounts of more or less minute and accurate information on such matters as modes of examination, accreditation of teachers, composition of curricula and the like, as well as elaborate and endless organizational charts of school systems and enrollment statistics. The prevailing approach was, as C. Arnold Anderson has aptly put it, "intra-educational," and its product was as prolific as it was intellectually uninspiring. In recent years, however, there has emerged a new perspective on what a different conception of the comparative analysis of educational systems could achieve. The more recent volumes of the *Comparative Education Review* have been both an indication and a source of this new perspective, as have been many of the recent meetings of the Comparative and International Education Society. Most important, a number of major universities have developed or refined their graduate programs in Comparative, International, or International Development Education in such a way as to foster a more promising and sophisticated approach to the comparative study of educational problems. A common element in all these developments is a heavy orientation towards the conceptual, theoretical, and methodological tools of the social sciences – an orientation which, incidentally, is being reciprocated in terms of an increased interest on the part of social scientists in the study of education. In this sense, the developments in Comparative Education are by no means unique; they reflect rather closely the overall reorientation of educational research in general in the direction of greater interaction with the social sciences in the study of educational problems.

This book, based on the proceedings of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the West Coast branch of the then Comparative Education Society held at Berkeley in 1966, represents one of the most valuable manifestations of this new approach to the comparative study of education. It is precisely because it is such a significant contribution that one would have wished for a more expeditious production; when the conference was held, many of the thoughts expressed in the papers and meetings were strikingly new and seminal. While they are by no means irrelevant now, the field has caught up with the spirit of that meeting, and the effect of the book is probably going to be more one of confirming and reinforcing already existing directions of research than stimulating new ones. This kind of support, however, is valuable enough, and one would hope that the book will find extensive use among scholars in both education and the social sciences. Fischer's strategy as chairman of the conference and editor of this volume was to attract a broad range of social scientists from various disciplines, whose intellectual curiosity had been aroused by problems of education in a variety of settings. The scope of this review can hardly do justice to the richness and variety of the resulting contributions; an overview of

the titles and authors, however, may at least provide a first impression of the scope of this effort.

From the perspective of *anthropology*, Yehudi Cohen's paper on "Schools and Civilizational States" explores the role of schools in society in both evolutionary and synchronic terms; Manning Nash ("Education in Burma: An Anthropological Perspective") and Joseph Di Bona ("Role Stability and Change in an Indian University") report on specific field studies in macro and micro settings, respectively.

The *sociology* section is introduced by some more or less well assorted "Considerations of the Comparative Sociology" (of Education, as one should have added) by Talcott Parsons; while this is not Parsons at his best, his grand view reveals some rather stimulating ideas well worth pursuing in a more cogent manner. One of the few genuinely comparative contributions is Philip Foster's "Secondary Schooling and Educational Opportunity: Ghana and the Ivory Coast, followed by thorough analyses by Joseph Gusfield ("Educational and Social Segmentation in Modern India") and R. Murray Thomas ("Who Shall be Educated? The Indonesian Case").

From the *political science* section, one has to single out Frederick Frey's immensely useful conceptual discussion of "Political Science, Education and Development" which should be a most valuable guideline for developing more coherent research efforts on the complex interactions between educational and political systems. By way of illustrating the contribution which political science research can make to the understanding of problems of educational development, the two other chapters in this section by David Abernethy ("Teachers in Politics: The Southern Nigeria Case") and James Guyot ("The Clerk Mentality in Burmese Education") are excellent cases in point.

The two contributions from the field of *economics* are both oriented to the educational policy-making process. Charles Benson ("Economics in the Making of Educational Policy") provides an overview of the major approaches in the field (rate of return, manpower planning, production functions), and William Platt contributes a case study on "Chile's Search for Educational-Economic Consistency."

In his extensive introduction, Joseph Fischer struggles valiantly with the enormous task of pulling this variety of material into some kind of coherent framework for the guidance of future research in Comparative Education. He succeeds in rounding out the book by providing an overview of the broad range of concerns with educational problems which have emerged in the social sciences, and of their major theoretical and methodological characteristics. The synthesis, however, is not yet within our reach, and it is to Fischer's credit that he has not escaped into creating an artifact of cohesion where none, as yet, exists. Indeed, it is not the least of the many merits of this book to highlight both the scope and the diversity of the tasks in which a new and exciting phase of comparative research on education is now involved.

HANS WEILER, Stanford

FRASER, STEWART E. (ed.), *Ludvig Holberg's Memoirs: An Eighteenth Century Danish Contribution to International Understanding*. Leiden: Brill, 1970. Vol. I, pp. 289, \$ 26.50. Vol. II, pp. 33 + portfolio containing 33 engravings. \$ 36.50.

The inveterate document collector Stewart E. Fraser, who is director of the International Center at George Peabody College for Teachers, was no doubt fascinated by Ludvig Holberg's recorded observations on the scholarly aspects of European university life in the eighteenth century. Holberg made five trips abroad over a span of 20 years to the intellectual centers of England (he did research at Oxford University) and the major countries of the continent. The following vignettes illustrate Holberg's deft characterizations of various European nationalities. "The French," he wrote, "pique themselves on the elegance of their manners, and upon the ease and graceful fluency of their conversation." The English, he recorded, "are too vain of themselves, and too much inclined to despise foreigners." "The Dutch," he observed, perhaps ironically, "possess nothing but common sense." The Germans, he noted, "seldom go out of the beaten track, but advance with a slow pace toward the goal at which they generally succeed in arriving." The Romans, he said, "were brave and warlike; the modern Italians are timid and effeminate." He did not think he could endure "the slowness which is peculiar to Spaniards."

Although Norwegian-born, Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754) is claimed by Denmark, which until 1814 formed part of a united kingdom with Norway. He studied at the University of Copenhagen and there he became successively professor, rector, and treasurer. The plays he wrote for the newly-established Danish theater and his histories of Denmark established his claim to fame as its greatest author and the founder of its modern literary tradition. He also wrote poetry, and important books of history, philosophy, and biography. In his *Memoirs* Holberg reflected on his own literary works and his creative processes. Thus the book has great literary value, particularly in Scandinavian literary history. He commented with rare frankness on other European men of letters of his time, so that the book is also important as literary criticism. His comments on a wide range of philosophers, historians, and playwrights give us a detailed picture of intellectual life in eighteenth century Europe, a factor which undoubtedly influenced the distinguished Dutch publishing firm of E. J. Brill to issue the present edition.

Libraries, scholars, and the general reader will be interested in this work, which owes its publication to the indefatigable efforts of Stewart Fraser. Readers will welcome the fact that this edition includes a separate portfolio of rare engravings of European scenes and portraits relevant to Ludwig Holberg's life, writing, and travels.

What makes Ludvig Holberg's *Memoirs* important enough to merit its cost, besides the special illustrations and separate portfolio of engravings, is partly the fact that as a major literary figure Ludvig Holberg is familiarly referred to as "Scandinavia's Shakespeare" and sometimes as "The Molière of the North"; partly the fact that the *Memoirs* were published in only a limited English edition in 1827 and are now made more readily available; partly the fact that Ludvig Holberg as a wandering scholar recorded with keen observation not only the atmosphere and administration of early eighteenth century European universities and their medieval-oriented professors but also the national characteristics of the French, English, Dutch, German, Italian, and Spanish people, as he observed and compared them.

FRANKLIN PARKER, Morgantown, Virginia

FREIRE, PAULO, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1970. pp. 186. \$ 5.95.

Anyone concerned with education and its liberating role in the modern world should read *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Paulo Freire's volume is a powerful plea for mankind to demonstrate by action and not just by rhetoric, the legitimacy of the long espoused but infrequently practised concept of the equality of man. This in itself is neither a new nor a particularly provocative stance. But Freire's work is distinguished from the plethora of contemporary *agapé*-focused literature of freedom through the presentation of an educational tactic for achieving a social order in which a larger portion of mankind may participate in determining its social-institutional environment.

Freire is critical of both the historical postures of rightist ideologies, which he categorizes as striving to domesticate men and time and thereby preserving the *status quo*, and leftist sectarian views which posit historical inevitability and aim to accelerate change in order to arrive at an idealized ultimate condition sooner. Both these camps do not bother to question their ideologies, and are frequently caught up in the inefficacy of their verbalism which sacrifices action and/or activism which sacrifices reflection.

The major portion of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is devoted to developing the intellectual basis for Freire's social philosophy as it grows out of his involvement with the thought and experience of diverse philosophical positions and situations. That is, the volume draws on the thinking of "Sartre and Mounier, Eric Fromm and Louis Althusser, Ortega y Gasset and Mao, Martin Luther King and Che Guevara, Unamuno and Marcuse," as applied to the concrete realities of the author's many years of adult literacy work in Brazil and Chile.

Freire's thesis grows out of this *a priori* reconstructionistic premise that man's ontological vocation is to be a subject who acts upon and transforms his world for the purpose of moving toward a fuller and richer life. This goal can be achieved via *concienciación* (man learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and then taking action against oppressive elements in his environment) although *concienciación* is difficult to attain because of commitments to oppressive models and myths. He calls for praxis to be applied through the technology of the Western world and the social vision of the Third World so as to synthesize truly instrumental men with faith in mankind and the legitimacy of differing definitions of reality, and humility enough to permit dialogue between educators and educated to come into being. Freire's true educator cannot impose himself or his knowledge upon people for this would oppress rather than educate, and oppressors do not emancipate, they keep people passive by incalculating myths indispensable for the preservation of the status quo. Freire cites, for example,

the myth that the oppressor order is a "free society"; the myth that all men are free to work where they wish, that if they don't like their boss they can leave him and look for another job; the myth that this order respects human rights and is therefore worthy of esteem; the myth that anyone who is industrious can become an entrepreneur; the myth that a street vendor is as much an entrepreneur as the owner of a large factory; the myth of the universal right of education when of all the Brazilian children who enter primary schools only a fraction ever reach the university; the myth of the equality of all men when the question "Do you know who you're talking to?" is still current among us;

the myth of the heroism of the oppressor classes as defenders of "Western Christian Civilizations" against "materialist barbarism"; the myth of the charity and generosity of the elites when what they do as a class is God; ... the myth of the industriousness of the oppressors and the laziness and dishonesty of the oppressed and the myth of the natural inferiority of the latter and the superiority of the former. (pp. 135–6).

Within Freire's construct an educator may not set out of an arrogant posture which assumes that people are ignorant and only the educator is wise. Rather, they must truly educate (lead out) by encouraging others to produce ideas upon which they base action, rather than consume the ideas of others.

Freire has utilized this leading out process in his adult basic literacy work. Even though Freire devotes a dozen pages (100–111) to an example of a Chilean application of this philosophy in the present volume, the exposition of the means is not as precise or tactically informative as either his 1967 published book *Educação como Prática de Liberdade* or his 1970 monograph *Cultural Action for Freedom*.

The quality of the translation of this volume is uneven. The charm of such imagery as: "...freedom would require [men] to eject this image [of the oppressor] and replace it with autonomy and responsibility (p. 31), or men "...must cut the umbilical cord of magic and myth which binds them to the world of oppression" (p. 175) is balanced by passages of extensive redundancy which transcend emphasis, and by occasional non-sentences such as "The struggle for humanization, for the emancipation of labor, for the overcoming of alienation, for the affirmation of men as persons would be meaningless" (p. 28).

Overall, speculative readers may be content with this volume; educators will want to explore Freire's thought further and work with his methods for implementing his thesis.

RICHARD CUMMINGS, Milwaukee

GEISS, JAKOB, *Gesamtschule in England. Wandel, Probleme, Tendenzen im englischen Schulwesen*. Hannover: Schroedel, 1970. 166 S. DM 7.80.

KIRFEL, BERNHARD, *Schulstruktur und Bildungschancen. Deutsche und belgische Schulen im ländlichen Raum*. Hannover: Schroedel, 1970. 154 S. DM 8.80.

These two books should in their different ways prove to be of considerable interest to students of comparative education. The first is a case study of the kind which is necessary to enable them to go beyond superficiality in the understanding of a system other than their own. Such a study is especially desirable for those interested in English education which perversely defies tidy schematisation. So the author has set himself a daunting as well as a useful task. The second book is valuable in a different way, offering a specific example of operational research in comparative education which is interesting, and, in some respects, probably unique.

Gesamtschule in England shows a genuine understanding of English education. It is a commendable achievement to trace accurately the course of the transition to comprehensive education, not just as an administrative development but with a full analysis of the research that underpins the various arguments. After a brief examination of the origins of comprehensive schools, the author explains in detail the

patchwork quilt of systems that has emerged as a result of the English concern to ensure that local desires and prejudices are catered for as far as possible. Following this he studies the process of transformation of political attitudes that has resulted from the drive towards greater equality of opportunity and this leads logically to an examination of the friction caused by reorganisation through both the structural and the internal reforms. A succinct summary completes this detailed piece of documentation.

The neatness of the total argument is in a way the main shortcoming of the book. It may well lie beyond the scope of such a work to probe deeply into the important question of curriculum and yet without some consideration of it the main argument cannot necessarily be accepted as valid, or as having done justice to the value questions involved in such controversial issues as the dismantling of grammar schools with their highly academic sixth forms, the preponderance of "public school" entrants to Oxford and Cambridge or the role of the direct grant schools. The book is therefore best regarded as an overall introduction to the subject, a launching pad for exploration of the more fascinating complexities. In this sense, it is a very competent piece of work.

Schulstruktur und Bildungschancen compares the school systems of West Germany and Belgium from the point of view of the educational opportunity they offer. The interest in taking these two countries in particular derives from two considerations. Firstly, among the EEC countries it is in Belgium that one finds by far the highest proportion of the relevant age group obtaining the academic school leaving certificate, roughly double the corresponding figure for West Germany. The author points out further that this ratio recurs; e.g., compared with their German neighbours twice as many Belgian children are admitted to post-primary education which offers an academic curriculum and twice as many Belgian university students are from working class homes. Secondly, while the system in Belgium is not fully comprehensive it is more flexible than the German one, since common primary education lasts to age 12 instead of 10 and, at least in theory, parents may opt for any of the available types of school for their children, though in practice there appears to be a good deal of "guided choice."

What interests the author is the relationship between the kind of statistics alluded to above and the structure of a school system, in the specific case of largely rural areas. In this respect he has been able to make a particularly happy choice of terrain in which to carry out his field work, the Eifel, a district through which the German-Belgian frontier was redrawn in 1920. He thus overcomes the major problem in cross-national comparisons, namely the large margin of error that has to be allowed for cultural variables that are exceedingly difficult to assess. Though it straddles the frontier, the Eifel remains a cultural unity, homogeneous in terms of population density, social structure, language and religion, but with two different school systems. This is a windfall as far as the comparative methodology is concerned. The other aspect of methodology, that of empirical research technique, is applied with impressive care and precision. The study can therefore be regarded as a valuable object lesson in the setting up and exploration of a hypothesis. The results are a useful contribution to our knowledge of the factors affecting early school leaving.

A. G. HEARNDEN, Oxford

HELMS, ERWIN, *Die Hochschulreform in den USA und ihre Bedeutung für die BRD. Qualität und Chancengleichheit als Problem der industriellen Gesellschaft*. Hannover: Schroedel, 1971. 236 S. DM 24.80

The purpose of this book is to offer insights into current reforms of American higher education and into their effects on actual educational practice. Since equalization of access to higher institutions and maintenance, or even increase, of academic standards are among the most important considerations in the current reform of higher education in the Federal Republic of Germany, Professor Helms concentrates much of his attention on these two aspects of American experience. He is familiar with the latter from several teaching assignments and through recent travels to various universities, government agencies, and other sources of pertinent information in the United States. He has also used the professional literature to the fullest extent. In addition, however, he undertook a major questionnaire study resulting in responses from 218 colleges and universities from a carefully selected sample and thus providing specific data on various important trends and practices. He has thus attempted, not only to systematize existing knowledge, but to add significantly to it.

Following a historical introduction, Helms begins with secondary-school innovations related to higher education, such attempts to aid the underprivileged classes as "Operation Headstart" and "Upward Bound," and programs for the academically gifted, i.e. "Advanced Placement" and "Early Admission." He then deals with recent changes in the structure of higher education, such as differentiations between institutions by types of students being admitted and by teaching and research goals assigned to each institutional type. California's master plan, internal changes (e.g. the "house system" and cluster colleges), and regional compacts designed to promote inter-university cooperation, are among other administrative trends discussed.

In elaborating on students' courses of study, the credit system is used as a point of departure, followed by such innovations as independent-study programs, study abroad, honors programs, and technological improvements (closed-circuit television, audio-tutorial systems, etc.). In conclusion, the author again points to the enormous variety among American institutions, the large number of courses of study, and the flexibility being maintained to adapt academic policies to changing circumstances. He adds that the obvious conflict between the objectives of equality and excellence actually adds fruitful impulses to America's education system. The appendix includes the questionnaire and the data collected by the study, as well as such other useful addenda as a glossary of terms and a bibliography on American higher education.

One great strength of the book, as this reviewer sees it, is that, in dealing with both administrative structures and academic programs, Helms discusses institutions in various states, representing different institutional types. Moreover, instead of limiting himself to his own findings, he offers historical explanations and a variety of often contrasting viewpoints on many issues, such as general vs. specialized education or elite vs. mass education. In harmony with the title of the book, Professor Helms is conscious of the implications of his observations for the German Federal Republic. If he does not attempt to draw comparisons on each point, this is fully justifiable due to the fact that differences between the American and German systems often make exact juxtapositions difficult. The German reader should thus expect to draw conclusions for himself, but the non-German comparative educator

and the layman need substantial background information on higher education in the Federal Republic before arriving at such generalizations. For all who are truly interested in American colleges and universities, including observers in the United States, this book is an excellently documented and systematically organized source of information and should stimulate further research in this field.

WALTER HAHN, Salt Lake City

LAUWERYS, JOSEPH A.; SCANLON, DAVID G. (eds.), *Education in Cities. The World Year Book of Education 1970*. London: Evans, 1970. pp. 420. £ 4.50.

Nachdem "urban education" in den USA bereits zu einer eigenen Disziplin geworden ist, schien es an der Zeit, daß das *World Year Book of Education* sich dieses Themas im internationalen Vergleich annahm. Zwar sind die Slums von New York City weder den Favelas von Rio de Janeiro noch den Elendsvierteln ländlicher Zuwanderer in den Städten der Entwicklungsländer direkt vergleichbar, doch liegt allen eine gemeinsame Problematik zugrunde: Großstädte ziehen einkommensschwache und unqualifizierte Bevölkerungsgruppen aus ländlichen Gebieten an, ohne ihnen adäquate Lebensbedingungen, und Bildungs- und Arbeitsmöglichkeiten bieten zu können.

Da das Wachsen der Städte und ihrer Slums im wesentlichen ein soziales und politisches Problem ist, können – wie die Herausgeber zugeben – Erziehung und Bildung nur einen bescheidenen Beitrag zur Problemlösung leisten. 43 Autoren aus über 20 Ländern versuchen, die Bedeutung und Situation des Erziehungswesens im Rahmen der Stadtentwicklung zu beschreiben.

Das erste der fünf Kapitel, "Towards a Theory of Urban Education", wirft die Frage auf, ob die vom bisherigen Erziehungssystem tradierten Normen und Inhalte noch geeignet sind, Zuwanderern und Slumbewohnern soziale Integration und wirtschaftlichen Aufstieg zu ermöglichen. Auch wird darauf hingewiesen, daß der Trend zur Entmischung und Abkapselung der Sozialschichten in bestimmten Wohngebieten Integrationschancen verringert und zu einer "Ghettoisation" der Stadt selbst führt. Die Beiträge aus den USA, vor allem der von R. J. Havighurst, verdeutlichen die Auswirkungen dieser Segregation, die Schulen in Slums auch finanziell viel schlechter stellt als Schulen in den reichen Vororten, so daß eine Chancengleichheit der Schüler völlig ausgeschlossen ist. Ansätze einer kompensatorischen Erziehung, wie sie hier aus Buffalo berichtet werden, können zwar Selbsthilfeinitiativen von Slumbewohnern wecken, nicht aber die Spaltung zwischen Schwarzen und Weißen und zwischen arm und reich überwinden.

Diese Problematik ist nicht nur für Nord- und Südamerika (Kap. III) typisch, sondern spiegelt sich ebenfalls in den Darstellungen afrikanischer Städte (Kap. II) und solcher des Nahen, Mittleren und Fernen Ostens (Kap. V). Von den europäischen Beiträgen (Kap. IV) gehen besonders die englischen und der holländische auf diese Frage ein. So werden aus Nottingham und Rotterdam Projekte für sozial benachteiligte Stadtbewohner geschildert.

Eine Schwäche vieler Beiträge und des Buches insgesamt liegt darin, daß es nicht hinreichend gelungen ist, die spezifische Rolle des Bildungswesens im Rahmen der

Stadtentwicklung aufzuzeigen. Sehr oft bleibt es bei einer bloßen und wenig zusammenhängenden Beschreibung beider. Beim Lesen drängt sich die Frage auf, ob es überhaupt einen prinzipiellen Unterschied zwischen der Erziehung auf dem Land und der in der Stadt gibt und künftig geben wird. Ist die Stadt die entscheidende Variable oder ist es der Stand der industriellen und ökonomischen Entwicklung? Sind die Grenzen zwischen den Sozialschichten für die pädagogische Fragestellung nicht relevanter als das Gefälle Stadt-Land? Der eingangs genannte Begriff der "Ghettoisation" weist ja auf jene Grenzen hin. Darum kann man auch nicht von der Erziehung in Städten sprechen, sondern man muß die spezifische Bevölkerungsgruppe und ihr besonderes Erziehungsbedürfnis genau umschreiben.

Auch wenn es nicht in allen Beiträgen hinreichend deutlich wird, so steht im Mittelpunkt dieses Buches doch jene große Gruppe von Menschen, denen der Übergang von der ländlichen zur städtischen Daseinsform nicht oder nur unzureichend gelungen ist. Ihre Integration in die urbane Gesellschaft wird aber nur zum Teil durch Erziehung beeinflußt und ist kein eigentlich städtisches, sondern ein gesamtgesellschaftliches Problem.

GERD IBEN, Marburg

LOWE, JOHN (ed.), *Adult Education and Nation Building. A Symposium on Adult Education in Developing Countries*. Chicago: Aldine, 1970. pp. 258. \$ 8.95. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970. £ 2.50.

This book makes a valuable and welcome addition to the descriptive and comparative literature available to the adult educationist. It consists of eleven chapters, each describing the work which is being undertaken in adult education in a particular country or region and each written by an eminent educationist. There is an introductory chapter contributed by the Editor, and a concluding statement by Dr. A. Thomas who was then Director of the Canadian Association of Adult Education. Of the eleven chapters, six are on Africa – English-speaking West Africa, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Senegal, Zambia – and the remaining five describe the situation in India, the Philippines, the South Pacific Territories, the West Indies and Spanish-speaking South America. The somewhat heavy concentration on Africa is due perhaps to the especially close ties which exist in Britain with educationists in that continent, though as an overview on adult education in the Third World a more even spread, including the Arab world, would have been an advantage.

In his introduction the Editor states that the sole restriction placed upon contributors was with regard to length, though it was suggested that certain matters should be mentioned, including the indigenous definition of adult education, the historical background, financial control and administrative organisation, and finally some analysis of present problems. It was inevitable that contributors would approach their task differently, and consequently some chapters are missing in certain pieces of information and others seem to place undue stress on particular aspects of adult education without giving the overall picture.

But these criticisms are small when compared with the great value of the book. In the first place, it provides the English-speaking reader with information not otherwise so readily available. Anglophone educationists are often ignorant of the situation in South America, for example, largely because there is so little literature

available on the subject in English, and much the same comment applies to Francophone Africa. This book is a useful contribution towards combatting such ignorance.

But it is not solely for this reason that the book should be warmly commended to students of adult education. Its real fascination is that the reader can see how it is that differing social, cultural and economic factors have affected and moulded the pattern of adult education in a country or region. Thus it is instructive to be able to read of the differing approaches to adult education in Francophone and Anglophone Africa; to note that in some countries of the Third World Universities have played a major role in establishing the pattern of work (West Africa and the West Indies) whereas in others adult education has emerged more from the grass roots (the Philippines and the South Pacific Territories); and to take note of the degree to which governments have sought to formulate policy or where the development of adult education has been left more to the efforts of non-statutory agencies.

To repeat, this book is a most welcome addition to the literature on adult education. It will be of great value not only to students of the subject, but to all those educationists in the Third World who wish to deepen their understanding of the contribution which adult education can make to nation building.

E. K. TOWNSEND COLES, Oxford

MINUCHIN, PATRICIA; BIBER, BARBARA; SHAPIRO, EDNA; ZIMILES, HERBERT, *The Psychological Impact of School Experience*. New York: Basic Books, 1969. pp. 520. \$ 12.50.

LEACOCK, ELEANOR B., *Teaching and Learning in City Schools*. New York: Basic Books, 1969. pp. 263. \$ 7.50.

These two volumes are research reports from the Bank Street College of Education Schools and Mental Health Program. *The Psychological Impact of School Experience* explores the basic question: "Does a school, perceived in its particularity as a life environment, affect the psychological development of children – their thinking powers, self knowledge, interpersonal perception, and emerging value systems – in predictable ways?" *Teaching and Learning in City Schools* examines "the premise that the teacher reflects the dominant values of the society in subtle ways and that teaching and learning in the public schools is compounded by stereotyped attitudes toward low-income and minority group children."

The eight schools selected for the first study presumably contrasted in their educational ideology, in their orientations toward child development, and the purposes of education. They ranged from modern ("integration of developmental-dynamic thinking into the life of the school") to traditional ("adherence to goals of academic excellence and formal institutional procedure"). The second study analyzed characteristics of classroom life from three perspectives: classroom observations, teacher interviews, and discussions with the children.

As is pointed out in the Editor's Preface common to both volumes, these complementary studies support each other: "the basic coherence, within a school, of educational ideology, value system, interpersonal styles, and images projected upon the children, showed itself as a major socializing force."

Although the books carry 1969 copyright dates, the data for the first study were actually collected in 1956–1958. This long delay between data collection and publication is never explained. In a Foreword to the *Impact* study, M. Brewster Smith points out that the intervening dozen years have seen major developments in such psychological research, including methodology and measures, which might have altered the design and procedures had the study been of more recent origin. Both studies were field-based involving psychologists, educators and anthropologists in the data collection and analyses.

The first study involved 105 boys and girls between 9 and 10 years of age in fourth grades in four metropolitan schools. The schools varied along a modern-traditional continuum, and it is the contrasting philosophies which constituted the study's independent variable. The dependent variables were those concerning the intellectual and psychological functioning of the children. Data were collected on the schools, the classrooms, the families and the children. The so-called "environmental matrix" – the schools, the classrooms, and the families – is described in considerable detail. Three analyses of classroom behavior are presented: the way the teacher organized the learning situation, the cognitive functioning and observed thinking processes of the children, and the ways the teacher and children related to one another in what was basically a modern or a traditional mode. The families tended to be upper-middle-class with parents college-educated, and financially well-off. An effort was made to identify the child-rearing practices of the mothers as traditional or modern.

The major section deals with the effects on children, their attitudes toward school, cognitive functioning, imaginative thinking, perception of family adults, attitudes toward the authority structure of school, codes of right and wrong, self concept, life-stage orientation, and sex roles.

Although the modern and traditional schools handled cognitive experiences in different ways, the most significant differences were not in the area of cognitive functioning but "in the area of self-perception and attitude – matters of personal identity, perception of development and investment in roles." Home influence tended to be especially strong in the areas of perception of people and social sex roles.

Four conclusions are reached: (1) schools do affect the lives and functioning of pupils in pervasive and profound ways; (2) the potency of the school's affect depends on the orientation of the home and its interaction with school influence, and the extent to which the school functions as part of the total integrated environment; (3) different socializing environments can actually modify characteristics which are assumed to be typical of a developmental stage; (4) schools have a different impact and meaning for different kinds of children. The broad educational implication is that the key to educational change, as it actually affects the child's classroom experience, seems to lie in the viewpoint and educational purposes of the school, since the schools not only select teaching procedures in terms of prevailing philosophies but shape such procedures in terms of their general stance toward learning and children.

In *Teaching and Learning in City Schools*, Leacock examined eight second and fifth grade classrooms, predominantly lower- and middle-income Negro and lower- and middle-income white. The purpose of the study was to understand "the processes of teaching and learning, in the context of observing ways in which children are being socialized, inducted, so to speak, into various roles in American society." Leacock looked at the nature and clarity of the teacher's concept of teaching; the

depth, richness and variety of curriculum content; the style of learning and thinking being encouraged in the classroom materials; and the relation of the curriculum content to the experiences which children brought to the classroom. She examined the classroom experience as a socialization process – the educational and social consequences of a “double-track” system in which children from middle-income areas go to better schools or “fast” classes while those from lower-income areas go to poorer schools or “slower” classes. The data clearly indicate that the school conveys a middle-class image of how working-class children are and how they should be “with the consequence that by projecting such an image on the children, teachers help perpetuate the very behavior they decry.” Leacock charges that “the middle-class values being imposed on the low-income Negro children defined them as inadequate and their proper role as one of deference.”

The implications for education deal with ways of involving children actively as participants in learning experiences and with modes of teacher training which provide techniques for both teaching and classroom management which focus on the practical realities of school life. Leacock decries the fact that while “history has developed through myriads of actions by multitudes of people, a great many of whom were poor,” this story is not told to children and the “basic myth of the elementary classroom leads, not only to the denial of their existence for many school children, but to a denial of the truth for all.” She maintains that hard-working and well-meaning teachers play an active role in what is generally a process of miseducation, particularly for the poor and the black student.

Both studies make a contribution to the growing body of literature dealing with the socializing forces in school and community. In the first study, the dichotomy of traditional versus modern seems now to be somewhat obsolete, but the psychological impact of differing environments is very much contemporary. Early on, the authors urge that the research be viewed as a pilot study, “breaking ground both conceptually and methodologically in the nature of its attack on a complex problem” and ask that the report be read and understood as a pilot work.

Studies such as this, when taken with Joan Roberts' *Scene of the Battle: Group Behavior in Urban Classrooms* and Philip Jackson's *Life in the Classroom*, show that we are beginning to develop methodologies and conceptual designs for describing and understanding the complexities of classroom behavior and the educational process. These first two publications in the Bank Street Psychological Studies in Education series make one hope that further reports, with a shorter time lag between data collection and publication and more rigorous editing, will be forthcoming.

A. HARRY PASSOW, New York

Proceedings of the 1969 Invitational Conference on Testing. *Towards a Theory of Achievement Measurement*. Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1970. pp. 117. \$ 2.

Les contributions à cette conférence de l'E.T.S. ont été regroupées en trois thèmes : la nature de la réussite scolaire, la mesure des connaissances, l'évaluation des systèmes et des programmes. On trouve, à l'intérieur de chacun de ces thèmes, une assez grande diversité de points de vue, tandis que certaines tendances semblent se

manifester à travers l'ensemble des thèmes. Plutôt que d'analyser chaque contribution, ce sont ces tendances que nous tenterons de mettre en évidence.

La première a trait à la définition des buts de l'éducation. On trouve dans les exposés de W. E. Coffman et de R. L. Ebel l'idée que l'éducation a comme but principal de transmettre des connaissances et que ces connaissances ne peuvent être intégrées, utilisées et mises à jour que dans la mesure où se construit, dans l'esprit de l'élève, un corps organisé de connaissances précises et cumulatives, une structure de plus en plus complexe, capable de s'enrichir de nouveaux éléments. La compétence s'acquiert non par un exercice à vide de la pensée mais par l'application de cette pensée à un corps de connaissances spécifiées.

Un deuxième groupe de tendances concerne les fonctions de la mesure. Plusieurs collaborateurs (W. H. Manning, et, dans une perspective plus sociologique, E. Z. Friedenberg) insistent d'abord sur son rôle dans l'individualisation de l'enseignement : faciliter à chacun l'utilisation optimum, en ce qui le concerne, des possibilités éducatives ; étudier les processus et les stratégies d'acquisition afin d'individualiser méthodes et contenus. Parmi les fonctions de la mesure, une grande importance est donnée au rôle qu'elle peut jouer dans l'expérimentation (J. C. Stanley), dans la construction de théories de l'éducation (W. H. Manning), dans l'évaluation de systèmes et de programmes (E. A. Sudmen, L. M. Lessinger). Il apparaît cependant que les méthodes d'évaluation des systèmes sont difficilement applicables à l'éducation faute de possibilités d'évaluation suffisamment complètes et précises des coûts et des résultats (T. K. Glennan).

Un troisième groupe de tendances tourne autour des apports que peut faire la psychologie, et plus spécialement la méthode des tests, à la mesure en éducation. Deux psychologues, L. J. Cronbach et L. Guttman, montrent, sur deux points précis, quel peut être cet apport.

L. J. Cronbach étudie la notion de validité des mesures. Il distingue la validité de contenu, relevant du jugement d'experts, et la validité conceptuelle, relevant d'une approche empirique ou expérimentale. Ceci le conduit à analyser la pratique, maintenant courante, d'établissement de plans de construction d'épreuves à deux dimensions, contenu x objectif. Il souligne que seule la deuxième de ces dimensions a trait au comportement des sujets. Il note aussi l'insuffisance d'objectifs formulés seulement en termes d'opérations spécifiques. C'est dans la mesure où ces opérations sont des indicateurs de concepts plus généraux, susceptibles de se traduire en comportements dans d'autres situations, que l'idée même de validité peut être retenue.

L. Guttman propose un modèle de construction d'épreuves de connaissances fondé sur la théorie des facettes. Les facettes qu'il prend en considération ont trait au support (verbal, numérique ou spatial) et au type d'opération (inférence ou application de règles). Quelques exemples montrent l'intérêt de cette approche dans l'analyse des opérations mises en jeu par les questions et les réponses proposées lorsque celles-ci le sont en fonction de facettes préalablement choisies.

Un thème qui se fait jour, enfin, est celui de l'intérêt que présenteraient des épreuves et des normes établies en fonction d'un programme, dont on peut dire si les points sont maîtrisés ou pas (W. E. Coffman, W. H. Manning, L. J. Cronbach).

Le titre du compte-rendu peut se justifier, finalement, par la recherche de la jonction entre principes généraux de la mesure et spécificité des problèmes qu'elle pose en éducation, recherche perceptible à travers l'ensemble des contributions.

REUCHLIN, MAURICE; BACHER, FRANÇOISE, *L'orientation à la fin du premier cycle secondaire*. Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1969. p. 392. FF 45.

Als Nachfolger von Henri Piéron hat Maurice Reuchlin die Leitung des Nationalen Instituts für Arbeitsforschung und Berufsberatung (Institut national d'étude du travail et d'orientation professionnelle) in Paris übernommen, an dem auch Françoise Bacher als Leiterin der Forschungsabteilung tätig ist. Das vorliegende Buch beruht auf einer umfassenden Untersuchung, die 1964 im Rahmen des Fünften Nationalen Plans in Verbindung mit dem Ministerium für Unterricht durchgeführt wurde. Hier wird versucht, folgende Frage zu beantworten: "Welche Faktoren beeinflussen die Schul- und Berufsorientierung?" Dabei handelt es sich um Jungen im Alter von durchschnittlich 15–16 Jahren, die den "Ersten Zyklus der Sekundarschule" durchlaufen haben. Diese Altersstufe hat in Frankreich, wie auch in vielen anderen Ländern, seit etwa zehn Jahren wachsende Bedeutung für die junge Generation erlangt. Früher hat man die Zeit zwischen dem 10. und 12. Lebensjahr der Schüler als kritische Periode der Orientierung bezeichnet. Selbstverständlich gibt es eine große Mannigfaltigkeit von Faktoren, die Einfluß auf die Orientierung nehmen: psychologische, pädagogische, ökonomische, geographische, soziale, usw. Die Untersuchung umfaßte eine "repräsentative Population" von 11.384 Kindern aus verschiedenartigen Schulen ganz Frankreichs: unter anderem aus öffentlichen und privaten *lycées* klassischer, moderner und technischer Ausrichtung, wie *collèges d'enseignement général*, und aus verschiedenartigen technischen Schulen in 83 der 90 bestehenden *départements* sowie verschiedenartigen Klassen innerhalb der Schulen. Über jeden Schüler wurden 250 Einzeldaten gesammelt, die in 13 Rubriken gruppiert wurden. Darüber hinaus wurden verschiedene Tests bezüglich der Schüler durchgeführt. Die Jungen wurden auch über ihre Pläne und ihre Kenntnisse in Bezug auf verschiedene Berufsmöglichkeiten sowie Fachschulen im allgemeinen und in der Gegend ihres Wohnortes befragt. Dazu lieferten Lehrer und Eltern verschiedene Angaben über die Kinder, um zu ermitteln, in welchem Maße die Kinder in ihren Interessen und ihrer Wahl durch die Schule und Familie beeinflusst sind.

Das Buch besteht aus zwei Hauptteilen (abgesehen von der Einführung, in der Ziele und Methoden der Untersuchung erläutert werden): Im ersten Teil werden die allgemeinen Ergebnisse und Schlußfolgerungen zusammengefaßt (S. 28–90); der zweite, umfassendere Teil gibt eine Analyse der Tatsachen (S. 92–333); der Anhang enthält eine Liste der 250 "Variablen" in 13 Kapiteln. Nicht sämtliche gesammelten Angaben wurden benutzt, und interessierte Wissenschaftler können eine "Liste der Variablen" mit einer Beschreibung der gesammelten Daten vom INOP, 41 rue Gay-Lussac, Paris, anfordern.

Hier sollen nur einige Ergebnisse der analysierten Daten als Beispiele zusammengefaßt werden. Im Hinblick auf die Fähigkeiten der Kinder und die örtlichen Bildungsmöglichkeiten scheinen die Bestrebungen der Kinder und Eltern im allgemeinen ziemlich "vernünftig" zu sein. Dabei ist zu berücksichtigen, daß diese Bestrebungen grundsätzlich in enger Verbindung zu dem sozio-ökonomischen und kulturellen Status der Familie und deren Wohngegend stehen. In vielen Einzelfällen ist die Sachlage jedoch nicht so einfach. Es wird auch deutlich, daß eine frühere und fortlaufende psycho-pädagogische Intervention den Einfluß der Umwelt in gewissem Umfang vermindern kann. Die allgemein "vernünftige" Haltung der Kinder und ihrer Eltern führt aber doch zu einer gewissen Hebung des jeweiligen sozialen Niveaus der Familie. In dieser Hinsicht spielen die Lehrer eine interessante Rolle,

indem sie die Bestrebungen "bremsen", aber in viel geringerem Maße, wenn es sich um Kinder von niedrigeren sozialen Schichten handelt. Diese Einstellung der Lehrer begünstigt die Demokratisierung. Da die allgemeine Tendenz zu einer gewissen Aufwertung des Unterrichts führt, muß diese Tatsache in dem Plan Berücksichtigung finden. Aber hier ergibt sich notwendigerweise eine besonders schwierige und wichtige Frage: Welches sind die pädagogischen Bedingungen, die man für die "bessere" oder "schlechtere" Wirksamkeit des Unterrichts verantwortlich machen kann? Und weiter: Wie kann man diese Bedingungen mit den verschiedenen Schultypen und den Anforderungen der Berufe in Verbindung bringen? Vielleicht könnte hier eine engere Zusammenarbeit zwischen Psychologen und Lehrer zu interessanten Resultaten führen; aber zunächst einmal muß das Problem erkannt werden. Das reiche Material dieses Buches ist geeignet, dazu beizutragen.

ALEXANDRE VEXLIARD, Ankara

RICHMOND, W. KENNETH, *The Education Industry*. London: Methuen 1969. pp. 237. £ 2.00.

Cet ouvrage porte exactement le même titre que celui que nous avons publié à Paris en 1967 *L'industrie de l'enseignement* (Editions de Minuit). Mais il a été écrit par un éducateur, alors que l'autre était dû à un économiste. Tous les deux sont préoccupés par le même problème: comment obtenir davantage pour l'argent dépensé dans le domaine de l'enseignement, en d'autres termes, comment améliorer la productivité de celui-ci.

Il est regrettable qu'une grande partie de cet ouvrage consiste en arguments "littéraires" destinés à démontrer au monde enseignant que l'enseignement est devenu une "industrie" et qu'en conséquence il faut lui appliquer l'analyse coût-bénéfice et les techniques modernes de gestion. Certes, l'auteur examine les expériences américaines (Quality Measurement Project de l'Etat de New-York) et suédoises (analyse de système en matière de réforme de programmes), mais nous aurions souhaité davantage d'idées et de développements sur la "quantification de la qualité" de l'enseignement, problème qui n'est pas encore résolu de façon satisfaisante par les économistes et où ils attendent précisément un apport décisif de la part des éducateurs: comment par exemple quantifier la "valeur" d'un diplôme secondaire ou supérieur, autrement que par les coûts ou par la rémunération professionnelle?

Du point de vue proprement économique, certains arguments avancés par l'auteur – qui n'est pas économiste – ne sont pas fondés: par exemple, l'affirmation, p. 29, qu'il y a une corrélation élevée entre les dépenses d'enseignement en pourcentage du PNB et le PNB par tête. En réalité, cette corrélation n'existe pas lorsqu'on prend une centaine de pays et non une dizaine. La corrélation n'existe qu'entre la dépense d'enseignement par tête et le PNB par tête; p. 33, il semble y avoir confusion entre le coût unitaire annuel d'un cycle d'enseignement donné et le coût unitaire de formation pour l'ensemble de ce cycle. Enfin, l'auteur aurait dû expliquer certains sigles (WADA, HP, NCE ?).

LÊ THÀNH KHÔI, Paris

RICHMOND, W. KENNETH, *The School Curriculum*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1971.

Man hat den Engländern häufig vorgeworfen, sie verfügten – verglichen mit den Amerikanern – über keine systematische Curriculum-Theorie, in der folgerichtig dargelegt wird, wie aus den anerkannten Entscheidungsquellen Kind und Gesellschaft sowie wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen Lehrinhalte gewonnen werden, die dann in einem Curriculum ihren Niederschlag finden; dabei sollten zunächst die Ziele sorgfältig formuliert und Evaluationstechniken vorgesehen werden; bei der Konstruktion des Curriculums sind Probleme der Dissemination und Implementation zu berücksichtigen. Verwendet man dieses Theoriegerüst, dessen einzelne Begriffe häufig aufgebläht benutzt werden, als Maßstab für das vorliegende Buch, so entsteht der Eindruck, daß Richmond eher feuilletonistisch als systematisch gearbeitet hat, immer wieder einzelne Gesichtspunkte herausgreift und diskutiert, doch diese Diskussion vorzeitig abbricht; und der Leser, der sich schon vorher mit einem bestimmten Gebiet beschäftigt hat, zum Beispiel mit dem Problem der Zielformulierung, vermißt weitere ihm bekannte Argumente, die in den letzten Jahren u.a. von Popham, Sullivan oder Eisner zu diesem Thema vorgetragen wurden.

Kenneth Richmond hat in diesem Buch den Versuch unternommen, einen umfassenden Einblick in die curriculum-theoretische Diskussion zu vermitteln. Üblicherweise muß eine solche Arbeit mit Definitionen zum Begriff Curriculum beginnen. Es folgen Überlegungen zum Problem der Curriculum-Entwicklung. Richmond plädiert für Änderungen im Curriculum, deren Notwendigkeit er mit folgenden Argumenten, begründet: mit der Bevölkerungszunahme, dem bisherigen und weiterhin zu erwartenden Ansteigen des Lebensstandards, der Wissensexplosion, der Arbeitsteilung die Spezialusbildung verlangt, mit der weltweiten Tendenz zum längeren Schulbesuch, dem Trend zur früheren physischen Reife und schließlich mit der Existenz neuer Media, neuer Kommunikationskanäle, neuer Methoden und neuer Unterrichtsansätze. Diese Veränderungen machen eine permanente Curriculum-Revision notwendig, für die Richmond mehrere Postulate aufstellt, wie "Curriculum-Planung muß umfassend durchgeführt werden"; "wenn die Curriculum-Planung erfolgreich sein soll, muß sie auch zu angemessenem Lehrmaterial führen" oder "in der gegenwärtigen Lernsituation ist eine Neudefinition grundlegender Fähigkeiten notwendig". Gegen Postulate dieser Art will und kann niemand etwas einwenden; sie bleiben jedoch unfruchtbar, solange nicht konkrete inhaltliche Vorschläge gemacht werden.

Richmond wendet sich nach diesem theoretischen Überblick der Praxis zu und beschreibt die Curriculum-Reformen in den USA, England, Frankreich und Schottland. Diese Beschreibung nimmt immerhin ein Drittel des Buches (100 Seiten) ein, so daß der mit diesen Bedingungen nicht vertraute Leser einen guten Überblick gewinnen kann.

Nach der theoretischen Einleitung und dem Teil I der Praxisbeschreibung im internationalen Rahmen wendet sich Richmond dann im Teil II der Theorie zu, indem er unter den Überschriften "Learning Situations into Life Situations", "Aims and/or Objectives?", "What Knowledge is of Any Worth?", "Christ, What a Way to Grow Up!": The Drop-out Generation" und "Stuff and Nonsense in the Curriculum" eine Fülle bunt zusammengewürfelter, streitbarer und oft unorthodoxer Ideen diskutiert, in denen sich humanistische Bildung und Gedanken aus der Schulkritik der jungen Linken in der Ablehnung einseitig intellektualistischer und techno-

kratischer Reformansätze vereinen. Die heutige Schule konzentriert sich auf Problemlösen und trainiert Fähigkeiten, anstatt jeweils auch die affektiven Komponenten gebührend zu beachten und ihrer Disposition entsprechend zu fördern. Es besteht eine Kluft zwischen dem Lernen in der Schule und den Erfahrungen des täglichen Lebens, die nur dadurch geschlossen werden kann, daß man sich in Zukunft stärker mit der affektiven Seite des Lernens beschäftigt. Dies ist daher eine realistische, keine romantische Forderung. Eine Schule, die Problemlöser produziert, verzichtet auf die Imagination eines Keats: "O for a life of sensation rather than of thought!"

Richmond beeindruckt ständig mit Kenntnissen aus der Literatur, der Philosophie oder der Geschichte der Pädagogik und diskutiert dann sehr plötzlich zentrale curriculum-relevante Fragen; zum Beispiel setzt er sich kritisch mit dem disziplinorientierten Ansatz auseinander und fragt, was eine Disziplin eigentlich sei. Jedoch werden in diesem Buch Argumente für und gegen grundlegende Alternativen, wie die zwischen vorgegebenen Lernzielen und spontaner, nichtvorhersagbarer Entwicklung auf Seiten des Schülers nicht genügend ausführlich einbezogen. Ein Blick auf die entsprechenden Beiträge von Sullivan, Popham oder Eisner hätte zusätzliche Gesichtspunkte geliefert.

Das Buch ist in zehn Kapitel aufgeteilt; es enthält einige graphische Übersichten und am Schluß ein gutes Schlagwortverzeichnis. Die bibliographischen Angaben befinden sich jeweils am Ende eines Kapitels. Die Argumentationsweise bringt eine häufige Wiederholung der Titel mit sich. Obgleich die genannten Titel im allgemeinen wichtig sind, stört es, daß die neuere Literatur, d.h. Literatur nach 1966, kaum berücksichtigt wurde, was gerade im Hinblick auf die kritischen Bemühungen des Autors notwendig gewesen wäre.

Das Buch ist somit in erster Linie als ein stellenweise äußerst geistreicher Essay, der immer wieder provoziert und zu neuen Gedanken anregt, zu betrachten. Es sollte jedoch nicht in der Erwartung gelesen werden, es handle sich hier um eine Einführung in die Curriculum-Theorie.

DORIS ELBERS, Berlin

SCHLEICHER, KLAUS, *Politische Bildung in England 1939–1965*. Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1970. 314 S. DM 31.

Books by German scholars on the history of education in Great Britain have usually covered broad chronological periods, e.g., the surveys by W. Dressler (1928) and W. Lustenberger (1953). What distinguishes Dr. Schleicher's monograph is not only the limited time-span, but also its sharply defined scope and closely documented text.

This book examines the relationship of political consciousness and reality to political instruction in England during the 25 years following the start of World War II; comparative references are made to the contemporary educational situation in the German Federal Republic. Specifically, the aim of the author is "... zu klären, inwieweit die englische Gesellschaft bei der Konfrontation mit antidemokratischen Ideologien, trotz der Entwicklung zur Massen- und Wohlfahrtsdemokratie und in einer Epoche der Bildungsplanung an der traditionellen "Eingewöhnung" festhielt, und inwieweit sie sich um eine politische Bildung durch einen entsprechenden Unter-

richt bemühte" (p. 9). Accordingly, he has concentrated on the principles and methods of political instruction in the armed services, teacher training programs, institutions of secondary education, and universities. What concerns him is not political indoctrination in the narrow sense, but rather the broader ramifications of education in political and social understanding.

Schleicher shows how the focus of political education shifted as social and other conditions changed, not only in the primary and secondary schools, but in teacher training and higher education as well. "Im Unterschied zu den vierziger Jahren waren es jetzt vor allem die Universitäten, die ihre Studienpläne revidierten und im großen Maße gesellschaftliche, zeitgeschichtliche oder weltpolitische Studien ermöglichten" (p. 232). What was impressive was the fact that Cambridge University students could pursue African and South Asian history without being compelled to study medieval European history also, as dictated by tradition. Another trend perceived by Schleicher was the lessening of interest in history concurrent with the rise of enthusiasm on all educational levels for economic, social, and political studies. He also observes, with regard to "die Eigenart der politischen Bildung in England" on the pre-university level, "... daß es bisher nicht zu einem Konsens über die Unterrichtsinhalte und -formen gekommen ist und daß soziologische und "politikwissenschaftliche" Aspekte sowie "ideologische Gegensätze in der Welt" kaum berührt werden" (p. 146).

The monograph by Dr. Schleicher is supported by 56 pages of documentation. The 21-page bibliography is comprehensive. The tone of presentation and the analysis is objective. In all, this is a sound contribution to the understanding of an important aspect of recent English education in its historical perspective. It is puzzling, however, that a book dealing with England should have an outline map of the British Isles (including most of the Republic of Ireland) on its cover.

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN, Philadelphia

SEIFFERT, HELMUT, *Hochschuldidaktik und Hochschulpolitik. Der Hochschulunterricht und seine politischen, wissenschaftlichen und sozialen Voraussetzungen*. Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1969. 222 S. DM 18.50.

BEARD, RUTH, *Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970. pp. 212. 40 p.

In den Bemühungen um die Reform der Hochschulen hat die Hochschuldidaktik seit einigen Jahren zunehmende Beachtung gewonnen. Dabei beginnt ein vordergründiges Verständnis von Didaktik als "Lehre von den Formen des Lernens" der Einsicht zu weichen, daß die Wissenschaft selbst zum Gegenstand des Forschens werden müsse. Von den beiden hier anzuzeigenden Publikationen geht die des Erholanger Erziehungswissenschaftlers Helmut Seiffert von beiden Aspekten aus: Hochschuldidaktik als Unterrichtstechnik und als Wissenschaftstheorie. So wird im ersten Teil ein wissenschaftstheoretischer Gedankengang entwickelt, im zweiten werden unterrichts- und gruppenpsychologische Fragen behandelt, freilich immer im Rückblick auf die im ersten Teil gewonnenen Einsichten.

Seiffert sieht das Problem der Hochschuldidaktik als politisches und setzt sich daher auch mit den Reformforderungen der radikalen, vom dialektischen Denken

ausgehenden Studenten auseinander. In der Einleitung untersucht er die Möglichkeiten einer Reform durch Revolution und verneint sie, weil die in einer Gesellschaft auftretenden Probleme weitgehend system-neutral seien und daher durch system-immanente Reform gelöst werden müßten. Am Beispiel der Hochschuldidaktik will Seiffert zeigen, worin systemimmanente Reformen, die er nur als radikale Reformen für sinnvoll hält, bestehen können.

Nach einer Klärung des Gegensatzes zwischen dialektischem und analytischem Denken, kommt Seiffert zu dem Schluß, daß das Problem der Hochschuldidaktik sich von anderen Standpunkten aus genau so radikal, nur inhaltlich anders, formulieren lasse wie aus der Sicht der dialektisch argumentierenden Studenten. Das Ziel des Hochschulunterrichts sieht Seiffert sowohl im verstehenden Erfassen der in der wissenschaftlichen Tradition gegebenen Sachzusammenhänge als auch in der kritischen Diskussion dieses Überlieferten. Eine sprachanalytische Betrachtung über das Entstehen einer wissenschaftlichen Sprache führt zum Aufdecken einer Parallelität zwischen "Wissenschaftslogik" und "Lehrlogik". Die aus diesen Gedankengängen gewonnene These lautet, die optimale Formulierung wissenschaftlicher Aussagen sei eine Angelegenheit sowohl der "innerwissenschaftlichen" Logik als auch der "Lehrlogik," so daß der unvollkommene Zustand unseres Universitätsunterrichts sich nicht nur als gruppensoziologisches, sondern auch als innerwissenschaftliches Problem darstellt. Hier wird deutlich, warum Hochschuldidaktik auch Wissenschaftstheorie sein muss. Wenn in diesem Sinne Hochschuldidaktik etwas mit der Demokratisierung des Verständnisses für komplizierte wissenschaftliche Gedankengänge zu tun hat, so erschöpft sich die Hochschuldidaktik nicht in der Auseinandersetzung der wissenschaftlichen Richtungen, weil sie jedes nur mögliche Denken zu ihrem Gegenstand machen kann und muss. Seiffert sieht ein grundlegendes Mißverständnis der revolutionären Linken darin, daß diese "Demokratisierung" nur als einen Prozeß zwischen "rechten" und "linken" Positionen verstehe und sich dabei selbst von vornherein zur "demokratischen" Partei rechne. Fasse man aber Demokratisierung der Wissenschaft als einen Prozeß auf, bei dem die Parteien "Wissenschaftselite" und "Normalstudent" hießen, so verliefen die Fronten anders, und die geistigen Führer der Revolution stünden auf Seiten der Elite, deren Gedankengänge in mühevолlem Lernprozeß dem akademischen Fußvolk erst verständlich gemacht werden müßten.

Der zweite, den formalen und sozialen Aspekten der Hochschuldidaktik gewidmete Teil des Buches geht von der besonderen Sozialstruktur der deutschen Hochschulen aus, die diese sowohl von gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen anderer Art als auch von den Hochschulen anderer Länder unterscheide: der Anonymität und der daraus folgenden Verkrampfung der interpersonellen Beziehungen. Die Rede von der "autoritären" Universität sei aus der Perspektive der Studenten unverständlich, da jene sich um die Studenten nicht zu viel, sondern gerade zu wenig bemühe; selbstverständlich sei dagegen jene Auffassung aus der Perspektive der Assistenten und Hilfsassistenten, die schon privilegiert sind, nun aber häufig autoritäre Formen zu spüren bekommen. Seiffert sieht die studentische Revolution sich folgerichtig aus der "klassisch liberalen" Universitätsstruktur entwickeln: Studenten vom Typus des sozial und wissenschaftlich gut durchsetzungsfähigen, daher zunächst optimal angepaßten Studenten kommen eben durch diese Anpassung in Positionen (als Hilfsassistenten oder Assistenten), die es ihnen erlauben, ihre in einem exzeptionellen "Nahverhältnis" gewonnenen Erfahrungen in einem Kampf aller Studenten gegen

die "autoritäre" Hochschule umzusetzen, und sie gewinnen Anhänger, weil die Reformbedürftigkeit der Universität offenbar ist.

Nach einer kritischen Durchleuchtung der üblichen Lehrveranstaltungen macht Seiffert Vorschläge für systemimmanente Reformen, die darauf hinauslaufen, in den Mittelpunkt des Studiums den selbständigen Wissenserwerb durch Bücher und andere Objektivationen der Wissenschaft zu stellen, zweitens und gleichzeitig die freie Diskussion freier Individuen, die in jenem autodidaktischen Lernprozeß begriffen sind. Er entwirft ein Modell mit Tutorengruppen, Folgen von Intensivlehrgängen (Epochen) und "Kompaktseminaren", die Tutorien, Einzelstudien, individuelle Beratung und Seminarplenumsitzungen vereinen. Dieses Modell ist darauf angelegt, den bisherigen Stil radikal zu verändern und eine planmäßige Erziehung zu Diskussion und Zusammenarbeit zu ermöglichen, die auch gerade den Normalstudenten einbezieht. Von den Basisgruppen erhofft sich Seiffert keine Besserungen mehr, weil diese in ihrer esoterischen Praxis das Zweiklassensystem mit Normal- und Elitestudenten eher verschärften.

In einem Kapitel über die Studiengänge setzt sich Seiffert mit der – von ihm im wesentlichen akzeptierten – durch Wissenschaftsrat, Dahrendorfplan und Verband Deutscher Studentenschaften vorgeschlagenen Ordnung und den gegen diese erhobenen Einwänden auseinander. Schließlich werden neue Formen für Leistungskontrolle und Prüfungen vorgeschlagen, bei denen die tägliche Zusammenarbeit in Tutorien, Kompaktseminaren und Intensivberatung stark ins Spiel kommt und sowohl objektivierte Verfahren als auch subjektive Kriterien berücksichtigt werden.

Die Vorschläge werden fast ausschließlich am Beispiel der Geisteswissenschaften entwickelt; für diese bieten sie eine diskussionswürdige Grundlage. In der Form seiner Darlegungen wird der Autor den von ihm selbst aufgestellten didaktischen Forderungen im Sinne einer "Demokratisierung" wissenschaftlicher Gedankengänge durch klaren, logisch schlüssigen Aufbau und eine verständliche Sprache gerecht.

Ruth Beard, Direktor der Forschungseinheit zur Erforschung der Methoden des Universitätsunterrichts (University Teaching Methods Unit, University of London Institute of Education), geht vom umgekehrten Ansatz aus. Ihr geht es primär um Lehrmethoden. Da diese jedoch nicht ohne die Curricula, denen die Studenten folgen, betrachtet werden können, beschäftigen sich die ersten drei Kapitel mit Lehrzielen, Lehrziel-Analyse, Prüfungen und Motivation im Bereich der Higher Education, die in Großbritannien außer der Universität auch andere Einrichtungen oberhalb der Sekundarstufe umfaßt. Es wird gefordert, auch in diesem Bereich, wie in der Schule, eine Berücksichtigung individueller Unterschiede der Lernenden zu ermöglichen.

In den folgenden fünf Kapiteln werden unterschiedliche Lehrformen – Vorlesung, Seminar, Tutorium, Laborübung, Praktikum, Programmiertes Lernen, Planspiel, Simulationssystem, Sprachlabor, Selbststudium, Arbeit an Forschungsprojekten – in ihren Möglichkeiten und Grenzen dargestellt sowie einzelne Studientechniken untersucht. Der Grundtenor dieser Darstellungen ist die Überzeugung, die Fähigkeit zu unabhängigem Denken und Lernen müsse ein wesentliches Ziel des Unterrichts im tertiären Bereich sein. In einem abschließenden Kapitel werden auch hier Betrachtungen zur Ergebniskontrolle angestellt, verbunden mit einer Kritik der derzeitigen Prüfungsformen. Als in erster Linie notwendig wird eine sorgfältige Berücksichtigung der Lehrziele und Bezugnahme auf diese bei der Ergebniskontrolle gefordert. Die Verfasserin weist auf neue Entwicklungen in der Konstruktion von objektiven

Multiple Choice Tests hin und untersucht, wie weit die sich gegen diese richtende Kritik begründet, wie weit sie ungerechtfertigt ist.

Eine wissenschaftstheoretische Erörterung der Art, wie Seiffert sie unternimmt, ist mit dem Buch von Beard nicht beabsichtigt. In dem gesteckten Rahmen wird es seinem Zweck gerecht, einen Überblick über die im englischen Sprachgebiet zur Zeit üblichen und in der Erprobung befindlichen Lehrmethoden zu geben und diese kritisch zu durchleuchten.

BRIGITTE BEER, Frankfurt

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED JANUARY-MAY 1971
JANUAR-MAI 1971 EINGEGANGENE VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN
PUBLICATIONS REÇUES ENTRE JANVIER ET MAI 1971

except those already reviewed. The inclusion of a book in this list does not preclude a later review.

mit Ausnahme von solchen, die bereits besprochen worden sind. Die Aufnahme eines Buches in diese Liste schließt eine spätere Besprechung nicht aus.

exception faite de celles qui ont déjà analysées. L'énumération d'un livre dans cette liste n'exclut pas une analyse ultérieure.

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METHODOLOGY OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Report on a Meeting of Experts, 30 August–3 September 1971,
at the Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg.

The Unesco Institute for Education has held meetings on comparative education at eight-year intervals: in 1955, 1963 and most recently in 1971, during the week of 30th August to 3rd September. The meetings have reflected the development of comparative education from a philosophical and historical approach, to greater stress on explanation of educational systems in their societal context, and finally to attempts at systematic, empirical analysis using the full range of techniques developed by modern social science.

The recent meeting, attended by leading scholars in comparative education and related social sciences, focused on methodological questions. Eight countries and five international organisations were represented, with a total of 25 persons. The preliminary working paper was prepared in consultation with Dr. Brian Holmes of London, who served as general chairman, and several other experts.

One issue involved in the organisation of the meeting was the relative emphasis to be given to the discussion of education *per se* as compared with the social sciences. One articulate group urged that comparative educationists must be concerned primarily with education as a discipline in its own right, without restriction to concepts from the social sciences. In forming working groups an amicable compromise was reached, whereby one of the groups (chaired by Professor Shigeo Masui of Tokyo) focused on education in this sense. The two other groups took a more discipline-oriented view, dealing respectively with political science and education (under the chairmanship of Professor Saul Robinsohn of Berlin) and with psychology and sociology (chaired by Professor C. Arnold Anderson of Chicago).

Other problems dealt with by the working paper were the relative emphasis to be given to substantive topics as opposed to methods, and the role of normative, philosophical and conceptual approaches in relation to more empirically based methods. In the end, the plenary sessions discussed mainly general questions of method, while the working groups focused primarily on ways of studying particular topics, such as curriculum, outputs of school systems, democratisation of education, political socialisation, and decision-making and administration.

The group reports presented a catalogue of research topics for the next decade of comparative education. The final report of the meeting, appearing this spring under the editorship of Professor Reginald Edwards of Montreal, will seek to draw the strands together.

In addition to the above meeting, which we felt would be of greatest interest to readers of the *Review*, the Unesco Institute organised three other conferences in the fall of 1971:

Latin American Seminar for Directors of Educational Research Institutes (Santiago de Chile, 18–29 October 1972, in cooperation with the UNESCO Regional Office).
Educational Research on the Changing Role of the Secondary School (Hamburg, 1–5 November 1971).

Children's Art as a Means of International Understanding
(Hamburg, 8–10 November 1971).

